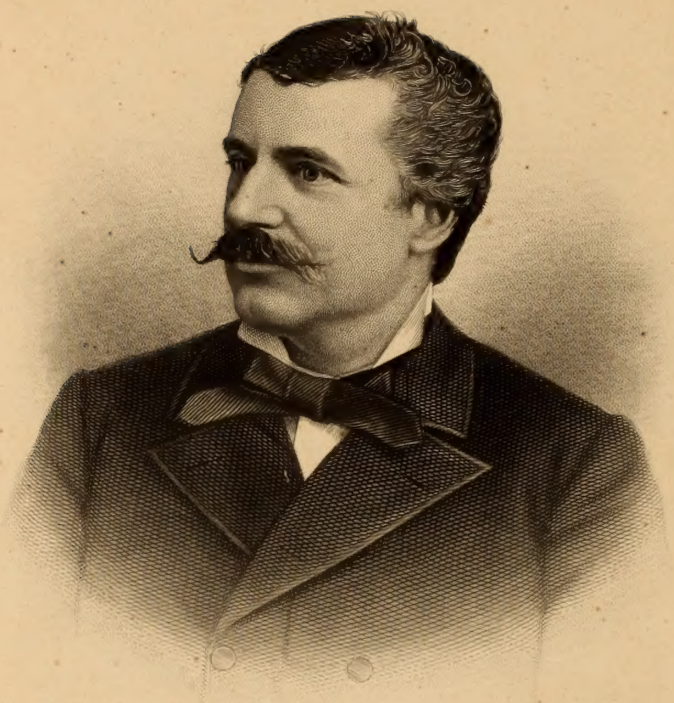
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HISTORY

OF

WESTCHESTER COUNTY,

NEW YORK,

INCLUDING

MORRISANIA, KINGS BRIDGE, AND WEST FARMS,

WHICH HAVE BEEN ANNEXED TO NEW YORK CITY.

BY

J. THOMAS SCHARF, A. M., LL. D.

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ASSISTED BY A STAFF OF CAREFULLY SELECTED EXPERTS IN EVERY DEPARTMENT.

IN TWO VOLUMES, ILLUSTRATED.

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA:

L. E. PRESTON & CO.

1886.

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PREFACE.

In presenting this "History of Westchester County" to the public, the Editor believes, no apology is necessary. It is a new and trustworthy history of the county, founded upon the best authorities, and the most authentic documents and authoritative records. In no sense of the word is it built up out of, or repeated from, any previous one on the same subject, or any of its branches.

The plan of the work is to a large extent novel—the grouping of so many representative writers, to tell so interesting a story as that of the origin, career and significance of Westchester County, has no parallel in the history of any other county in the United States. To present the principal historical phases of the several towns, and the county's life and development, together with the traces of previous occupation and the natural history of the county, the various chapters were assigned to writers, most of them well known in their respective spheres, and some of them of national reputation, who, from study and association, were in a measure identified with their subjects. Their treatment of these topics is such that what they have written may be taken as the best comprehensive expression of existing knowledge, put together with that authority which comes from special study. In the diversity of authors there will, of course, be variety of opinions, and it has not been thought ill-judged, considering the different points of view assumed by the various writers, that the same events should be interpreted sometimes in varying, and perhaps opposite, ways. The chapters may thus make good the poet's description,—

"Distinct as the billows, yet one as the sea,"—

and may not be the worse for each offering a reflection, according to its turn to the light, without marring the unity of the general expanse. The Editor has endeavored to prevent any unnecessary repetitions, and to provide against serious omissions of what might naturally be expected in a history of its kind. In more than one instance he has been constrained by his deference to local authority upon strictly local subjects, and by yielding to the testimony of experts in matters which they alone are supposed to know thoroughly, to hold back his own judgment in regard to certain subjects, and permit the local writer and the expert to tell the whole story their own way. The result has sometimes been clash, confusion and contradiction; for there is nothing about which local authorities and experts differ so much among themselves as those particular events and things in regard to which they collectively consider it the height of presumption for "outsiders" to disagree with them. Where the subject happened to be one of moment and importance, the author has cut the Gordian knot and stated things to suit himself; but in indifferent or trivial concerns he has simply stood aside and let each writer give his own version.

Some space has been given to biographical sketches of leading and representative men, living and dead, who have borne an active part in the various enterprises of life, and who have become

closely identified with the history of the county. The achievements of the living must not be forgotten, nor must the memories of those who have passed away be allowed to perish. It is the imperative duty of the historian to chronicle the public and private efforts to advance the great interests of society. Their deeds are to be recorded for the benefit of those who follow them,—they, in fact, form part of the history of their communities, and their successful lives add to the glory of the county.

The Editor would be unjust to himself and the county whose history he has compiled, if he did not acknowledge, with feelings of profound gratitude, the cordial aid extended to him and his undertaking by the respective writers and by the people of Westchester County. They have given him the fullest encouragement throughout, and have helped him materially in elaborating and perfecting the work. Important and valuable assistance and information have been received from the following persons, to whom also particular recognition is due:—James Wood, Franklin Crouch, Rev. David Cole, D.D., Rev. John A. Todd, Thomas C. Cornell, Joseph Barrett, Frederick Whittaker and Josiah S. Mitchell.

The scope and method of this history of Westchester County, is best understood by the table of contents, and the names of the writers annexed. It is sufficient to demonstrate the broad taste and judiciousness of selection on the part of the Editor. Without their indispensable aid and invaluable stores of material on the history of this interesting county, which they have been diligently collecting for years past, it would have been impossible to present this history in the satisfactory shape it now assumes.

To the publishers of this history, the Editor on behalf of himself and his collaborators, must gratefully pay the meed, thrice deserved, of most hearty and effective co-operation with him and them throughout the undertaking. They have most liberally met every desire of the writers in respect of letter-press and engravings of portraits, views, maps and other illustrations; they have spared no expense or effort to make the mechanical execution of the volumes equal to the subject, and to the Editor's ambition, and they have helped him in every difficulty and sought to remove every obstruction from his path while the work was in progress.

To the subscribers of the work, who, by consenting to take it unseen on the Editor's own recommendation and the strength of his and the publisher's reputation, have secured its successful completion and publication, the Editor renders his most grateful thanks, with the earnest hope that nothing in the volumes and nothing omitted from them may cause them to regret their confidence and their liberality.

J. THOMAS SCHARF.

BALTIMORE, July 6, 1886.

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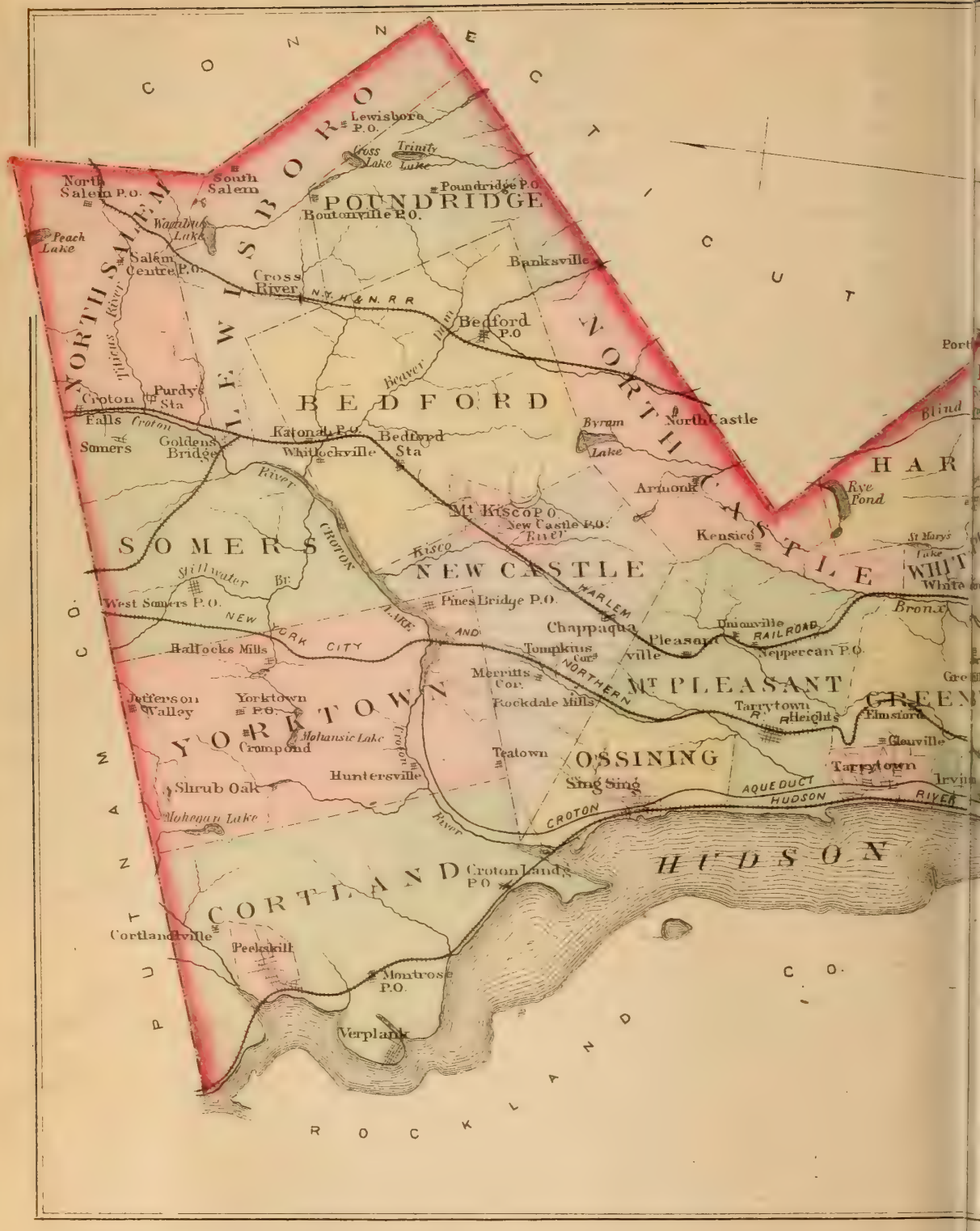
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CONNECTICUT
LEWISBORO
NORTH SALEM
POUNDRIDGE
BEDFORD
NORTH CASTLE
HARRISON
SOMERS
NEW CASTLE
YORKTOWN
MT PLEASANT
OSSINING
CORTLANDT
HUDSON
PUTNAM CO.
ROCKLAND CO.
WESTCHESTER CO.
Lewisboro P.O.
Trinity Lake
Cross Lake
North Salem P.O.
South Salem
Poundridge P.O.
Boutonville P.O.
Peach Lake
Wauwinet Lake
Salem Centre P.O.
Cross River
N.Y. H. & N. RR
Banksville
Bedford P.O.
Beaver Dam
Purdy's Sta
Croton Falls
Somers
Goldens Bridge
Katonah P.O.
Whitlockville
Bedford Sta
Byram Lake
North Castle
Armonk
Rye Pond
Rye Lake
Mt Kisco P.O.
New Castle P.O.
Kensico
Blind Brook
St Marys Lake
White Plains
Bronxville
Croton River
Kisco River
Stillwater Br.
West Somers P.O.
Pines Bridge P.O.
Harlem River
New York City Lake and Railroad
Chappaqua
Pleasantville
Unionville
Mt Pleasant Railroad
Neppercan P.O.
Tompkins Cor.
Merritts Cor.
Northern Railroad
Rockdale Mills
Tarrytown Heights
Elmsford
Glenville
Tarrytown
Irvington
Hallocks Mills
Jefferson Valley
Yorktown P.O.
Crompond
Mohansic Lake
Teatown
Sing Sing
Aqueduct
Hudson River
Shrub Oak
Huntersville
Croton River
Mohegan Lake
Croton Landing P.O.
Cortlandville
Peekskill
Montrose P.O.
Verplanck

OUTLINE MAP
OF
WESTCHESTER CO.
NEW YORK
Showing relative position of Towns

Prepared for Scharf's History of Westchester County





THE

HISTORY OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY.

GENERAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE BOUNDARY, TOPOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY.

BY J. THOMAS SCHARF, LL.D.

THE American people, their lives, their institutions, and their civilization are so entirely different from what is presented elsewhere that as they make their history, so they must preserve its records. Never fettered by axioms, they avoid all prejudices that come from the past; not more attached to one line of operation than another, they are not prone to employ an old method rather than a new; without rooted habits, they easily shake off the influence which other nations might exercise. Their firm conviction is that their country is unlike any other, and that their situation is without a precedent in all the history of the world. No natural boundary restrains, in this country, the efforts of man, and what is not yet done is only what he has not yet attempted to do.

"The perpetual change," remarks De Tocqueville, "which goes on in the United States, the frequent vicissitudes of fortune, accompanied by such unforeseen fluctuations in private and in public wealth, serve to keep the minds of the citizens in a perpetual state of feverish agitation, which admirably invigorates their exertions, and keeps them in a state of excitement above the ordinary level of mankind. The whole life of an American is passed like a game of chance, a revolutionary crisis or a battle. As the same causes are continually in operation throughout the country, they ultimately impart an irresistible impulse to the national character. The American, taken as a chance specimen of his country, must then be a man of singular warmth in his desires, enterprising, fond of adventure, and above all of innovation. The same bent is manifested in all that he does; he introduces it into his political laws, his religious doctrine, his theories of social economy, and his domestic occupations; he bears it with him into the depth of the backwoods, as well as into the business of the city. It is this same passion, applied to maritime commerce, which makes him the cheapest and quickest trader in the world."

The inner life, the domestic history of any portion of a people which thus impressed the shrewdest and most philosophical of all European writers on America, requires and deserves a more detailed examination and presentation than is possible to the historian writing the social and political history of a nation, or even of one presenting the annals of a State. It is in the private life, in the principles that impress individual action, in the moral character of the men of business, in the purity of social life and in the virtues which embellish the home, that depend the value of our civilization and the permanency of our political institutions. Mr. Alison, in his "History of Europe," prophesied that "democratic institutions will not and cannot exist permanently in North America. The frightful anarchy which has prevailed in the Southern States since the great interests dependent on slave emancipation were brought into jeopardy, the irresistible sway of the majority, and the rapid tendency of the majority to deeds of atrocity and blood, the increasing jealousy, on mercantile grounds, of the Northern and Southern States, all demonstrate that the Union cannot permanently hold together, and that the innumerable millions of the Anglo-American race must be divided into separate States, like the descendants of the Gothic conquerors of Europe. Out of this second great settlement of mankind will arise separate kingdoms, and interests and passions, as out of the first. But democratic habits and desires will still prevail, and long after the necessity and the passions of an advanced stage of civilization have established firm and aristocratic governments, founded on the sway of property in the old States, republican ambition and jealousy will not cease to impel millions to the great wave that ap-

proaches the Rocky Mountains. Democratic ideas will not be moderated in the New World till they have performed their destined end, and brought the Christian race to the shores of the Pacific." All the convulsions thus predicted have taken place with even greater force and consequences than the historian contemplated, and yet our Union is preserved in greater strength and more apparent durability than was thought possible by its most enthusiastic admirer. The practical common sense, the wise and exalted patriotism of the people, have brought order out of confusion, removed obstacles to progress, destroyed institutions inimical to liberty, and placed their country, its institutions and its government upon a higher plane of progress and duration than was thought to be possible by the wisest of its founders. All the causes and consequences of our general history fall properly within the scope of the political historian,—it is our more limited and restricted duty to collect and preserve the data of a small, yet mighty, part of the whole country, and to show what exists to-day in a single county of a great State, what forces in the past produced that wonderful wealth and civilization, that wise and exalted patriotism, that tact and shrewdness in business, that astounding material development, which illustrates the wealth and wisdom of Westchester County.

Boundary.—The northern boundary line of Westchester County, as it is at present marked, was fixed at the time the county was erected November 1, 1683, and at the same time Long Island Sound was designated as the southern boundary, and the Hudson River as the western boundary. The line between New York and Connecticut has for more than two centuries been a matter of dispute between the two States, and consequently the Eastern boundary line only has a history to be traced.

In the times of the Dutch possession of New York, the question of boundary between that province and the colony of Connecticut arose. It grew out of the conflicting charters granted by the Dutch and English governments. The States-General of Holland on October 11, 1614, gave a three years' monopoly of trade between Virginia and New France, from fortieth to forty-fifth degrees of north latitude to the United Company of Merchants. This same year a trading port was established by Christiænsen on Castle Island south of Albany. June 3, 1621, the Dutch West India Company was chartered with the exclusive privilege of traffic and planting colonies on the coast of America from the Straits of Magellan to the remotest north. Under this charter settlements were made by the Dutch in what was then called New Netherland. In 1632 the arms of the States-General were erected at Kierit's Hoeck (now Saybrook), at the mouth of the Connecticut, which had been discovered by Adriaen Block in 1614, and called the Freshwater. The river had been periodically and exclusively visited by the Dutch traders for many years. Van Twiller, in 1633, purchased from the Indians an extensive tract of land, called the Connittelsock, lying on the west bank of the river and sixty miles from its mouth. At this point was established a trading post, called "The House of Good Hope." November 3, 1620, King James I. incorporated "The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing New England in America" (commonly called the Plymouth Company). The charter conferred upon them the territory lying between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude, and the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The Earl of Arundell, president of this company, in 1631 granted to Robert, Earl of Warwick, the country from the Narragansetts along the shore forty leagues, and westward to the Pacific Ocean. The Governor of Massachusetts Bay protested against the establishment of "The House of Good Hope" as an encroachment on English rights, and Van Twiller responded, October 4, 1633, that Connittelsock belonged to the Dutch by right of purchase. An expedition from the Plymouth colony had already landed about a mile above the Dutch trading post, and what is now Connecticut was soon settled at various points by the English.

Before the opening of controversy between the Dutch and English colonists, a similar one was going on on the other side of the ocean. The Plymouth Company complained to the privy council about "the Dutch intruders," and as early as February, 1622, we find the British ambassador at the Hague, Sir Dudley Carlton, claiming New Netherland as a part of New England and requiring the States-General to stay the prosecution of their plantation. To this remonstrance no attention was paid. May 5, 1632, the West India Company reported to the States-General that "the English themselves, according to their charter (of Massachusetts Bay), place New England on the coast between the 41st and 45th degrees of latitude. But the English began in the year 1606 to resort to Virginia, which is south of our Territory of New Netherland, and fixed the boundaries, according to their charter, from the 37th to the 39th degree. So that our boundaries according to their own showing should be from the 39th degree inclusive to the 41st degree, within which bounds we are not aware that they ever undertook any plantation. What boundaries Your High Mightinesses have granted to your subjects, can be seen by the charter issued in the year 1615," which date appears to refer to the charter of October, 11, 1614, which went into effect January 1, 1615.

The remonstrance of New Netherland of July 28, 1649, maintains their right of possession by virtue of discovery made by the ship "de Halve Maen" belonging to the General East India Company, whereof Henry Hudson was master; and that its boundaries were "the ocean or great sea which separates Europe

from America, by New England and Fresh (Connecticut) River, in part by the river of Canada (the St. Lawrence) and by Virginia."

England was equally pertinacious in her claim over Connecticut, resting it upon the discoveries of the Cabots in 1494 and 1497, and upon that of Gosnold in 1602, as well as upon the denial of the right of the Dutch. Hudson never made any sale to the English. It was upon the validity of this sale, in connection with the voyage of the Dutchman, Adrian Block in 1614, through Hell Gate and along the coast of Connecticut to Fisher's and Block's Island, and Cape Cod that the claim of the Dutch to Connecticut rested.

The claim of the Dutch to the coast of Connecticut was maintained in 1646 by Governor Kieft, who threatened Governor Eaton, of Connecticut, with war if that colony did not respect Dutch rights. All offers to settle the dispute by arbitration were refused by the Dutch.

In 1650, Peter Stuyvesant, on behalf of the colony of New Netherland, had a conference with the authorities of Connecticut at Hartford, which resulted in a provisional treaty on the boundary that the line should "begin at the west side of Greenwich Bay, being about four miles from Stamford, and so run a northerly line twenty miles up into the country, until it shall be notified by the two governments of the Dutch and of England, provided the said line come not within ten miles of the Hudson River." This agreement was never sanctioned by the home governments, and thirteen years later, on the 13th of October, 1663, a second conference was held at which Connecticut proposed "that West Chester and all ye people and lands Between that & Stamford shall belong to their colony of Connecticut till it be otherwise issued," which proposition was refused by the agents of Governor Stuyvesant, who proposed that "West Chester, with the land and people to Stamford, shall Abide under the government of Connecticut tell the tyme that the bounds and limits betwixt the Above-said collonij and the province of New Netherlands shall be determined heare [by our mutual Accord or by persons mutually chosen, *margin*] or by his Royal Majesty of England and other high and mighty lords of the estates of the united provinces."[1]

War breaking out between England and Holland, this agreement or treaty was never ratified by the home governments.

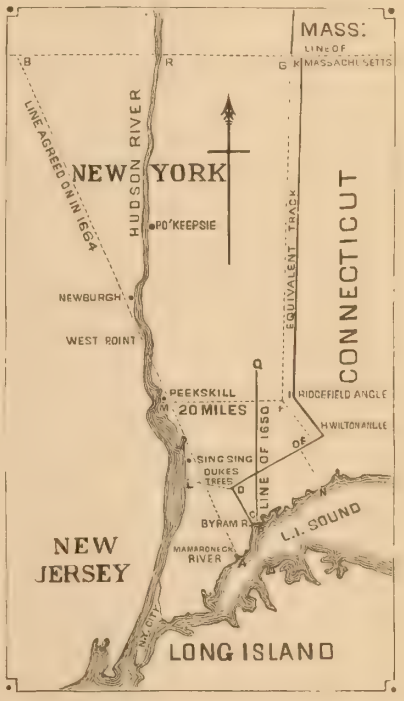
King Charles II., on the 23d of April, 1662, granted to the colony of Connecticut the following boundary:

"All that part of our dominion in America bounded by Narraganset Bay, commonly called Naragonsit Bay, where the said river falleth into the sea, and on the north by the line of the Massachusetts plantation, and on the south by the sea; and in longitude as the line of the Massachusetts colony, running from east to west; that is to say, from the said Narragansett Bay on the east to the south sea on the west part; with the islands thereto adjoining, etc."

[1] Colonial boundaries, Hartford (M.S.), vol. ii., doc. 4, quoted in "History of Rye," by Rev. Charles W. Baird, D.D.

That most comprehensive grant not only covered the disputed territory, but took in the greater part of the Dutch claim on the Hudson. King Charles granted to his brother, the Duke of York and Albany, on the 24th of March, 1664, all of New Netherland from the Delaware to Cape Cod. This grant embraced Connecticut east of the Connecticut River—with some variations of the boundaries—and also the whole of Long Island, "together with all the river called Hudson River, and the lands from the west side of Connecticut River to the east side of Delaware Bay."

By the charter and patent issued within less than two years of each other, nearly all of New York was



THE DIFFERENT BOUNDARY LINES BETWEEN CONNECTICUT AND NEW YORK.[2]

granted to Connecticut, and most of Connecticut given to New York. On the 18th of September, 1664, Colonel Richard Nicolls, the representative of the Duke of York, received the surrender of the city of New Amsterdam, and the whole of the New Netherlands accepted the situation of an English colony by the 12th of October following

Notwithstanding the charter of Connecticut was older than the patent to the Duke of York, no little alarm was taken when it was known that their boundaries had been disregarded by the King in his patent to his brother. Delegates were dispatched by the authorities of Connecticut to the Governor of New

[2] This map is copied by permission from Rev. Charles W. Baird's "History of Rye," p. 105.

York for the purpose of congratulation and settlement of the boundary line. These delegates and the commissioners appointed by the Governor of New York met on the 28th of October, 1664, and came to the understanding that the boundary limit between the two claimants should be fixed at a distance of twenty miles east of the Hudson River, and running parallel with that river northward from Long Island Sound. This agreement was not signed, and a few weeks later it was ordered and declared,—

"That ye Creeke or ryver called Momoronock wch is reported to be about thirteen myles to ye east of West Chester, and a lyne drawne from ye east point or Syde where ye fresh water falls into ye salt, at high water marke, north northwest to ye line of ye Massachusetts be ye westerne bounds of ye said Colony of Connecticut."[1]

The line thus established proved fruitful of civil strife, which will find its fuller detail when the eventful story of Rye comes to be written. The Connecticut officials induced Nicolls to believe that Mamaroneck was twenty miles east of the Hudson. Nicolls trusted them and hence arose the trouble, the real distance of Mamaroneck from the Hudson being only about ten miles, instead of twenty. The intention was that this line, twenty miles east of the Hudson, should continue at that distance until it struck the boundary line of Massachusetts; but being given a "North Northwest" direction, it intersected the Hudson River at West Point, and cut off a large part of New York west of that river. On the 24th of November, 1683, negotiations were again undertaken to fix the boundary line, and articles were concluded between Governor Dongan and Council of New York, and the Governor and delegates of Connecticut, that the line should run as originally intended, twenty miles east of the Hudson River. But upon it becoming evident that such a line would deprive Connecticut of several towns which she had planted, it became necessary to vary the line in parts so that these towns should remain in Connecticut; hence the zig-zag boundary line at the southern end between the two States; and as an offset for the territory thus given to Connecticut, an "equivalent tract" was taken from Connecticut at the northern part of the line, and "The Oblong," of 61,440 acres, or a tract of land two miles in width and fifty in length, was given to New York from Ridgefield to the Massachusetts line.

The boundary thus agreed upon began at the mouth of Byram River at a point thirty miles from New York, and following that stream as far as the head of tide-water, or about a mile and a half from the Sound, to a certain "wading-place," where the common road crossed the stream at a rock known and described as "The Great Stone at the Wading-Place." From that stone the line was to run northwest till it should reach a point eight miles from the Sound; thence a line running eastward parallel to the general course of the Sound, and twelve miles in length was fixed upon. From its termination another line, eight miles in length, was to be run in a north-northwest direction, and from the end of that line the boundary was to extend north to the Massachusetts line, with the "equivalent tract" included.

The boundary line thus agreed upon remained as such for many years, recognized but not legally established by the concurrent action of both States. The Legislature of Connecticut, on the 8th of May, 1684, formally approved the agreement and appointed a surveyor to lay off the line. In October following, Governor Dongan's officers met the surveyor of Connecticut at Stamford, and the amount of land conceded to Connecticut was ascertained, but their survey terminated with the line drawn parallel to the Sound as far as a point twenty miles from the river. Beyond this they simply indicated what they supposed would be the extent of "The Oblong" to be laid out as an "equivalent tract."

This condition of the boundary dispute remained unchanged, when, on the 29th of March, 1700, King William III. approved and confirmed the agreement of 1683 and 1684, whereby Rye and Bedford were included in New York. The boundary dispute continued unsettled, and in October, 1718, commissioners appointed by the two governments met at Rye, but failed to agree upon a method of procedure—the New York commissioners refusing to go on with the survey because those of Connecticut were not empowered to bind their government to any line that might be settled upon. In 1719, though Connecticut appointed new commissioners with larger powers, they were still without power to agree upon a final and conclusive settlement. "A probationary act" by New York followed, providing for the appointment of a new commission by each colony, and requiring the New York commission to run all the lines in accordance with the agreement and survey of 1683 and 1684, and this duty was required to be performed, though no commission from Connecticut should be appointed. This act was conditional on the royal approbation. This proposition was not responded to by Connecticut until October, 1723, when a commission with full powers was appointed, and the two commissions met at Rye in April, 1725. Their work began at "the great stone at the wading-place," and extended to the "Duke's trees," at the northwest angle of the town of Greenwich, where three white oaks had been marked in 1684, as the termination of the survey of that year. Here want of funds suspended the work, which was not resumed until 1731, when the survey was completed to the Massachusetts line; the "equivalent tract" or "oblong" was measured and set off to New York, and the line designated by monuments along its course. This survey was ratified as to the oblong by both governments, and remained unquestioned until May, 1855, when Connecticut opened the subject again, because "ranges of marked trees had long since disappeared. Many of the heaps of stones originally erected

[1] Boundaries of State of New York, vol. i. p. 25.

had been scattered. Traditions were found inconsistent and contradictory, varying the line in places to a considerable extent. Along the whole distance the greatest uncertainty existed, and a distrust and want of confidence in all the supposed lines, rather than a disposition to contend for any. Residents near the border refrained from voting in either State; while officers of justice and collectors of revenue from both hesitated to exercise their authority up to any clearly-defined limit. These circumstances were taken advantage of by those who desired to evade the payment of taxes or the severity of the law."

To this statement of facts New York responded by the appointment, in January, 1856, of Mr. C. W. Wentz, of Albany, an engineer of established reputation, to survey, ascertain and mark the boundary line. No difficulty intervened from the initial point at the "wading stone," to the Ridgefield angle, but from thence to the Massachusetts line a radical difference interposed between the commissions.

The representatives of Connecticut contended for a straight line between the two extreme points, fifty-three miles apart, because the old monuments and marks upon the line were generally removed, and the original line could not be traced with any certainty by reference to them. On the other hand, the commissioners of New York considered their authority limited to "ascertaining" the boundary as originally defined; no agreement was reached, and in August, 1859, each State appointed new commissioners; but at their conference at Port Chester, on 13th September, of that year, the same difference of views confronted the commission, and the conference resulted in no practical work. On the 3d of April, 1860, New York passed an act empowering the commission formerly appointed to survey and mark with suitable monuments the "line between the two States as fixed by the survey of 1731." Under this authority the New York commission fixed and marked the boundary line between the two States, placing monuments along the line at intervals of one mile from the Massachusetts line to the mouth of Byram River. The work was completed in the autumn of 1860.

Still unsettled, the question came up by Connecticut threatening to contest her claims, and in 1878 and 1879 both States appointed commissioners to establish the boundaries. An agreement was made, December 5, 1879, whereby the western boundary of Connecticut was fixed as the *ex parte* line surveyed by New York in 1860, which was the old line of 1731. Connecticut, therefore, gave up her claim to the twenty-six hundred acres in dispute, between the straight line and the line of 1731 as reached, in exchange for her southern boundary extended into the sound. That agreement was ratified by the Legislatures of both States and confirmed by Congress during the session of 1880–81.

TOPOGRAPHY.—The topographical features of the county present much that is strikingly beautiful in scenery, as well as useful in agriculture and manufactures. The surface is broken by ranges of hills running in a direction generally parallel to the Hudson River, and separated by valleys. Of the two general ranges, one borders close upon the Hudson, and the other along the Connecticut boundary line; besides these, many minor ridges and hills diversify the surface, and give to the water-courses a general direction north and south. The heights of the hills range between two hundred and one thousand feet. The continuous valleys, extending north and south have been availed of by the railroads which intersect the county, while other roads in every direction have made the means of inter-communication easy and convenient. These features give to the roads running north and south a generally level character, while those extending across the country east and west are a constant succession of ascents and descents. Occasionally abrupt and rocky hills break the surface, and present obstacles to travel, sometimes inconvenient, but nowhere insurmountable.

The eastern bank of the Hudson River affords a landscape of surpassing beauty, varying with undulating hills and gentle slopes, where countless numbers of villas, cottages, palaces of wealth, clustering villages, and busy towns attest the residence of wealth and taste. Into the Hudson flow all the streams of the county whose water-shed trends to the westward. The hills along the eastern bank of the Hudson rise from three hundred and fifty feet near Hastings to one thousand two hundred and twenty-eight feet at Anthony's Nose promontory, in the northwest corner of the county. The valley of the Bronx River, in the middle section of the county, shows a depression of surface extending from near the centre of the county southward to the Sound. Still farther to the east the Mamaroneck River, emptying into the Sound, as well as the Blind Brook Creek, show a succession of hills and valleys throughout the southern and eastern sections of the county. In the northern part of the county the Croton River and its tributaries, flowing in a southwesterly direction to the Hudson River, at Tappan Bay, mark another valley depression which extends over a large portion of the Northern part of the county. These depressions have in several places created small lakes, of which Croton Lake is entirely artificial. Byram Lake, in Bedford and North Castle, Rye Pond in Harrison (covers two hundred and ten acres), Cross Lake and North and South Ponds, in Poundridge, Waccabuck Lake (covers two hundred and twelve acres), in Lewisboro', Peach Lake, in North Salem, Mohegan and Mohansic Lakes, in Yorktown, and smaller bodies of fresh water in other localities indicate a formation of surface rolling and broken in character, and picturesque and beautiful in landscape. The largest body of water in the county is Croton Lake, artificially formed by the Croton Dam,

five miles from the mouth of the Croton River, for supplying the city of New York with water.

The Croton River, rising in Dutchess County, flows through Putnam County, and entering Westchester directly and through its tributaries drains Somers and part of Yorktown by the Muscoot branch, North Salem, by the Titicus River, Lewisboro', Poundridge and a part of Bedford by the Cross River, and portions of Bedford and New Castle by the Kisco River, and flowing southwesterly, enters the Hudson River at Tappan Bay. The Peekskill Creek, in the northwest corner of the county, flows among the many hills that stud that section and finds its outlet in the Hudson near Peekskill. Furnace Brook, in Cortlandt, is another small tributary of the Hudson. Pocantico River, rising in New Castle, forms the dividing line between Ossining and Mount Pleasant, and through Sleepy Hollow, finds its outlet in the Hudson at Tarrytown. Neperhan, or Saw-Mill River, rises in New Castle, and flowing through Mount Pleasant, Greenburgh and Yonkers, discharges its waters into the Hudson at the city of Yonkers. Tibbitts' Brook, a small stream in Yonkers, empties into the Spuyten Duyvil Creek.

The streams which find their outlet in the Sound are: The Bronx River, which rises in the hills of Mount Pleasant, and North Castle, and flowing southerly, drains a large portion of the southern-middle section of the county. The Westchester Creek, a tidal stream, drains a small part of the southern end of the county and empties into Westchester Bay, an estuary of the Sound. Hutchinson River, rising in Scarsdale, flows southward into Eastchester Bay, on the Sound. Mamaroneck River, rising near White Plains and Harrison, flows into Mamaroneck Harbor, on the Sound. Byram River and Blind Brook are streams which also discharge their waters into the Sound, the former at Port Chester, after draining portions of Bedford, North Castle and Rye, and the latter at Milton, after draining portions of Harrison and Rye. The Maharness, rising in North Castle, and Stamford Mill River, rising in Poundridge, flow into Connecticut and thence to the Sound.

The southern or Sound shore of the county is indented with bays and estuaries, of which Westchester or Pelham Bay and Mamaroneck Harbor are the largest. Peninsulas stretch out into the Sound, of which Throgg's Neck, Pelham's Neck, Davenport's Neck and DeLancey's Neck are the most important. Islands are numerous along the shore of the Sound. The largest are City, Hunter's, David's, Huckleberry and Manaessing Islands.

The railroads that traverse the county are: The New York Central and Hudson River Railroad, which extends along the eastern bank of the Hudson River through the whole length of the county, entering it at Spuyten Duyvil, and leaving it at Anthony's Nose, at the corner of Putnam. At Spuyten Duyvil Creek the main line connects along the north bank to Harlem River Bridge, with the Grand Central Depot, at Forty-second Street. Riverdale Station, the first station in the present Westchester County, presents a beautiful prospect of Yonkers on the north, the Palisades across the river, with the Ramapo range of hills in the distance. Yonkers, Hastings-on-the-Hudson, Dobbs Ferry, Abbotsford, Irvington, Tarrytown, Sing Sing, Croton, Crugers, Verplanck and Peekskill, are the principal stations along the line of this road.

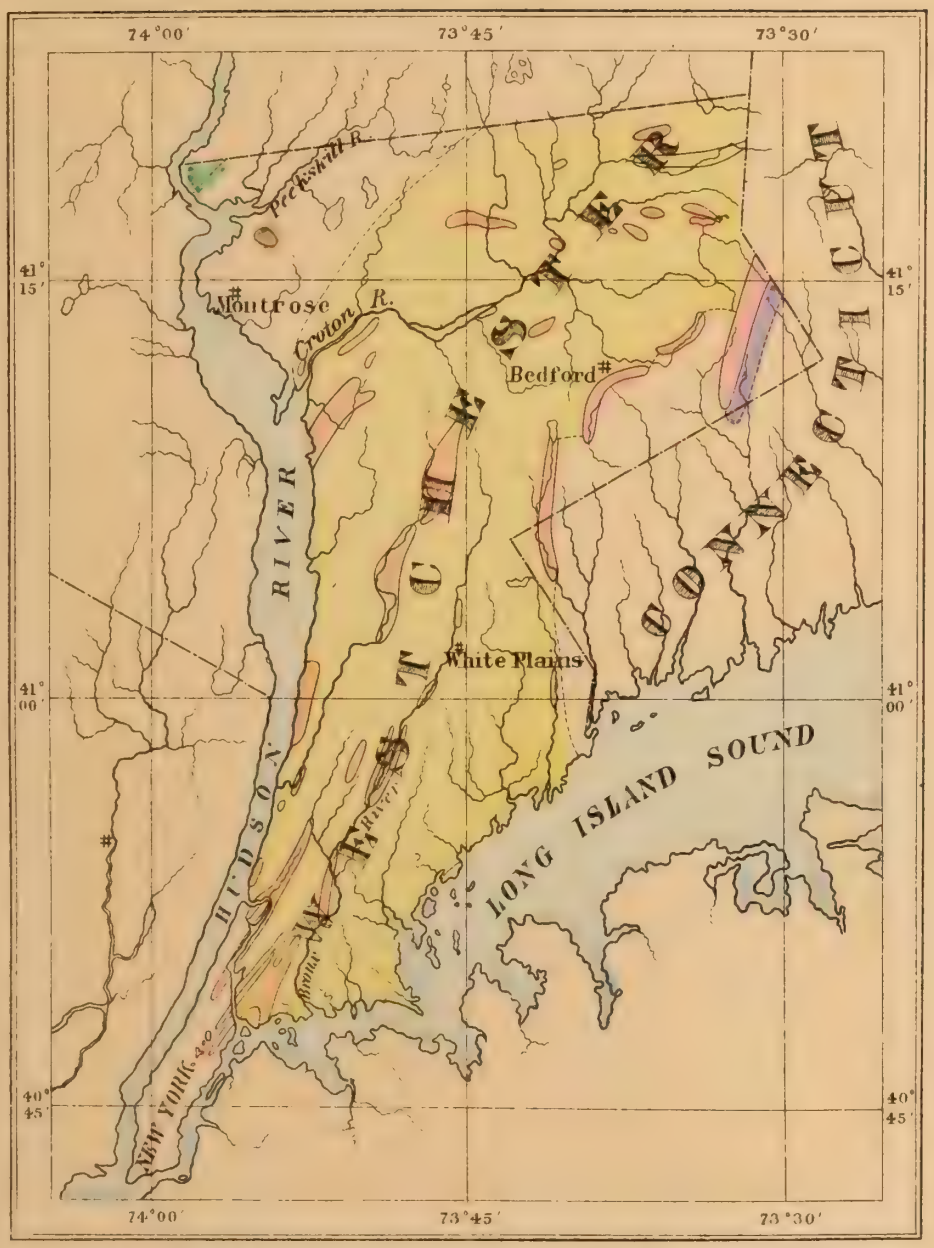
The New York and Harlem River Railroad extends through the central portion of the county, through Morrisania, West Farms, Eastchester, Scarsdale, White Plains, Mount Pleasant, New Castle, Bedford, Lewisboro and North Salem. Mount Vernon, White Plains, Pleasantville, Mt. Kisco, Katonah, and Croton Falls, are the principal villages along its line. At William's Bridge, the New York and New Haven Railroad branches and runs through Eastchester, Pelham, New Rochelle, Mamaroneck, Harrison and Rye.

The New York City and Northern Railroad enters the county in Kingsbridge, and diverging there from the Hudson River Road, passes through Van Cortlandt, South Yonkers, and North Yonkers, up the Neperan Valley through Odells, Ashford, Elmsford or Hall's Corners, and leaves the valley at East Tarrytown; thence by Tarrytown, North Tarrytown, Tarrytown Heights, Whitson, Merritt's Corners, Croton Lake South, Croton Lake North, Yorktown, Amawalk, West Somers, Baldwin Place, Lake Mahopac, Carmel, Tilly Foster's, and terminates at Brewster, where connection is made, *via* Danbury, with the New England system.

GEOLOGY.[1]—The rocks which compose New York Island, and underlie the adjacent country on the north and east, are chiefly gneiss and mica-schist, with heavy, intercalated beds of coarse-grained, dolomitic marble and thinner layers of serpentine.[2] These are all distinctly stratified, and, according to Prof. Dana, have once been sedimentary beds deposit-

[1] The accompanying geological map of Westchester County was prepared by the officers of the United States Geological Survey, at Washington, D. C., from data prepared by Professor Dana, and presents the latest conclusions of that school of geologists who agree with Prof. Dana as to the Lower Silurian age of the Westchester County rocks. The geological portion of this chapter was written at the office of the Geological Survey, at Washington, and submitted to Prof. McGee, the chief geologist of the survey, and he has approved it as correct and as full as the present information about the section of country will admit. Prof. McGee says that very little is known of the geological age of Westchester County, and that even that little is not accepted by all geologists. Prof. Newberry, differing with Prof. Dana and the United States Survey, holds that the county belongs to the Laurentian age, while the other side place the county region on the Upper Silurian age. We have given the views of both, and followed with the map. We have used Prof. James D. Dana's account of the limestone beds as the most important feature and value which geology points out for the county. Of course we had to abridge as much as possible in order to keep within the limits of our work.

[2] Prof. I. S. Newberry, in *Popular Science Monthly*, for October, 1878.



Geologic Map of Westchester County, N.Y.

MILES

Metamorphic, Hudson River shales (?)

Metamorphic, Trenton Calciferous limestones (?)

Metamorphic, Potsdam sandstone (?) with associated schists

Georgia slate

Archean

ed horizontally—sandstones, shales and limestones—but now, upheaved and set on edge, are by metamorphism converted into compact crystalline strata, with the obliteration of all fossils—if fossils they contained. The age of these rocks has not yet been accurately determined, although they have been supposed to be Lower Silurian, and a continuation of those which contain the marble beds of Western Massachusetts and Vermont. There are some reasons, however, why they should be regarded as still older. That they do not form the southern prolongation of the marble belt of Vermont is indicated by the facts that both the marble beds and the rocks associated with them are so unlike in the two localities that they can hardly be parts of the same formation. In Vermont the marbles occur in what is essentially a single belt, are fine-grained, unusually banded and mottled, are nearly pure carbonates of lime, and the rocks immediately associated with them are gray siliceous limestones, quartzites and slates. In Westchester County and on New York Island, on the contrary, the marbles are very coarsely crystalline dolomites (double carbonates of lime and magnesia), which occur in a number of parallel belts, are generally of uniform white or whitish color, and have no rocks associated with them that can represent the quartzites and argillites of Vermont.

On the east bank of the Hudson, at and above New York, we have: 1st. A belt of crystalline rocks forming apparently a continuous series to and beyond the Connecticut line; 2d. Strata set nearly vertical, once forming high hills or mountains, now worn down by long exposure to a more rolling surface; 3d. The series composed chiefly of gneiss and crystalline schists, with heavy beds of dolomite marble and thinner bands of serpentine; and 4th. Containing in its western portion, where it adjoins the New Jersey iron-belt—with which it is inseparably connected—important beds of magnetic iron-ore, while apatite is one of the most common disseminated minerals. For these and other reasons Mr. Newberry regards the New York rocks as belonging to the Laurentian age.

On the other hand, Prof. James D. Dana[1] holds that Westchester County is comprised within the Green Mountain region, that it borders the southern side of the Putnam County Archæan, as Dutchess County does the northern, and resembles in its order that part of the Green Mountain region which now makes Western Connecticut. The topographical features of the county owe much to the lime-stone belts, which, by their easy erosion, have determined the courses of river valleys, and the lines of marshes along such valleys, as well as located many of the lakes. The beds of this soft rock stand nearly vertical, thus favoring the excavation of deep channels. The valleys are sometimes abrupt on both sides, but usually have one side high, precipitous and rocky, and the other gently sloping; and this is largely due, in connection with the erosion, to the pitch or dip of the beds. But the pitch of the beds may not have been the only cause of the form of the valleys. Prof. Dana holds that the throw of the waters against the right bank of a stream (the western if flowing south, or the northern if flowing west), in consequence of the earth's rotation, may have had its effects, and may possibly account for the cases in which the western side is the steep one, notwithstanding a vertical or even a high eastern pitch.

The lime-stone belts of the county are divided by Prof. Dana into: 1st, the *Southern* section of the county, from New York Island to White Plains; 2d, The *Middle* section, from White Plains to Croton Lake; and 3d, the *Northern* section, north of the Croton Lake.

The southern section is composed of three areas or belts which, commencing in New York Island, extend for two or three miles into Westchester County. The first of these areas, the Tremont, extends from Fordham southward to Harlem River, and thence into New York Island. It reaches the Harlem River by two lines—a *western* at Mott-Haven and an *eastern* at the mouth of Morris Hill Brook, west of Brooke Avenue. The second belt of the southern section, that of "the Clove" follows Cromwell's Creek, north of Central (or McComb's Dam) Bridge and the brook emptying into it. The most southern outcrop occurs about a mile north of the Bridge; it again outcrops near the "Club House." This belt probably continues southward into New York Island. The third area of the southern section is a prominent feature of the north end of New York Island, from which it extends three miles northward into Westchester County along Tippitt's Brook. The Harlem River makes a deep cut through it at Kingsbridge; and where the abutments of High Bridge rest, disappearing there, outcrops at points in Tippitt's Valley as far as nearly three miles from Kingsbridge. Just above the point of junction of the Harlem and New Haven Railroads ledges of lime-stone are visible, and were cut into in grading the railroad tracks.

The areas of serpentine, with some calcareous material, appear at New Rochelle and Rye. At Yonkers the lime-stone area follows the course of a north and south bend on Saw-Mill Creek, with a width of at least one hundred feet. There are indications of a more eastern belt along the Saw-Mill River Valley just north of the city. On Grassy Sprain Brook a small area exists with a width to the south of five hundred yards. On the Bronx River a lime-stone belt begins near Bronxville, and tapers out to the south, while to the north, and for the most of its course, it is divided into two parts, separated by a band of mica-schist and gneiss. The Hastings belt occurs along the Hudson to the north of Yonkers.

[1] Paper on the Geological Relations of the Lime-stone Belts of Westchester County, N. Y., *American Journal of Science*.

In the middle section of the county, in the Saw-Mill River Valley, a large lime-stone area commences about two and a half miles north of Ashford, and widening at East Tarrytown, continues northward to a near junction with the Pleasantville area. This last-mentioned area is also broad and sinuous in its course, terminating just north of Chappaqua Depot. The Sing Sing belt commences south of the depot on the Hudson and extends north-northeast nearly to the boundary of the town of Ossining; it also branches eastward up a small valley towards the Camp Woods. Half a mile east of the village of Croton occurs a small area without distinguishable features, and south of the Croton River a narrow area extends from near "Quaker Bridge" to the forcation of the river at Huntersville. At Merritt's Corner, and on the east border of Croton Lake, as well as near Bedford Station, small areas of lime-stone are indicated. East of the Pleasantville belt, on the border of New York and Connecticut, lies a lime-stone area, which extends along the course of Byram River to its source in Byram Lake. To the northeast of Byram Lake, following a valley along the head-waters of Mianus River, as well as another along that of Stone Hill River, the outcroppings of lime-stone indicate an area which completes the list of areas in the middle section of the county.



THE COBBLING-STONE, IN SOMERS.

The areas of the northern section of the county to some extent tend toward the east and west in trend and in the strike of the beds. The large eastern area of the northeast extends into Connecticut; that at Cruger's Station lies mostly to the south and east of the station. At Verplanck's Point, and up Sprout Brook Valley or Canopus Hollow, extends an area nearly five miles in length.

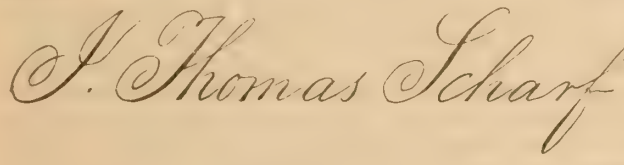
Prof. Dana regards Westchester County as topographically a southern portion of the Green Mountain elevation; that the grade of metamorphism follows the same rule as to the north—that is, it is of greatest intensity to the eastward and to the southward. It is in accordance with this that the least degrees of metamorphism are found in the lime-stone and associated schists of the vicinity of Peekskill, in the northwest corner, while along the central and eastern portions of the county, and in the western, also, south of the Croton, the crystallization is commonly very coarse; that the lime-stones have the same kind of associated rocks—that is, of mica-schists and gneisses—as the eastern and more metamorphic portions of the region in Connecticut; that the lime-stones have a like paucity in disseminated minerals and similar occurring species with those of Connecticut; and that the ordinary normal trend of the rocks—north 10° east to north 20° east—is very nearly the average trend of the beds of lime-stone and associated rocks in the Green Mountain system.

Prof. Dana's conclusions are that: "The lime-stone of Westchester County and New York Island and the conformably associated metamorphic rocks are probably of Lower Silurian age."

The soils of the county are made up of the abrasions and disintegration of the gneiss, feldspar and lime-stone rocks, with considerable districts largely composed of sand and more limited areas of clay. As a whole, the soil may be called a light loam. It is generally favorable to the growth of cereals. The valleys have the addition of vegetable matter and are very productive of the rich natural grasses which abound here. The hillsides have suffered from washing by heavy rains, but yield abundant crops to good cultivation. About the hill-tops and along the summits of the ridges the rocks generally crop out, so that these localities are mostly left to be covered with forest growths, adding greatly to the beauty of the scenery. In many places in the county there are peat swamps, where ancient lakes have been filled with the accumulation of vegetable matter and the growth of sphagnum moss. This peat, when pressed and dried, makes excellent fuel. The great differences in elevation and exposure, together with the variety of soils, cause a remarkably large flora. In round numbers, about twelve hundred flowering plants and fifty varieties of ferns have been found here.

The surface of the county has been much affected by glacial action and drift deposits. Croton Point, on the Hudson, and other places in the county show evidences of glacial moraines. Deep striæ and lighter scratches still remain upon many exposed rock surfaces and others have been smoothly polished. Immense numbers of boulders are scattered over the surface. The most of these are of granite, brought from Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Some are of conglomerate from across the Hudson River and others have great numbers of shell fossils.

A remarkable boulder is found in Somers. It stands on the hill directly northeast of Muscoot Mountain in the southwestern part of Somers, and from its top can be seen the blue hills of Long Island across the sound, the northern elevations of Dutchess County and the distant lands of Connecticut. To the west it overlooks Yorktown and Cortlandt. One side of this curious rock has the appearance of an Indian's face. It is an immense mass of red granite, said to be the only specimen in the county, and is perched upon three lime-stone points, two feet or more above the surface of the ground, and four hundred feet above the Muscoot Valley. It was doubtless brought here by a glacier or dropped from an iceberg, which is mentioned in the old deeds as the "Cobbling Stone."



CHAPTER II.

THE INDIANS OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY.

BY JAMES WOOD, A.M.

President of the Westchester County Historical Society.

THE 13th day of September, 1609, marked the point of division between the pre-historic and the historic periods of the district of country now known as Westchester County. On that day Henry Hudson, the intrepid English navigator, anchored his vessel, the "Half-Moon," in the newly-discovered river, near the site of the present city of Yonkers. The dawn of the following day disclosed the residents of the village of Nappeckamak gathered upon the eastern shore, and viewing with wonder, but with a kindly interest, the strange revelation before them. We now know much, although far too little, of what has since transpired here; but we know almost nothing of the events of the untold centuries that preceded that day.

The European discoverers of North America found the continent peopled with millions of human beings, of types analogous to those of the Old World, and with characteristics almost equally varied. In stature they covered a wide range, from the dwarf-like denizens of the far north to the vigorous inhabitants of other sections, whose height averaged, in the men, fully six feet. In activity and courage they excited the admiration of their discoverers. Their color was unique, and was imagined to resemble that of copper; but further investigation showed that this color varied greatly. Some of the natives were found to be nearly as dark as negroes, while in other sections they were almost as light as Caucasians. They spoke many hundred different languages, which showed striking analogies in their grammatical construction, with equally striking disparity in their vocabulary. The goal sought by these discoverers was India, and, imagining that they had found its outlying provinces, they called the inhabitants of the new land Indians.

It would be the merest conjecture to attempt to state how long man had occupied the American continent. Apart from the length of time required for producing new languages, or even dialects, and from all ethnological considerations, there are facts connected with his existence here that indicate a period of almost incalculable antiquity. Of the animals found in the New World, none were identical with those known in the Old, and in the vegetable kingdom the same rule held almost as absolutely. Maize and tobacco were cultivated in every portion of the country where the climate suited their requirements, while cotton was grown in a section necessarily more limited in area. We may reasonably suppose that man existed here for a long time before he discovered the fitness of maize for food, and for a much longer period before he began its cultivation; and then it must have required centuries to introduce it to general cultivation over nearly a hundred degrees of latitude in the two continents. It is well known that plants change their character very slowly; but maize, tobacco and cotton had so long been subjected to the transforming influences of cultivation as to have lost all resemblance to their original forms, so that they could no longer be identified with the wild species. The force of this consideration is heightened when we remember that, in this transformation, these plants became entirely dependent upon cultivation for their existence.

In some portions of the continent the great antiquity of man is proven by the remains of his structures still existing; but as none of these were found in this section, the subject need not be considered here.

Closely connected with the question of the time of man's existence here is that of his origin. How came he here? The question has received much consideration. The attempts to designate particular nations as the original peoplers of the American continent, whether they were the Lost Tribes of Israel the Phœnicians or the Chinese, have so utterly failed to convince inquirers, that they have been generally abandoned. The autochthonic theory, the theory of indigenous origin, has had many strong arguments produced in its favor. Some of its advocates suppose that the Creator placed an original pair of human beings here, as Holy Scripture teaches that He did in the Eastern Hemisphere. But these arguments come short of conviction. The advocates of the theory of development that would find the ancestor of man in the monkey, have abandoned all idea of

the change having taken place here, as the American continent has furnished no species of the apes, nor the remains of any such species from which man could have been developed.

They all admit that narrow-nosed apes could alone have been the ancestors of man, and no such apes—no *catarrhine simiadæ*—have existed here.

When we look at the conditions on either side of the continent, we cannot suppose that it was at all impossible for men, at any indefinitely remote period, to have found their way hither. The climatic changes of past periods, at some time, may have made the route by Behring's Straits entirely practicable. The route by the Aleutian Islands is not difficult now to canoe navigators. The Pacific currents frequently cast the wrecks of Japanese vessels upon our northwestern shores. The islands of the South Pacific afforded a probable way of communication, and it is believed that many have disappeared, comparatively recently, beneath the surface. On the Atlantic side the difficulties were by no means insurmountable, even if we ignore "the lost Atlantis." The trade-winds and equatorial currents carried Cabral and his Portuguese fleet, bound around the Cape of Good Hope, to the American shores, and led to the accidental discovery of Brazil. On his second voyage Columbus found, in a house on the island of Gaudaloupe, the stern-post of an European vessel. In various periods of the past the same forces may have brought men to these shores.

It is probable that America was peopled from various sources, and at widely separated periods. These must have been very remote to afford time for the production of the conditions found existing here.

The aborigines of Westchester County belonged to the great family of Indians called the Algonquin Lenape. Their connection with the Mound-Builders of the Mississippi Valley, with the Aztecs of Mexico, or with the builders of the wonderful structures found in Central America, if any ever existed, must have been extremely remote. Their traditions referred in a very vague way to long journeys from the northwest, and great suffering from cold on their way hither, and of contests with a people who occupied the country before them. Of their own history they were lamentably ignorant. Their computation of time by moons and revolving cycles led all investigations into inextricable confusion. Any event beyond an individual's recollection floated vaguely in the boundless past. No records of any kind were made. For these reasons the Europeans were able to obtain from this people very little information of themselves or their fathers. They existed here for unnumbered centuries, and then passed away, leaving behind them no sign to mark their occupation of the country, save a few simple implements of stone, and no structure of any kind memorializes their power or attests their strength or skill. We are thus singularly destitute of nearly all means for acquiring accurate knowledge of this people's history.

The Algonquin tribes occupied nearly the whole Atlantic seaboard, and their language necessarily was widely diffused. It has been found more fertile in dialects than any other aboriginal speech. It was strangely agglutinative, and gave expression to thought by stringing words together into an extended compound. It was the mother-tongue of those who greeted Raleigh's colonists on the Roanoke, of those who boarded the "Half-Moon" on the Hudson, and of those who welcomed and fed the Pilgrims at Plymouth. It was heard from the land of the Esquimo to the Savannah River and from the Bay of Gaspe to the Mississippi.

It is not necessary to investigate the national divisions of the Algonquins further than to state that the Mohegans occupied the country along the left bank of the Hudson River, called Mahicannittuk, and eastward to the Connecticut, and from Long Island Sound northward to the mouth of the Mohawk, and perhaps to Lake Champlain. Their country was called Laaphawachking. North and west of the Mohegans were the powerful and warlike Iroquois, their immediate neighbors being the Horicans and Mohawks. Across the Hudson, below Catskill, were tribes belonging to the Delaware nation, and east of the Connecticut were the Pequots. Long Island was occupied by Mohegan tribes. It has been stated that at the time of discovery the Mohegans were under military subjection to the Iroquois, and were compelled to pay an annual tribute to them. This is not substantiated by investigation, for we find no reference to it in any of the treaties made by these tribes with the whites, nor was such a thing ever alluded to in all the protracted negotiations between them.

The subdivisions of the tribes were very numerous. They had advantages for local government and the preservation of order. The form of government was very simple. Each local tribe had its ruler, called the sachem. He was also their representative in the general councils, which were composed of the representatives of the smaller tribes of the nation. They were presided over by the national grand sachem, who occupied the position of a sovereign. These councils assembled only in cases requiring concerted action, as in a general war. In all other matters the local tribes were independent, and declared war for themselves, or made peace without consulting their brother tribes. The national obligation was imperative, and treason to the decisions of a council was punished with death. Each nation had its emblem, or totem, which served the purpose of the flag of a civilized nation. These were used in times of war, and were drawn upon trees and rocks to indicate that the tribes had taken up the hatchet and had gone upon the war-path. The Mohegan totem was a wolf, and in declaring war the animal was represented with its dex-

ter paw raised in a threatening manner. The name Mohegan meant "Enchanted Wolf." Their military forces had regular forms of organization and discipline. The companies from the local tribes had their commanders, who were selected for their prowess and achievements in arms. The united forces were commanded by chiefs who had obtained military distinction, and these stood in rank according to their services and their reputation for bravery, prudence, cunning and good fortune.

There was but little need for civil government, as their chief possessions were held in common, and where personal property existed, the owner's rights were recognized.

It is probable that these local tribes were communities of blood relations, who readily recognized the patriarchal authority of their sachem and who held their lands in common. Doubtless, they closely resembled the clans and septs of Great Britain and Ireland, without the land being held either by tanistry or gavel-kind. The sachems received their support by the free contributions of the community. The ownership of land depended upon conceded original occupation or upon conquest. If obtained by conquest, all original rights became vested in the conquerors, and if it was re-conquered, these returned to the original owner. They had but little idea of title to land. They valued only its occupation and use. The game that filled the forests and the fish that swarmed in the waters gave a value that they well appreciated, and they also prized their cultivable tracts.

There is much uncertainty regarding the subdivisions of the tribes in any given district, and if the question of their location were left to the statements and maps of the early European settlers, it well might be abandoned as hopeless. Fortunately, the title-deeds given to the settlers supply considerable information, which, though not perfect, enables us to locate the sub-tribes with tolerable accuracy. Yet the boundaries of such tracts as were sold by the aborigines were designated with much uncertainty by the Indian names of rivers, brooks and rivulets, hills, ponds and meadows, which are sometimes difficult to locate. Treaties made between the settlers and the Indians assist us in the undertaking.

The island upon which the city of New York has been built was occupied by the Manhattans. Their territory also extended along the Mahicanituk, or Hudson River, northward to the Neperhan, or Saw-Mill River, and eastward to the Aquehung, or Bronx River. Between the Neperhan and the Pocantico were the Weckquaesgeeks. The Sint Sinks occupied the land between the Pocantico and the Kitchawan, or Croton River. North of the Croton were the Kitchawancs, whose lands extended to Anthony's Nose and the Highlands, and eastward across the northern portion of Westchester County. East of the Manhattans, occupying the territory along the Sound, were the Siwanoys, who also occupied the southwestern portion of Connecticut. North of the Siwanoys were the Tankitekes, occupying the central and eastern portions of the county. The western end of Long Island was occupied by the Canarsees. The Rockaways, Merricks, Marsapequas, Matinecocks, Corchangs, Manhassets, Secatogues, Patchogues, Shinnecocks and Montauks extended eastward, in the order named. West of the Hudson were the Navesinks, Raritans, Hackinsacks, Tappans and Haverstraws. Above the Highlands, upon the eastern side of the river, were the Nochpeens and the Wappingers. Eastward, in Connecticut, was the large chieftaincy of the Sequins.

That the Indians of Westchester were very numerous is proven by the fact that over fifteen hundred warriors were at one time in arms against the whites, and also by the number of their large villages. These villages were located where there were special advantages for fishing, or where a light and easily-worked soil was favorable for cultivation.

The Manhattans had three villages upon Manhattan Island. Their largest village in this county was Nappeckamak, which occupied the site of the present city of Yonkers. At the southern end of the original township of Yonkers, overlooking the Hudson River (Mahicanituk) and Spuyten Duyvil Creek (Papirinimen,) they had a fortress which they called Nipinichsen.

The Weckquaesgeeks had their principal village at the mouth of Wysquaqua, where the village of Dobb's Ferry now stands. It was called by the tribal name. Until recently its site was designated by extensive shell-beds. They had another village at the mouth of the Pocantico, on the site now occupied by Tarrytown. This village was called Alipconck. They had another village by the Neperhan, west of White Plains.

The Sint Sinks had a village called Ossing-Sing, where "The Kill" empties into the Hudson at Sing Sing. They had a smaller village at the mouth of the Kitchawan or Croton River.

The Kitchawancs had a large village upon Van Cortlandt's Neck, connecting Croton Point with the mainland. They had here the strongest fortress of any in the county. Like Nipinichsen, it was a heavily-palisaded stockade. They had another village upon Verplanck's Point and a larger one called Sackhoes, where Peekskill now stands.

The Siwanoys were a numerous tribe. They had a village upon Pelham Neck, in the present town of Pelham; another on Davenport's Neck, in New Rochelle; and their largest settlement upon the shores of Rye Pond, in the present town of Harrison. Here was a very extensive burial-ground. There was also a settlement near Rye Beach. They had another village in the southern part of the town of Westchester, near Bear Swamp. They had an important castle upon what is still known as Castle Hill, west of Westchester Creek.

The Tankitekes had a village by Wampus Lake, in the town of North Castle, where the Sachem Wampus resided. They also had a village near Pleasantville, in the town of Mount Pleasant. There was a settlement by the Mehanas River, near the present village of Bedford. There was also a village where the Cross River (Peppensghek) unites with the Croton or Kitchawan, near the present site of Katonah. Here are still visible the remains of extensive stone fish-weirs, in the bed of the Croton River, that were built by the Indians. Besides the villages named, there were doubtless many more of whose existence no account has come down to us.

That the Indians occupied this section in great numbers is rendered probable by the character of the country and its surroundings. The whole county is remarkably well watered and its soil produced an abundance of rich natural grasses. These conditions caused an abundance of game. The lands bordering the Beaver Dam River in Bedford were called "the deer's delight." The numerous lakes and streams throughout the county were well stocked with fish. These were taken with lines and nets, the cordage of which was made of twisted fibres of the dogbane and the sinews of the deer. Hooks were fashioned of the sharpened bones of fishes and birds. Weirs, fish-traps and spears were also employed. Deer and other game were taken by other means besides hunting with the bow and arrow. The English settlers found in good preservation, in the town of Poundridge, an extensive trap which they called a pound, and from which the township had its name. It was situated at the south end of the ridge, not far from the present village, and inclosed the spring of water which still flows there. It was built of logs held together by what the English called saddle-stones, was twelve or fourteen feet high, and inclosed an acre or more of ground. From its narrow entrance there extended palisaded wings in each direction, so as to cross the valley and run up the adjacent hillsides. The valleys from the south and southwest come together here by the subsidence of the intervening ridges. The Indians in considerable numbers would start in the early morning many miles away, and would "beat the bush" with hideous yells, working in the direction of the trap, while parties ran along the ridges on the right and left to prevent lateral escapes, and thus they drove before them the game of every description until they came to the wings of the trap, which led everything into the inclosure. Then the entrance was closed and all secured. In this way great numbers of deer and other game were taken.

Important as were the food supplies obtained from the forests and streams, they were greatly increased by those from the surrounding waters. The Hudson River and the Sound make the situation of the county a remarkable one. These waters teemed with fish, which furnished the attraction to the villagers living upon their shores. In seasons of abundance, like the running of the shad in the spring-time, quantities of fish were dried and smoked, and thus preserved for future use. Shell-fish were extensively used. Along the Sound the numerous shell-heaps attested the Indians' appreciation of the oyster. These shell-heaps resemble those of European countries, which, with the "kitchen-middens," have received so much attention from archæologists. So extensive were these shell-heaps upon City Island, now forming part of the township of Pelham, that they gave to the surrounding waters the name of "the great bay of the island of shells." Similar heaps were found upon Berrian's Neck, in the township of Yonkers, and at the various village sites along the Hudson. The largest of these were upon Croton Point, where considerable areas are still covered with them to the depth of two or three feet.

This beautiful projection of land was called Senasqua, one of the softest of Indian names, and in the adjacent waters of Tappan and Haverstraw Bays great quantities of oysters are still found and are taken elsewhere for increased growth. Before the country was settled by the whites and the forests were cleared away, a much greater percentage of the rain-fall evaporated from the surface of the land and less flowed away in the streams. On this account, the water of the Hudson was much more salt than now, and more favorable to the oyster's development. To overlook and protect the important oyster-beds of this wide portion of the river, the fort upon Van Cortlandt's neck was erected. It is an interesting fact that where these shells have remained undisturbed they are nearly all found whole, showing that the Indians opened the oysters without breaking them. It was probably accomplished by exposure to the sun. None of them have been exposed to fire. A remarkable number and variety of stone implements have been found here, and here a place of burial has been recently discovered.

But the aboriginal inhabitants of Westchester did not depend alone upon the food derived from the chase and taken from the waters. They cultivated the land much more extensively than is generally supposed. The European navigators of the Hudson were impressed by the extent of the fields of maize. Suitable lands along the Sound were similarly used, and throughout the interior the early white settlers found their difficulties greatly lessened by the extent of the lands already cleared and prepared for their immediate use.

The Indian's success in the cultivation of land was remarkable, when we consider the disadvantages under which he labored. It must be remembered that he had taught no animal to assist him in his labor. He had no flock or herd, nor any kind of poultry. His dog was a worthless creature, resembling a cross between the fox and the wolf, and was only the lazy sharer of his cabin or the playmate of his children, and was not trained to usefulness in the chase. He had no iron nor any other metal, except rare spec-

imens of native copper, brought from the shores of Lake Superior and worn as ornaments, or, perhaps, fashioned into highly-prized spear-heads. In the present "iron age," when every required tool is ready-fashioned to our hand, it is difficult for us to imagine such a situation. How could he work the soil? How attack a tree? How obtain an implement of any description? In his various operations he had three agents—stone, wood and fire. He sometimes employed the first in the cultivation of his crops, but more often his only implement was a poor hoe made from the shell of the clam or the shoulder-blade of the deer.

On this account he worked no soils but those that were light and easily stirred. Unfortunately, such were quickly exhausted, and then failed to yield abundant returns for his labor. His only means of restoring fertility was in the use of fish as a manure. Menhaden were his chief reliance for this purpose, and on this account the corn-fields were most extensive near the shores. His most important crop was maize, and upon this he relied, very largely, for his subsistence in winter. It was roasted while young, and when matured and dry was ground into meal by stone pestles and mortars, and when this was moistened with water and baked upon heated stones the product was called "nookhik," from which have come "nocake" and "hoe-cake." The grain was preserved after harvest by being buried in the dryest places under a thatch of coarse grass and boughs. Next in importance to maize was the sieva bean. It was extensively raised and boiled alone or with the green-corn. The latter dish was called "succotash." The boiling was accomplished in bowls of steatite, or in vessels of rude pottery. In addition to these, pumpkins were grown. These were readily baked before the fire. Wild fruits and nuts, in their seasons, also contributed to his support and enjoyment. Tobacco was also grown here, but we cannot learn how extensively. With their requirements for food thus met, the Indians here were not destitute of the means of comfortable clothing. The country abounded with fur-bearing animals. Beavers were very numerous. The names of Beaver Meadows, scattered throughout the county, and that of Beaver Dam River, in the upper portion, attest this. Van der Donck, the patron of Yonkers, wrote, in 1656, that eighty thousand of these were annually killed in this quarter of the country. In November, 1624, among the cargo of the first laden vessel from New to Old Amsterdam were 7246 beaver-skins, 675 skins of otters, 48 of mink, 36 wild-cat and various other sorts. In Wassenares' "History of the New Netherlands," it is narrated: "The tribes are in the habit of clothing themselves with otter-skins, the fur inside, the smooth side without; which, however, they paint so beautifully that at a distance it resembles lace. When they bring their commodities to the traders, and find they are desirous to buy them, they make so little matter of it that they rip up the skins they are clothed with and sell them also, returning naked to their homes. They use the beaver-skins mostly for the sleeves and the otter for the rest of the clothes." Their most elegant garments were mantles made of feathers, overlapping each other, as upon the birds themselves. Sometimes these were artistic productions of real beauty. They made leggins and moccasins of deer-skins. The men always went bare-headed, and, in the summer, wore nothing beside a short garment about the loins, called, by the white settlers, "Indian breeches." The women dressed their glossy hair in a thick, heavy plait. Their dress usually consisted of two garments, —a leather shirt and a skirt of the same material fastened around the waist, with a belt and reaching below the knees. From these various considerations, we can understand how a large population could exist in comparative comfort in this section.



MORTAR AND PESTLE[1]

Found near Croton River, in Yorktown. The pestle is 18 inches long.

The Indian houses were made by planting poles in the ground and binding them together at the top. These were covered with bark or thatched with reeds and rushes, so as to be impervious to rain. Their beds were made of evergreen boughs, covered with skins and furs. Their furniture was extremely simple. Besides the before-mentioned pots for cooking, they had wooden bowls for holding their food and wooden spoons for handling it. Mats made of rushes sometimes covered the floors of their huts. They had buckets ingeniously made of birch-bark, so as to be water-tight, and baskets of various sizes, made of

[1] The Indian specimens illustrating this chapter are from the interesting and valuable private collection of Mr. James Wood, of Mt. Kisco, Westchester County.

splints, rushes or grass. Their villages were composed of houses closely huddled together about a central space, which was used for the transaction of public business, for ceremonies and amusements. Besides the manufactures already named there were others that attested the Indian's skill. He made boats of two kinds. One consisted of a light, wooden frame, covered with birch-bark, skillfully and tastefully fastened at the seams; this boat was peculiarly valuable on long journeys, as its lightness allowed it to be easily carried from the waters of one stream to those of another. The other boat was a much heavier affair, fashioned from the trunk of a tree. The wood was charred by heated stones and then scraped away with stone gouges. These boats were sometimes thirty or more feet in length, and were capable of carrying a considerable number of passengers. In some of the sales of land to the white settlers along the Sound the Indians reserved "the white-wood trees, suitable for making canoes of."



PARTLY DRILLED PIECE OF STEATITE.[1]

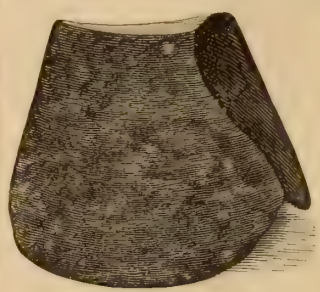
In nothing was the Indian's skill more strikingly shown than in his manufacture of implements of stone. These were mortars and pestles, axes, hatchets, adzes, gouges, chisels, cutting tools, skinning tools, perforators, arrow and spear-heads, scrapers, mauls, hammer-stones, sinkers, pendants, pierced tablets, polishers, pipes and ceremonial stones. Specimens of all these have been found in Westchester County. The mortars were usually bowl-like depressions worn into some rock beside the village site, where the women could conveniently resort to grind the corn. Sometimes they were made in portable stones. The pestles were from two to three inches in diameter and from six to twenty inches in length, and generally of fine sandstone, greenstone or hornblende. Axes were made of varieties of greenstone, syenite, granite, porphyry and sandstone. They may be described as wedges, encircled by a groove near the heavy end. They varied in weight from half a pound to six or eight pounds. The groove was made for securely fastening the handle. This was bound with pieces of raw hide, or sometimes a young tree was cleft while yet growing, and the axe, being inserted, was left in the proper position until the growth had closely formed about it. Adzes, gouges and chisels were made of tough greenstone and hornblende, and were used in the manufacture of their canoes. The cutting tools were leaf-shaped implements made of flint or jasper, finely chipped to an edge, which combined in its cutting the principles of the saw and the knife. There were also flakes of obsidian that had sharp cutting edges. Skinning tools, or celts, were wedge-shaped implements made of many kinds of stone, worked to a fine edge at one end, and generally polished. Perforators were delicately wrought of flint or jasper. Scrapers, were small implements of flint used in dressing skins. Arrow and spear-heads form the best known class of Indian implements, and have been found here in great numbers. They were made of flint, jasper, chert, hornstone, quartz and a variety of other stones. The spear-heads were from two to eight and ten inches in length, while the arrow-points were smaller and lighter, and many specimens of each were beautifully wrought. Some were worked by blows and some by dropping water upon the heated stone. Occasionally throughout the county quantities of flint chips are found on some Indian village site, where the ancient arrow-maker had his workshop. Mauls and hammer-stones were made of several varieties of tough stones. The former were grooved for hafting, and the latter were



HORNBLENDE AXE.
Found in Bedford.



POLISHED FLESHER.



FLESHER WITH HANDLE.

[1] With black flint drill found in hole. These specimens were found at Croton Point, and Mr. James Wood says they are unique.

circular or elliptical, two and a half inches in diameter, or three in greatest length, and an inch in thickness, with slight depressions worked at the middle of the sides for the thumb and finger. They usually show



GROOVED HAMMER,
With castle.



POLISHED AXE.

evidences of wear at the circumference or ends. Large numbers of these have been found along the Hudson. Sinkers were used in weighting the nets, and were simple flat stones, notched at the opposite edges.



HOE OF GREY FLINT, 7¼ BY 5½ INCHES.

Pendants were pear-shaped, pointed at one end and grooved near the other. Pierced tablets were used in twisting the bow-strings or worn as ornaments. Some remarkable specimens of these, notched as if kept as

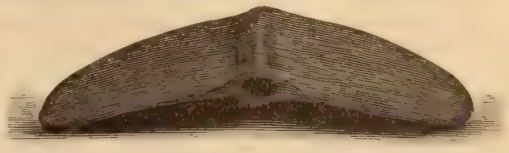


FLINT KNIFE,
8¼ by 3 inches.



FLINT KNIFE,
8 by 3¼ inches.

records, have been found here. Pipes have not been found in great numbers, but some of the specimens are very interesting. They are made of greenstone, steatite and sometimes were fashioned of clay. They represent birds, or the heads of birds, turtles and various animals, the beaver more frequently than others. Ceremonial stones were the most finely wrought of all the Indian's stone-work. They were carried as evidences of rank, or to excite a superstitious reverence. They were wrought from serpentine



CEREMONIAL STONE OF GREEN.

or a fine and beautiful striped slate, and were drilled so that they could be carried upon a rod or handle. This striped slate, so far as is known, was nowhere found nearer than Canada. The few specimens of obsidian found here must have come from the Rocky Mountain region. Three or four spear-heads, hammered from native copper, that have been found here must have been brought from the shores of Lake Superior, while the flints and jaspers, from which so many arrow-heads were made, must have been brought a considerable distance. These facts prove that the Mohegans carried on commerce of exchange with other tribes, and thus obtained articles that had been brought from very remote localities.

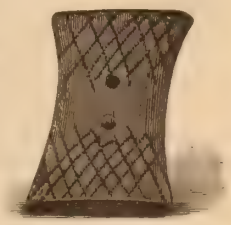


PIERCED RECORD TABLET.[1]

Holes were drilled through stones for ornament or use by a drill of flint, or a reed with water and sand. These were worked by a bow-string.

The bow was an important article of the Indian's outfit, and was his chief weapon in war and in the chase. It was skillfully fashioned from ash or hickory-wood, and was strung with the sinews of the deer.

Another important article of manufacture was wampum, which was their medium of exchange, or money. It was made from the shell of the quohog, or hard-shell clam. It was cylindrical in form, a quarter of an inch long, and in diameter less than a pipe-stem, drilled lengthwise, so as to be strung upon a thread. The beads of a white color rated at half the value of the black or violet, made from the portion where the contracting muscle of the clam is attached to the shell. They were used for ornament as well as for coin, and ten thousand or more were sometimes wrought into the belt of some

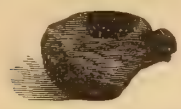


GROOVED HAMMER.

[1] Six by two inches, found in Bedford.

great chieftain. The district about Byram Lake was called Cohemong, which meant the place where wampum is made.

There have been but few unbroken specimens of Indian pottery found in Westchester County, but



BIRD AND TORTOISE PIPE.
Found in New Castle.



DUCKS' HEAD PIPE.
Found in Bedford.

numerous fragments, some of considerable size, are in existence. These are all quite rude, although some show attempts at ornamentation. On Croton Point, where the clay was favorable for this manufacture, a trench has been discovered containing numerous fragments of earthen vessels, along with charcoal, indicating that here may have been a simple kiln for burning pottery.

In the manufacture of all these various articles, some of which required a great amount of labor, be-



BLACK FLINT KNIFE.

sides the time necessarily taken in hunting and fishing and in the cultivation of their crops, our Indians must have been pretty fully occupied, and we can scarcely believe them to have spent so much time in idleness as is generally supposed.

In their domestic relations the Mohegans were not depraved. The lover courted his chosen maiden with presents of ornaments, and won the favor of her parents with gifts of wampum. The consent of the sachem was obtained to their marriage, and he usually joined their hands together and they went away as man and wife. The man had but one wife, unless he was a sachem or occupied an exceptionally high position. The marriage tie was respected, and unfaithfulness was looked upon as a crime. In cases of separation the wife was given her share of the goods and departed, being then at liberty to marry again. The Mohegans were never charged with licentiousness, as were Indians elsewhere. The women were described as modest and coy in their behavior, and they indignantly repelled all improper advances made by the whites. There is no account of any insulting treatment having been offered to female white captives. Children were kindly treated, but knew little of parental restraint. The girls were early taught quiet submission to the labors of their position, and the boys were encouraged to independence, and trained to become skillful in the chase and in war.



FLINT PERFORATOR.



FLINT SKIN SCRAPER.

If any deformed children were born, they must have died in infancy, for the European visitors stated that none were cross-eyed, blind, crippled, lame or hunchbacked; and that all were well-fashioned, strong in constitution of body, well-proportioned and without blemish. They were kind in their treatment of the sick. They had learned the medicinal virtues of many herbs and of a few other simples. They bound



HAND-MADE AND FINGER-MARKED VESSEL OF POT TE

up wounds with mollifying preparations of leaves. They treated fevers by opening the pores of the skin with a vapor bath; but their chief reliance in many diseases was upon supernatural cures. Their medicine-man, or pow-wow, excited their superstitious susceptibilities and worked upon their imaginations, using, with great solemnity, the ceremonial stones already described to assist in his work. Their reliance upon faith-cures was complete.



ORNAMENTAL POTTERY.
Found in Pelham in Indian grave.

It is not known that there were formal ceremonies for burying the dead. The bodies were usually interred in a sitting posture, facing the southwest. With the dead were buried their arms, ornaments, useful utensils, wampum and parched corn for food.

Of the religious belief of the Mohegans we have very little testimony, and even such as we have cannot be considered reliable. In the compass of human

[1] This is of doubtful origin; found deeply buried in a spring near the Indian path "Succabonk," in Bedford.

thought there are no ideas requiring so clear an expression to be correctly understood as those pertaining to religion. The Indian endeavored to express these in a language imperfectly understood by the whites, and naturally the hearers interpreted these expressions according to their own predilections. It is not strange, therefore, that very little has come to us that can be implicitly accepted. But all our witnesses unite upon this important point,—there was no kind of idolatry practiced among the aborigines here. They believed in one all-wise, all-powerful and beneficent Being, whom they called the Great Spirit, and to whom they offered prayer. They also believed in an evil spirit. The former they knew under the name Cantantowit, and the latter under that of Hobbamocko. The former had sent them their corn and beans. A crow first brought a grain of corn in one ear and a bean in the other, from their heaven, which they called the happy hunting-grounds, located in the far southwest. Their highest conceptions of a place of blessings were associated with the southwest, because the wind from that quarter is soft and balmy and an indicator of fair weather. The dead were buried with their faces toward the abode of the blessed.

They believed in rewards and punishments hereafter, and they held that after death the souls of the good went to the home of Cantantowit, far away in the good southwest. There they were delivered from every sorrow and preserved from all suffering. The pleasures they there enjoyed were similar in character with those they had known here, but their perfection was more complete and their abundance exhaustless. The wicked knocked also at the same door, but were denied admittance, and, being turned away, they wandered forever in a state of horror and restless discontent.

It is extremely difficult to form a correct estimate of the Indian's character before that character became changed by contact with the Europeans. History teaches us how quickly an inferior race becomes impressed by the traits of a stronger people coming among them. Unfortunately, that which is evil is much more quickly imitated than the noble and good. Before the European became sufficiently acquainted with the Indian to be capable of judging of his character, that character had been changed by contact with the observer himself, so that he saw, in part, the reflection of himself in the subject before him. At best, there was presented only a dissolving view that was transformed before the observer's gaze. The Indian was immediately called a drunkard, and yet he had no beverage whatever that could intoxicate, and no drug that answered any similar purpose. The first Indian who felt the influence of alcohol found it in the cabin of the "Half-Moon." So, also, with other vices. True, the Indian was a barbarian. He showed no evidence of having been in any way better or more civilized in the seventeenth century than he may have been in the tenth or fifth. With him, might made right. He imposed upon his women and made them his slaves. He had no intellectual exercise, and possessed not even the rudest culture. He was selfish, took pride in the lowest cunning and had no idea of honor, and, of course, no word for expressing it. And yet, bad as he was, on the one hand, he should not be held responsible for the European vices that were engrafted upon him, nor upon the other, should he be judged by standards resulting from centuries of a foreign civilization, or held responsible for the violation of laws of which he had no knowledge.

With the coming of the white man came the fatal sorrows of the Indian. All his world was overthrown. New vices came to his character and new dangers surrounded his home. The one fixed, unchanging and unchangeable factor in his existence, upon which he could implicitly rely, was the land; and now this was snatched from him by devices of which he was totally ignorant. The term "title" conveyed no meaning to his understanding. Acting under the laws of his fathers, and doing only what he had always been taught was right, he found himself accused of gross wrongs under another set of laws of which he had never heard, and whose claim to equity he could not understand. Under the pretense of right, he found himself most grievously wronged, and we cannot wonder that, between such opposite rules of action, the collision of principles quickly resulted in collisions of arms. The contest was inevitable, and, whether it was carried on under the name of war or in the more quiet forms of peace, it was a contest of races, a contest of civilization against barbarism, and the result was inevitable,—the Indian disappeared from the land.

When the "Half-Moon" lay at anchor off the village of Nappeckamak, the Indians soon overcame the terror that naturally accompanied so strange an apparition, and, putting off in their canoes, went on board in large numbers. Their curiosity knew no bounds, and was only restrained by their dread of the supernatural powers the strangers might possess. By Hudson's own statement, he himself first violated faith with them. He detained two of their number on the vessel, and, although they soon jumped overboard and swam to the shore, his act was nevertheless an outrage upon the universal rules of hospitality. He recorded that, when they reached the shore, they called to him "in scorn." Hudson ascended the river to Albany, holding communication with the Indians along the way; and so kind was their disposition toward him, that he wrote of them as "the loving people." On his return he came through the Highlands on the 1st of October, and anchored below the village of Sackhoes, on whose site Peekskill has been built. Here "the people of the mountains" came on board and greatly wondered at the ship and weapons, the color of the men and their dress. De-

scending the river, Hudson found that the Indians at Yonkers were prepared to resent his treatment. The young men whom he had attempted to kidnap came out with their friends in canoes and discharged their arrows at the "Half-Moon," "in recompense whereof six muskets replied and killed two or three of them." The Indians renewed the attack from a point of land (perhaps preceding the vessel to Fort Washington), but "a falcon shot killed two of them and the rest fled into the woods; yet they manned off another canoe with nine or ten men," through which a falcon shot was sent, killing one of its occupants. Three or four more were killed by the sailors' muskets, and the "Half-Moon" "hurried down into the bay clear of all danger."

Hudson returned to Holland, and reported his discoveries to his employers, the Dutch East India Company. During the following ten or twelve years many voyages were made to the shores of the Hudson and the Sound for purposes of trade with the Indians, for their furs and to explore the country. In 1621 the Dutch West India Company was incorporated. Two years afterward it formed trading-stations at New Amsterdam and at Fort Orange, and considerable settlements were made on the sites of the future cities of New York and Albany. In 1626 Manhattan Island was sold by the Indians. In 1639 the first sale of land in Westchester County was made. It included the northern shore of Spuyten Duyvil Creek. Other sales were made by the Indians to the Dutch until, on the 8th day of August, 1699, the Sachems Sackima, Corachpa, Wechrequa, Monrechro and sundry other Indians gave a general deed confirming numerous smaller sales made to Stephanus Van Cortlandt and others, and conveying the lands that were afterward known as Cortlandt's Manor.

In the mean time the Indians were beset on the eastern side of the county as well as the western. The English settlers in Connecticut gradually pushed westward, and coveted the lands of our eastern border. On the 1st of July, 1640, Ponus, sagamore of Toquams, and Wascussue, sagamore of Shippan, sold to Nathan Turner, who acted for the people of New Haven, the tract known to the Indians as Rippowams, and which included the greater portion of what is now Fairfield County, in Connecticut, and a considerable area of the adjoining lands of Westchester. On the 11th of August, 1655, Ponus and Onox, his eldest son, confirmed this sale to the inhabitants of Stamford. Subsidiary to this great sale, numerous others were made,—some of lands included in the above, and others of lands adjacent thereto, like the one made to Thomas Pell, of Fairfield, Conn., in 1654, and to Edward Jessup and John Richardson, in 1663, of tracts adjoining those sold to the Dutch in the southern part of the county. By these sales the Indians disposed of the entire area of Westchester County, except a few insignificant reservations and the right to plant corn upon certain portions for a term of years. Many of these deeds overlapped each other, so that some of the land was sold two or three times. This was done without any dishonest intent on the part of the Indians. They never understood, when giving these deeds, what they meant. As has been already said, they had no comprehension of what we call the title to land. They understood the right of occupation and use, and nothing more. The written deed had no special force in their eyes. Its phrases were incomprehensible. By their law the ownership ceased when the premises were deserted. If the land was not at once occupied, they could sell it again to others. If they drove the new purchasers away by force, they thereby regained ownership. Therefore, in many cases, they insisted, the settlers thought dishonestly, that their original rights remained vested in themselves, and the purchaser was compelled to repeat his purchase for the purpose of obtaining a quit-claim.

It is not necessary here to specify the considerations named in the several deeds, as this matter was the work of the settlers, and will be more fully considered in their connection. They consisted of a few hoes, hatchets, knives, kettles, articles of clothing, rum and "divers other goods." These seem very insignificant to us; but, in justice to the settlers, it must be remembered that values were very different then from what they are now. But the Indian's position is easily understood. He had no correct ideas of value. This coat would make him a king; this knife would be the pride of his life; these trinkets delighted his eyes, or, if a worthier reason influenced him, he remembered how the squaws had toiled in cultivating the corn with a miserable clam-shell, and he rejoiced at the thought of their labor being lightened by the iron hoe that was offered him. By simply placing his mark upon this meaningless paper, all these were secured. At best he but made a virtue of necessity, and was happy to secure these coveted trinkets, the nominal price for giving a nominal consent for the white man to occupy the land.

When Henry Hudson sailed away from the river he had discovered, its shores re-echoed with the war-cries of a people whose confidence he had abused and whose kindred he had slain. The hostility he had awakened was not mitigated by subsequent events, and when, afterward, the traders came, mutual suspicion and distrust were not long in bringing the clash of arms. So soon as the Dutch had made a settlement, their cattle were allowed to run at large for pasturage, and "frequently came into the corn of the Indians, which was unfenced on all sides, committing great damage there. This led to complaints on their part, and finally to revenge on the cattle, without sparing even the horses." In 1626 a Weckquæsgeek Indian, from the vicinity of Tarrytown, while on his way to Fort Amsterdam to exchange his furs, was robbed and killed by men in the em-

ploy of Peter Minuit, the first Dutch Director. The Weckquæsgeek was accompanied by his nephew, who was a boy, and another Indian. The Dutch were not aware of this outrage till long afterward. The boy, true to the principles of his race, treasured a revenge which he believed it to be his duty to exact in manhood. He waited no longer than to reach a warrior's age of seventeen, when he took some beaver-skins to barter, and, stopping at the house of a Dutchman, he killed him while examining the goods. Having thus secured the blood atonement required for the death of a relative, he returned to his home. Governor Kieft demanded the surrender of the offender; but the Weckquæsgeeks refused to give him up. There was great excitement in New Amsterdam. Expeditions to exterminate the Indians were organized; but they accomplished nothing. Finally, a treaty was concluded between the Dutch and the Indians, the former agreeing to some matters required by the latter, on condition that the murderer should be surrendered. But the treaty was never fulfilled by either party. It was a very difficult matter to have an Indian arrested whose actions had been in strict accordance with the laws and customs of his race. Against the advice of the chief men of Manhattan, Governor Kieft had sent a company of eighty men against the Weckquæsgeeks in March, 1642, and although they did little damage, the Indians were greatly incensed thereby. Various causes of irritation had brought the Dutch and Indians into violent collision west of the Hudson, and finally those Indians made common cause with the Weckquæsgeeks, and the Dutch were swept from Westchester, and compelled to take refuge in Fort Amsterdam. "From swamps and thickets the mysterious enemy made his sudden onset. The farmer was murdered in the open field; women and children, granted their lives, were swept off into long captivity; houses and boweries, hay-stacks and grain, cattle and crops were all destroyed." The Indians were now satisfied, and on the 22d of April, 1643, they made a treaty of peace, in which it was declared that "all injuries committed by the said natives against the Netherlanders, or by the Netherlanders against said natives, shall be forgiven and forgotten forever, reciprocally promising one the other to cause no trouble the one to the other." But, in September of that year, war again broke out, beginning with the capture, by the Indians, of two boats descending the river from Fort Orange, and again the Dutch settlers were all driven into Fort Amsterdam. The Weckquæsgeeks attacked the residence of Anne Hutchinson, who had been driven out of New England by the Puritans, and had settled within the present bounds of Pelham, and killed her, her daughter and her son-in-law, and carried her young granddaughter into captivity. She remained with the Indians four years, and was then sent to her friends. She had forgotten her native tongue, and was unwilling to leave the Indians.

Throgmorton's settlement, on Throg's Neck, was also attacked and its buildings burned, while the people escaped in their boats. The position of the Dutch was perilous in the extreme, and had the Indians known their power the whites would have been swept away. Governor Kieft now solicited aid from New England, offering a large sum for men and arms and proposing that New Netherland should be mortgaged to secure the payment of the money. They received the aid, however, of only a few English volunteers. Two companies, one of sixty-five and one of seventy-five men, were soon organized, and the work of retaliation commenced. Quantities of corn were captured upon Staten and Long Islands and an expedition sailed to Greenwich, in Connecticut, and marched through our eastern borders, but accomplished nothing beyond the burning of two forsaken castles and some corn. From these expeditions prisoners were taken to Fort Amsterdam, where they were treated with shocking cruelty, as is recorded in the "Breeden Raedt." A more formidable expedition was then organized. Hearing that a large number of Indians were assembled at their village on the Mehanas, near the present village of Bedford, the force was taken in sailing-vessels to Greenwich and then marched through the snow to their destination, which was reached about midnight. The village consisted of three rows of houses ranged in streets, each eighty paces long. The village was surrounded, the surprised Indians were shot down as soon as they appeared and the houses were set on fire. The inmates preferred to perish in the flames rather than to fall by their enemy's weapons. In this merciless manner five hundred human beings were butchered. Other statements carry the number to seven hundred. The military power of the Indians was now broken and thereafter warlike operations ceased. On the 30th of the following August, 1645, a general treaty of peace was concluded between the Dutch and the Indians of the Lower Hudson, and signed by their respective chiefs—Aepjen, the grand sachem of the Mohegans, representing his people. This treaty was an equitable agreement and was carefully respected. Thus was ended a war which had been carried on for over five years and in which, it was said, over sixteen hundred Indians perished. The Dutch recorded: "Our fields lie fallow and waste, our dwellings and other buildings are burnt, not a handful can be planted or sown this fall on all the abandoned places. All this through a foolish hankering after war, for it is known to all right-thinking men here that these Indians have lived as lambs among us until a few years ago, injuring no one and affording every assistance to our nation."

There are traditions of the slaughter of large numbers of Indians at other points in the county, but they are believed to be unfounded. Mount Misery, near the Sound, has long been said to have derived its name from the slaughter of Indians there by the

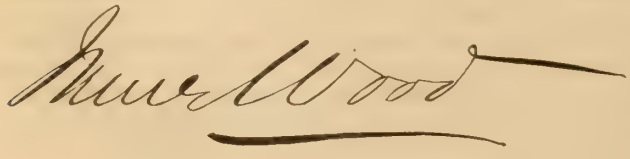
Huguenots of New Rochelle. There is no record of such an engagement, and the story is altogether improbable.

The Indians of Westchester took no part in the Esopus wars of the succeeding years farther up the Hudson, nor did they engage in the French and Indian Wars which rolled so frightfully along the borders of Massachusetts and Connecticut, nor in other wars that followed elsewhere.

The last appearance of Mohegan Indians under arms in Westchester County was during the Revolutionary War, when a company under their chief, Nimham, joined Washington's forces. On the 31st of August, 1778, they took part in the engagement at Tibbet's Brook, on the Van Cortlandt's estate, in Yonkers. They fought bravely and over forty of their number were killed. When Nimham saw that they were surrounded by the British horse, he called to his followers to fly, exclaiming, "I am old and will die here." Ridden down by Colonel Simcoe, he wounded that officer, and was on the point of pulling him from his horse, when he was shot by Simcoe's orderly.

After their great loss, in 1645, the Indians felt that they must inevitably seek other homes. Year by year the increasing tide of settlers was incompatible with Indian occupation, and, although considerable numbers continued for a long time to remain upon the lands they had sold to the whites, they gradually wasted away, many of them moving among their friends farther north, and making Stockbridge, in Massachusetts, the headquarters of the tribe, and finally the remnant that remained was removed thence to the State of Michigan. Their exit from Westchester County was very gradual, for they "loved to linger where they loved so well." At a few points they remained for a long time in considerable numbers, and Indian Hill, in Yorktown, became memorable as the last spot in Westchester County inhabited by a band of aborigines. Yet individual families remained still longer elsewhere.

The Indians vanished from Westchester as noiselessly as the morning mists disappear before the advancing day, inclosed valleys and hidden nooks retaining remnants after the great body had gone. They left behind them so few material evidences of their existence here that we find them only by accident or by careful search. But many of the names applied by them to mountains, streams and localities have been fortunately retained by the white settlers and their descendants, and in their associations and appropriateness add an interesting variety to our local nomenclature.



CHAPTER III.

THE DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY.

BY JAMES WOOD, A.M.
President of the Westchester County Historical Society.

EUROPEANS first came to the section of country now known as Westchester County in the vain endeavor to find an easy sea-way to India and Cathay that received so much of the attention of maritime nations in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The wealth of those far-distant lands had for many ages been borne by slow caravans across the weary stretches of Central and Southern Asia, and had built prosperous cities wherever their rich spices and costly fabrics and precious jewels had found a trading-place. These visible realities had been supplemented by extravagant fables of the riches of the East, until the minds of navigators were inflamed with an eager desire to reach these inexhaustible treasures and bring them quickly home in their ships of the sea, instead of upon the "ships of the desert," as they had so slowly come before. This desire led to great events. It developed navigation into a science. It took the Portuguese around the southern extremity of Africa, to which they gave its auspicious name, because it furnished a good hope of reaching India by sea. It brought Columbus across the Atlantic to discover a new world. It brought great and intrepid navigators to explore the coast of North America from Greenland to the Gulf of Mexico, and, finally, in 1609, it brought Henry Hudson into the river that bears his name, and revealed our beautiful hills and fertile valleys to the gaze of civilized men.

Europeans were very slow to reap a profit, in any intelligent manner, from the discovery of America. Spain first sought to gain some advantage to herself, and, in the blindest way, filled her coffers with treasure and destroyed the peoples who produced the wealth. Caring only for immediate gain, she despoiled the Incas and overthrew the institutions of the Aztecs, and everywhere turned prosperity into ruin. Later, she made a settlement in Florida, whose monuments still remain. The daring fishermen of France sought the shores of Newfoundland in the pursuit of their vocation, and were followed into the St. Lawrence by the flag and arms of their country, where they so tenaciously remained. England waited for the reign of Elizabeth for the enterprise that developed her greatness in every direction and planted colonies in North Carolina and Virginia, and later, showed her energy and colonizing power in the planting of New England. It was reserved for the people of the youngest nation in Europe to occupy the territory between the English settlements which Hudson had first discovered, and here to trade in equity with the aborigines, and to form a set-

tlement of sturdy and intelligent people whose descendants and institutions still remain. In making their settlements, Spaniards, Frenchmen and Englishmen made lofty professions of their desires to convert the heathen to the Christian faith, and, with the utmost inconsistency, they employed the musket and the sword to accomplish their purposes. The Dutch professed only a desire for trade with the Indians, with the same propriety that the most Christian nations to-day seek to extend their commerce, and by treating them with a reasonable show of justice, they found no severe difficulties in their enterprise, while they put to shame the hollow pretensions of their ambitious neighbors.

The long and harassing war by which the Netherland provinces achieved their independence of the Spanish crown had been one of the most remarkable in the world's history. The wealth and power of Spain were considered almost boundless. The revolting provinces were small in area and in population. The contest seemed most unequal, but the same energy, persistence and skill that had wrested their fertile land from the sea defeated the armies of Spain and wore out the endurance of her sovereigns, until, on the 9th of April, 1609, the protracted struggle ended and the independence of the Netherlands was practically acknowledged. During all the contest the Dutch had shown their superiority upon the ocean. Their vessels carried on a profitable commerce in every sea and pushed into that rich trade with the East which had been especially denied them by Spain. To carry on this important trade the East India Company had been incorporated in 1602. Profitable as were their voyages around the Cape of Good Hope, they yet dreamed there might be a shorter route for their vessels, and one in which they would be less exposed to attack. The long-cherished possibility of a northwest passage to the Indian seas was still entertained. Opportunely, an English navigator, Henry Hudson, who had made two voyages to this ever disappointing field of discovery, offered his services. The offer was accepted, and a yacht of eighty tons burden, the Half-Moon, was equipped for a voyage, manned by a mixed crew of Dutch and English sailors, numbering twenty, and sailed from Amsterdam on the 4th of April, 1609, five days before the truce with Spain was signed. Striking the American coast at Nova Scotia, Hudson skirted the shores of Maine and Cape Cod and next reached the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, and, turning northward, passed the coast of Maryland and entered Delaware Bay. Again standing northward, on the 2d of September he sighted the highlands of Navesinck, "a very good land to fall in with and a pleasant land to see," and on the following day he rounded Sandy Hook and entered the lower bay. Hudson spent ten days in exploring the adjacent waters. Then, proceeding up the majestic river that opened before him, on the 13th the Half-Moon was anchored opposite the site of the present city of Yonkers. The voyage was continued as far as the river was found navigable, when Hudson returned, having considerable intercourse with the Indians by the way, until, as he passed our shores and re-entered New York Bay, his men wantonly killed nine of their number. Just one month from the day Hudson arrived inside Sandy Hook the Half-Moon sailed out again to the ocean. On the 7th of November they reached Dartmouth, in Devonshire, England, and there the Half-Moon wintered, Hudson sending a report of his discoveries to his employers in Holland. England, becoming jealous of the advantages that might accrue to her maritime rival by these discoveries, prevented Hudson from returning to Holland, and his connection with the East India Company ended. He never revisited the river that makes his name immortal, but under English patronage he continued the vain search for a sea-way to India and lost his life in Hudson's Bay in 1611. The company abandoned all effort to discover a northwest passage, and made no



CAPTAIN HENRY HUDSON.

attempt to utilize the discoveries that had thus been made. The Half-Moon, surviving her famous commander, was subsequently sent upon a voyage to the East Indies, and was wrecked in 1615 on the island of Mauritius.

Although the East India Company gave no further attention to the region their enterprise had discovered, it was impossible for the active Hollanders not to make an effort to gain some advantage from it. The fur trade had already become an important interest with the Dutch. During the war with Spain they had opened and developed a profitable interchange of commodities with the countries of the Baltic, and they had become the chief distributors of Russian furs to the countries of Europe. Naturally, they soon turned their attention to the prosecution of the fur trade with the Indians of the Hudson River, where beaver, otter and other valuable fur-bearing animals were abundant.

Merchants fitted out vessels and sent them across the ocean under such skillful commanders as the former mate of the Half-Moon and Captains Chris-

tiaensen, Block, De Witt and May. Further explorations of the coast were made, as well as valuable cargoes obtained. Depots for the collection of furs, and a friendly and advantageous intercourse with the Indians, were established. Captain Block's vessel, the "Tiger," was accidentally burned in New York Bay, in 1613, and, without aid from Holland, the intrepid commander and his crew built the first vessel, the 'Restless," ever launched upon American waters. To shelter them, while engaged in the work, the first houses were erected upon Manhattan Island. During the winter the Indians supplied them "with food and all kinds of necessaries."

In the "Restless" Block sailed boldly through the rushing currents of the East River, naming its most dangerous portion "Hell Gate," after a similar situation in a branch of the Scheldt, near Hulst, in Zealand, called "Hellegat." He explored our shore of Long Island Sound, and continued eastward to Cape Cod. The importance of these enterprises increased so that the States-General passed ordinances regulating the trade, and, in 1614, granted a charter to the traders, in which the country was first called "New Netherland." The merchants to whom the charter was granted were not united as a corporation, but were merely participants in a limited monopoly, which they enjoyed in common. They had no powers of government, as they did not contemplate any permanent colonization. Their charter expired by its own limitation on the 1st of January, 1618. By that time trading ports had been established on Manhattan Island and upon Castle Island, near Albany, and doubtless considerable trading had been done with the Indians of Westchester County, but no attempt at settlement had yet been made. There was now much uncertainty as to the best course to pursue in relation to this new territory, whose importance to the traders was daily increasing. Various propositions were considered and dismissed, until, in 1621, the West India Company was organized, and received a charter of almost unlimited powers of government, while it was required to "advance the peopling of this fruitful and unsettled part, and do all that the service of those countries and the profit and increase of trade shall require." The internal organization of the company proved a tedious matter, and it was not until June, 1623, that the plans were perfected and the articles of government were approved by the States-General. Then active preparations were made for the increase of the trade with the Indians and for making a permanent settlement upon the yet unoccupied lands.

Circumstances at home had provided excellent emigrants to undertake the hardships of a settlement in the New World. The protracted struggle with Spain had aroused strong religious animosities. The contest had been largely limited by religious sentiment. Spain was closely attached to the Catholic Church, and so were the southern Netherland provinces of Namur and Hainault, Luxemburg and Limburg, which had refused to join Holland and Zealand in forming the United Netherlands. The northern provinces, which had gained their independence, were strongly Protestant. The Protestants of these Belgic provinces were compelled to leave their homes and seek a residence elswhere. Where should they go? Many established themselves in England and enriched that country with their profitable industries. Opportunely, the West India Company invited settlers to New Netherland. Considerable numbers embraced the offer, and thus the Walloons became the first permanent residents upon the shores of the Hudson, and the first tillers of the soil. They spoke the French language, and were chiefly united with the Hollanders in their common hatred of the Spanish rule. They came here to establish homes for themselves and their children, while the Dutch were chiefly interested in the profits of the fur trade. It thus occurred that the first New Netherland settlement was in its character more Walloon than Dutch.

The refugees from the southern provinces, with a number of Huguenots from France, at first desired to join one of the English settlements in America, and made overtures to this end, but these were not favorably received. When the West India Company gladly accepted them as emigrants to their domain, speedy preparations were made for their departure, and in March, 1623, the new ship "New Netherland," under Captain May, sailed from the Texel with a company of thirty families on board. They reached their destination early in the month of May, in good time to plant such crops as would supply them with necessary food. The few huts erected by Block, ten years before, afforded them shelter. Having the interest of the fur trade more in view than the welfare of the colonists, the members of the company were, unfortunately, dispersed, some going to the South, or Delaware River, and others to Castle Island, near Albany, where Fort Nassau was soon afterward built. May had been appointed Director. The settlers who went to the South River soon returned. Other Walloons came from Holland. In December, 1625, Peter Minuit, himself a Walloon, was appointed Director-General, and Manhattan Island and the adjacent lands soon contained an energetic colony of about three hundred souls.

It is probable that the settlers soon tilled the lands upon the northern shores of the Harlem River, as well as the upper portions of Manhattan Island. In the year 1628, Jonas Michaelius, a clergyman of the Reformed Church, came to New Amsterdam and held religious services in both the Dutch and French languages. He wrote of the settlers and their church attendance:—"Some of them live far away and could not come on account of the heavy rains and storms." This, doubtless, referred to those who lived along the Harlem, as well as those from across the East River. Unfortunately, no records of the colony, for the first fifteen years after its establishment, have been pre-

served, so that we are forced to draw inferences from such collateral statements.

Minuit showed energy and vigor in his administration. To assist him, a council was appointed, with legislative and judicial powers. There was also a secretary of the province and a sheriff. It was soon seen that the rights of the Indians must be respected, as being superior to any European right of discovery and occupation. Minuit, therefore, very justly opened negotiations with them for the purchase of Manhattan Island, and they relinquished their claims thereto "for the value of sixty guilders," which was equivalent to about twenty-four dollars of our money In the light of subsequent events this sum seems most absurdly insignificant, but, under the circumstances, the amount was reasonable and the transaction honorable.

The West India Company wisely encouraged emigration. They brought over horses, cattle and poultry for the use of the settlers. Their farms, called "boweries," showed prosperity. An English observer wrote that the emigrants, "though they be not many, are well chosen, and known to be useful and serviceable, and they (the company) second them with seasonable and fit supplies, cherishing them as carefully as their own families." But the enterprise drew heavily upon the company's treasury, and they soon began to devise means by which private parties might be induced to aid emigration on their own account. At length, for this purpose, it was concluded to endeavor to plant in America a modified feudalism. The feudal system had not flourished in Holland. The free spirit and intelligence of its people were adverse to it. True, the land was mainly in the hands of great owners, but those who occupied them paid a rental, instead of military service, and regarded the owner merely as a landlord, and not as a master. With the increase of wealth from trade and manufactures, the rich merchants were unable at home to satisfy their desires for landed estates, and hence it was proposed to offer them lands in New Netherland. On June 7, 1629, the West India Company issued its "Charter of Privileges and Exemptions," by which any member of the company who should purchase land of the Indians, and found a colony of fifty persons over fifteen years of age, should have a grant of sixteen miles along one bank or eight miles on each bank of any navigable river, and as far inland as the situation would permit. They received the title of Patroon, and were the lords of the people, as well as of the land. The Patroon's authority over his manor was similar to that of a baron in the Middle Ages. He could engage in every trade except that in furs, which was reserved for the company exclusively. The Patroons were required to make prompt provision for the support of a minister and a schoolmaster.

This creation of a second monopoly, within that of the company itself, proved most unfortunate. The wealthy directors took immediate advantage of the company's action before the other share-holders could avail themselves of its privilege, and at once the most desirable territory was seized by a few. Disagreements and dissensions speedily followed. Intelligent emigrants were afraid to place themselves under the control of such grasping masters. Instead of encouraging the settlement of the country, it greatly retarded it, and probably deferred for fifty years the considerable peopling of Westchester County along the Harlem and Hudson Rivers. Manhattan Island was reserved for the company.

The first purchase of Indian lands north of Harlem River was made by the West India Company in 1639. Its bounds were poorly defined. White settlers speedily occupied portions of this tract. They made another purchase of land to the east of this tract in 1640. Herr Bronx made a purchase along the river that bears his name in the following year. The next purchase was made in 1646 by Adriaen Von der Donck, who had been educated at the University of Leyden, and had been admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of Holland. He was the first lawyer who came to New Netherland. He at once received a patent from the company, his lands extending for sixteen miles along the Hudson north of Manhattan Island, and eastward to the Bronx River. It was called Donck's Colony, and its proprietor, invested with all the rights and privileges contained in the charter of 1629, became a member of the order of Patroons. In 1650 a contract was made by the West India Company, with Van der Donck and others, for the transportation of two hundred persons to New Netherland. Yonkers soon became a place of considerable trade with the Indians, and vessels were here loaded for old Amsterdam.

Disputes between the company and the Patroons now became frequent and bitter. Van der Donck, from his legal skill, was prominent in these, and, in 1652, he repaired to Amsterdam to personally appear before the college of the company. It was soon found that the privileges conferred upon the Patroons had been too liberally bestowed. Good Peter Minuit was recalled in 1631 on the charge of having been too easy with the newly-created nobility. He was succeeded by Van Twiller, and he, in turn, by William Kieft.

During Kieft's administration an Indian war, resulting from the murder of an Indian, as is related in the previous chapter, befel New Netherland, and drove the white settlers from Westchester County and threatened the complete destruction of the colony.

Kieft's administration proved unfortunate for the company. It was considered that he had unnecessarily brought on the disastrous war with the Indians, and he had done nothing to remedy the difficulties with the Patroons. The financial affairs of the colony were also unsatisfactory. Very serious were the dis-

cussions in the college of the company as to the correction of the existing evils. Finally new regulations were adopted, and Peter Stuyvesant was appointed Director-General. It was hoped that he would also prove a "Redresser-General." He came to New Netherland in 1646 and assumed the reins of the government as the successor of Kieft.

Stuyvesant's administration was an energetic one on the part of the Director-General, but he was beset with difficulties on every hand. He was anxious to insist on the Dutch claim to all the territory from the Connecticut to the Delaware Rivers, which the English settlers were as emphatic in denying. The English pushed their settlements almost to the Harlem River. On Long Island they claimed entire independence of New Netherland. Stuyvesant had



PETER STUYVESANT.

further troubles with the Indians up the Hudson. The internal affairs of his government were very jarring. Jealousies and disputes were frequent. He was stern in his assertion of authority, but that authority was but poorly respected. To add to his difficulties, he was very insufficiently supported by the college of the company in Amsterdam. The unfortunate organization of the company became more and more apparent. New Netherland was a financial burden. When, therefore, in 1664, in utter disregard of the rights and authority of the Dutch, the King of England gave to his brother, the Duke of York and Albany, the territory between the Connecticut and Delaware Rivers, and Richard Nichols, as lieutenant-governor, with a fleet of four ships and four hundred men, appeared before New Amsterdam, the colony was ripe for a change, and, despite the earnest protests of Stuyvesant, quietly surrendered, and the Dutch authority ceased. It was restored, for a short period only, in 1673.

Although the English now ruled, and New Netherland became New York, the Dutch inhabitants and Dutch institutions remained, and the English were careful to respect the rights and privileges that had existed under their government. The grants made to the Patroons were not interfered with. Adriaen Van der Donck died in 1655, leaving to his wife the colony of Yonkers. She subsequently married Hugh O'Neale. In 1666, Governor Nichols granted a patent to Hugh O'Neale and Mary, his wife, confirming the rights of Van der Donck. There were a number of subsequent transfers of the title to these lands, until they became vested in Frederick Philipse, and a royal charter confirming the same was granted in 1693. Frederick Philipse was from East Friesland, in Holland, and had emigrated to New Amsterdam at an early day, becoming a successful merchant there. He purchased land of the Indians north of Yonkers in 1681, 1682 and 1684, including the present township of Greenburgh. In 1680 and 1684 he purchased portions of the township of Mount Pleasant, and in 1685 he purchased the lands of the present township of Ossining. Thus the great tract of the Philipse manor was brought into an individual ownership.

North of the Croton River the Indians sold lands to a number of parties at various dates. The titles to the most of these lands were afterward secured by Stephanus Van Cortlandt, and were confirmed to him by royal charter in 1697. The Van Courtlandt manor, containing eighty-three thousand acres of land, was thus established, and was held by feudal tenure, requiring an annual payment to the crown.[1]

Under the fostering care of the Philipse and Van Courtlandt families, the settlement of the lands along the Hudson rapidly progressed. English families mingled with the Dutch to a considerable extent, but the Holland emigrants greatly outnumbered them, so that, in the people and their habits, customs and character, the settlements along the Hudson were active with the occupations and reflected the quiet scenes of the homes that had been left behind the dykes that inclosed the mouths of the Rhine and shut out the North Sea.

The Dutch settlers in Westchester County brought hither many of the best qualities that contribute to good citizenship. They were an industrious race, and the situation of their country at home had compelled them to keep their native industry in constant exercise. Their frugality equaled their industry. No one lived beyond his means, and each year something was added to the accumulated capital. The individual was self-reliant, and yet knew the advan-

[1] The regulations of the manors and their history will be given in a subsequent chapter, prepared by Edward F. de Lancey.

tages of concerted action for the common good. Their honesty was proverbial. They were thoroughly imbued with the democratic spirit that, with the freedom of the individual, respected fully both the natural and the acquired rights of others. They valued education. In Holland their free-school system was the best in Europe. Women occupied an exceptionally honorable position, both in society and in the management of affairs, so that they ably assisted in the business of the family in training their children to usefulness and in contributing to the welfare of the community. The Dutch were steadfast in their religious faith, and had a high regard for morality.

Such a people lay solid foundations for their social and political institutions, and they stamped most wholesome and enduring impressions upon the settlements of Westchester County.

The English Settlement.—The introduction of the Reformation into England by Henry VIII. was more nominal than real, and left to succeeding reigns the settlement of many of the great questions involved. The reign of Elizabeth saw the storm steadily gathering, while that of James I. was a time of continual turmoil and strife. The chief disputes were among the Protestants themselves, and mainly concerned the extent to which the changes should go. The people abandoned themselves to the consideration of questions of civil and religious liberty. Dissenters returning from the Continent threw their advanced ideas into the arena of public discussion. During the Commonwealth the spirit of controversy seemed to possess all classes. Questions of religion divided the time with state affairs in the discussions of Parliament. This spirit separated the English people into hostile camps and produced a numerous brood of religious sects.

One of the most important results of all this turmoil was the banishment from England, in the early part of the seventeenth century, of a ship-load of yeomen.

Among the Dissenters, those taking the most extreme positions were called Puritans, because of their efforts to purify the Protestant Church. Compelled to leave their homes, a little company of these sought refuge in Holland. There they remained for twelve years, secure in religious liberty, but dissatisfied with their situation. At one time they looked toward emigrating to New Netherland, and at another to Virginia, but, finally, arrangements were completed for a more northern location, and, in 1620, they crossed the Atlantic and commenced the Massachusetts settlement. Their trials and sufferings in the new home were varied and severe. The settlement grew, however, and it was not long before the spirit of adventure and the desire for better lands led some of them to look for homes in other sections. The Indians had told them of the fertile soil along the Connecticut River, and, in 1633, a few of their number came hither. Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook and others obtained a patent from the British crown for this region, and, in 1636, under their authority, John Winthrop, son of the Governor of Massachusetts, brought a well-equipped company, who formed settlements along the river. In 1637 a fresh colony from England arrived in Boston. It was under the general charge of Theophilus Eaton, with John Davenport, a clergyman of some note from London, as their spiritual adviser. They were a company of wealth and respectability. Remaining but a short time at Boston, they came to Connecticut and securely planted the New Haven colony in the spring of 1638. The land had been purchased from the Indians in the preceding autumn. So soon as they were comfortably established they desired to enlarge their borders, and on the 1st of July, 1640, Nathan Turner, on behalf of the people of New Haven, purchased of the Indians the tract known as Rippowams, extending westward along the Sound and sixteen miles inland. It included a portion of Westchester County.

A settlement was soon made at Stamford and another at Greenwich. On November 14, 1654, Thomas Pell, of Fairfield, Conn., purchased of the Indians the lands lying immediately east of those occupied by the Dutch, and which were afterward included in Pelham manor. The Dutch were greatly disturbed thereby. Thirty years later the Indians conveyed a portion of these lands to the inhabitants of Westchester. In 1660, 1661 and 1662, John Budd, Peter Disbrow, John Coe and Thomas Stedwell made purchases from the Indians of lands along the Sound, west of Greenwich, included in the southeastern portion of Westchester County. In 1661, John Richbell, of the island of Barbadoes, West Indies, purchased of the Indians a tract lying between the lands purchased by Pell and those just mentioned, and extending a long distance inland. His title to this was confirmed by letters patent issued by Governor Lovelace in 1668. In 1696 the widow of John Richbell conveyed these lands to Colonel Caleb Heathcote, who also made additional purchases of the Indians. All these were confirmed by a royal patent in 1701, creating the lordship and manor of Scarsdale, which included the present towns of Mamaroneck and Scarsdale and portions of White Plains, North Castle and New Castle.

We thus see that all the lands of the county bordering upon Long Island Sound had come into the hands of the English proprietors, regardless of the claims of the Dutch West India Company, under their purchase from the Indians in 1640.

These purchases were followed by the coming of English settlers, nearly all of whom were from Connecticut. But they had been preceded by others who had here sought a refuge from religious intolerance and persecution. Anne Hutchinson, with her husband, William, and their children, had come to Boston

in 1634. She was the daughter of the Rev. Francis Marbury, of Lincolnshire, England. By her mother, she was connected with the family of the poet Dryden. Her religious views did not harmonize with those of the Puritans, and she was driven out of the colony. She first went to Rhode Island, but afterward sought peace and security near the Dutch settlement in New Netherland. She settled with her family upon Pelham Neck in 1642. Soon afterward John Throckmorton and thirty-five families, who found the intolerance of the Puritans unendurable, asked permission of the Dutch authorities to settle near them. Their request was granted, and they located upon what is now known as Throg's Neck, in the town of Westchester. The Dutch called this section Vredeland—the land of peace. In the disastrous Indian war, that threatened the destruction of the Dutch settlement and so alarmed Governor Kieft, the Indians murdered Mrs. Hutchinson and her family, except a young granddaughter, who was carried into captivity, but was afterward restored. They also attacked Throckmorton's settlement, destroyed the buildings and cattle and compelled the people to flee to their boats for safety.

The English settlements along the Sound steadily grew and soon assumed considerable importance. Locations were chosen at the heads of the numerous bays putting in from the Sound, where water communication was available and where the surrounding lands could be easily reached. The old "Westchester Path" had long been used by the Indians and furnished the whites with the best inland communication. The fields that the Indians had cultivated were already cleared for the whites, and enabled them at once to raise the necessary food for their support. Gradually the settlers pushed inland and made additional purchases from the Indians. In 1683 the inhabitants of Rye bought lands about White Plains. Their claims to these were disputed by John Richbell; but Rye settlers went upon them and considered White Plains a portion of their territory.

While the southeastern portions of Westchester County were being peopled from Connecticut, the more northern portions also received similar attention. The people of Stamford followed the Indian trail leading inland, and came to the attractive lands at the bend of the Mianus River, near the present village of Bedford, where the Indians had a village and cultivated their fields of maize, pumpkins and sieva beans. They purchased of the Indians, in 1655, lands about Bedford in addition to those purchased by Nathan Turner, in 1640, and, subsequently, other minor purchases were made. In 1680 the tract known as the Hop Ground was bought, and John Cross, going up from Stamford to inspect it, described the river that has since borne his name. In the spring of 1681 twenty-four Stamford men and their families moved to these lands, and the village of Bedford was begun. Poundridge and Salem were settled from the same source.

While the growth of these settlements was not rapid, it was steady and healthful. The people gradually became rooted to the soil. After wandering so far, they were content to remain in the quiet enjoyment of their new homes. Nearly all those who settled in the eastern portion of the county were Dissenters, who afterwards became Presbyterians when that order of church government was established. They considered themselves a part of the colony of Connecticut and their location within the Connecticut jurisdiction. The boundary between the two colonies was not then established, and when New York attempted to enforce its claim to this section, the people of Rye, White Plains and Bedford stoutly protested. They long sent delegates to the Connecticut Assembly and were an integral portion of that people. Continued controversies with the Dutch and with the English authorities of New York had led them to entertain no friendly feeling toward that colony, and when at length they were compelled to submit to its authority they felt sorely aggrieved. They were an intelligent, sturdy, enterprising and pious people, with the true Puritan sternness of morals and devotion to duty. Wherever they located, the church and the school-house were immediately erected. England never sent across the Atlantic better material for planting her colonies and extending her civilization.

Beside the Puritans, who came from Connecticut, another English element came into Westchester County after the transfer of New York to the English, in 1664. The Governors sent over by the Duke of York were accompanied by numerous officers and retainers, who were no sooner established in their new positions than they began to look about them for lands for themselves and their families. Naturally, Westchester County offered an inviting field for their purpose and many of them settled there. They were nearly all Episcopalians, and through their influence many of the Protestant Episcopal Churches upon Manhattan Island and in this county were established.

They were compelled to purchase lands from those who had obtained titles before them. The Philipse and Van Cortlandt manors occupied the territory along the Hudson and across the northern portion of the county, north of the Croton River, and the New England purchases covered all the lands along the Sound and up the Connecticut border. But the idea was somehow started among the New York officials that there was still some unoccupied and unclaimed territory in the central portion of the county. This was hastily sought for by numerous parties, and land grants and patents were obtained far in excess of the available lands, and which overlapped each other in a manner that makes it impossible now to map them. The most of these centred about the present town of North Castle.

THE HUGUENOT SETTLEMENT.—Simultaneously with Luther's work in Germany thereformed ideas were widely spread in France. They were born on French soil, but were greatly strengthened by the progress of the Reformation in Germany, and grew rapidly under the active influences of Geneva. French Protestants were not long in drawing into two classes,—the Lutherans and the Huguenots. Their numbers increased so rapidly that, in the reign of Henry II., they entertained hopes of becoming the dominant political party, aided, as they were, by the fact that several members of the royal family and numerous high officials were united with them. Their greatest strength was with the upper classes. In 1569 it was recorded that one-thirtieth of the common folk and one-third of the nobles were Huguenots. The union of political ambition and religious faith was unfortunate, but unavoidable in that age. The more nearly even the balance of power, the more eager were the rivalries and the more bitter the animosities. Now the Protestants were persecuted and then they were encouraged.

In 1572 the King's sister became the wife of Henry of Navarre, who was the Huguenot leader. The leading Protestants were invited to Paris to the nuptials, where, on the night of St. Bartholomew, a general massacre of the Protestants was begun, instigated by Catharine de Medici, the Queen mother. The Huguenots stoutly defended themselves throughout France, although great numbers were slain. The tide of their fortunes constantly ebbed and flowed. In 1598, Henry IV. issued the famous Edict of Nantes, which was helpful to both Catholics and Protestants, reproducing the more favorable and tolerant of former edicts. Under Louis XIII. their rights were again attacked, which led to an unlucky league with England, and resulted in the siege and capitulation of their city of Rochelle. Then their treatment was again tolerant, and they loyally fought for Louis XIV., which that sovereign illy repaid by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685.

Before this crowning injustice great numbers had escaped from their inhospitable country. Over one million of the best and thriftiest citizens of the land now sought refuge elsewhere, and more than one-half of the commercial and manufacturing industries of the kingdom were crushed, resulting in stagnation and distress on every hand. Thus France at once suffered for her cruelty and wrong.

The Huguenots scattered throughout the world, blessing every country they visited by the addition of their intelligence, refinement, virtue and industry. Great numbers went to England, causing silk manufacture and other important industries to flourish there; others went to Ireland, making her linen and poplin manufactures the most important in the world; some went to Switzerland and some to Germany, and many crossed the Atlantic to seek peaceful homes and assured liberty in the New World.

Their trials and sufferings and heroic steadfastness, with the blessings they carried to many lands, make the story of the Huguenots one of the saddest and, at the same time, one of the brightest known to history.

Of those who crossed the Atlantic, many settled in South Carolina, and gave to that colony and State much of their prominence. A few settled in Virginia and a few in Delaware and Pennsylvania, and more in Maryland. A considerable number went to Massachusetts; an important settlement was made by them in Ulster County, N. Y., and a goodly number came to Westchester County.

As has already been stated, the purchase of lands from the Indians by Thomas Pell, of Fairfield, Conn., was confirmed to him by Governor Nichols, in 1666. In 1669, Thomas Pell devised the manor of Pelham to his nephew, John Pell, and this was confirmed by Governor Dougan in 1687. At this time a remarkable man had attained prominence in the city of New York,—Jacob Leisler—who was a native of Germany. He came to America in 1660 as a private soldier in the service of the Dutch West India Company. Leaving the army, he engaged in the Indian trade, with great success, and acquired a considerable fortune. Under Dougan's administration, in 1683, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the Admiralty Court, and, when Dougan was succeeded by Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson, Leisler, as captain of the militia, intimidated Nicholson so that he left the province and went to England.

A committee of safety appointed Leisler "Commander-in-Chief of the Province," and when, in December, 1689, a communication was received from the English crown, addressed "to such as, for the time being, takes care for preserving the peace and administering the laws in his majesty's province of New York," Leisler construed it as an appointment of himself as the King's Lieutenant-Governor. He assumed the dignity and authority of this position, and when, in the spring, Slaughter arrived with a commission as Governor, Leisler questioned his identity and refused him recognition. He was arrested and imprisoned, tried for treason, and most unjustly condemned, and was executed on the 17th of May, 1691.

On the 20th of September, while Leisler was exercising the full power of a Governor in all civil and military matters, John Pell, lord of the manor of Pelham, conveyed to him for the consideration of sixteen hundred and seventy-five pounds and five shillings sterling, "all that tract of land lying and being within said manor of Pelham, containing six thousand acres of land, and also one hundred acres of land more, which the said John Pell and Rachel, his wife, do freely give and grant for the French church erected, or to be erected," etc. This tract constitutes the present township of New Rochelle.

Leisler had shown in New York great interest in the Protestant religion, and to him a company of

Huguenots, who had been eight years in England, made application to secure for them a location in the province of New York. Their attention had been attracted to this locality in previous years. Individual Huguenots had purchased several parcels of land here in 1686 and succeeding years, when their settlement began. Leisler's purchase was made for the Huguenots. In the following year he conveyed these lands to them, when his connection with the settlement ceased.

Some of the Huguenots came here by way of the West Indies, but the greater portion came from England. The main company landed at what is known as Bonnefoy's Point, in Echo Bay, adjoining Davenport's Neck. Numbers continued to arrive until the year 1700. Their new home was named in honor of that from which many of them had been driven,—the city of La Rochelle, in France.

Bound together by the memories of bitter sufferings, endured in common by their religious interests and by warm friendships, and separated from their neighbors by a different language, the Huguenots long remained a compact body in New Rochelle. In after-years numbers settled in the northern portions of the county, where many of their names are still found.

The influence of the Huguenots upon the people of Westchester County has been important. Their earnest religious faith, their sterling integrity, their energy of character and their intelligence, refinement and courtesy have left most valuable impressions that still remain.

THE QUAKER SETTLEMENT.—The Society of Friends, called Quakers, was the outcome of the religious awakening that followed the Reformation in England. The changes from the Roman Catholic Church were variously graduated by different Protestant believers. The Quakers carried the principles of the Reformation to their logical conclusion. Claiming the complete spirituality of the gospel dispensation, they denied all outward rites and ceremonies, and insisted that the types of the Jewish ritual were fulfilled and ended in Christ. They acknowledged no order of priesthood but the universal priesthood of believers. They held that Christ as the head of His church chose and commissioned whom He would to preach His gospel, and that no human ordination was of any avail; and they taught the doctrine of the immediate and perceptible influence of the Holy Spirit upon the individual soul of man. These positions were so radical that many good people thought them dangerously wild, and, as a consequence, the Quakers were almost everywhere persecuted.

George Fox, the founder of the sect, was born in Leicestershire, England, in 1624. After he began to preach, in 1647, his life was little more than a journey from one prison to another. But this attracted the public attention, so that great numbers flocked to hear him when opportunity offered. His converts came from nearly every rank of society, and the kingdom seemed to swarm with them.

Quakers first came to America in 1656. They attempted to settle in Massachusetts. The story of their persecutions there is well known. Remembering the age and the temper of the times, we must judge these persecutions leniently. From the Puritan standpoint, the Quaker had no right to go there. The Puritans had come to Massachusetts to establish a religious, not a civil, commonwealth. Only members of their church were eligible to citizenship. The Quakers claimed that, as Englishmen, they had a legal right to visit and to live wherever the English flag proclaimed English jurisdiction. This claim rested upon the clause in the Massachusetts charter which expressly guaranteed "all liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects of the realm to all Englishmen 'which shall go to and inhabit' Massachusetts, or which shall happen to be born there, or on the seas in going thither or returning from thence." The result of the contest was one of those sad episodes in history over which, in this age, it is better to throw the mantle of charity, with devout thankfulness that our lot is cast in better times.

The persecutions of the Quakers in Massachusetts turned the stream that continued to cross the Atlantic, and led to their settlement in Westchester County. That settlement was almost entirely made by the way of Long Island. Very naturally, the Quakers looked to the Dutch for religious toleration. The Puritans themselves had gone to Holland to find religious liberty when they had been compelled to flee from England. Many others besides Friends came to Long Island from Massachusetts to escape the religious restraint there. The first of these, who afterward became connected with Friends, was Lady Deborah Moody. She settled at Lynn, in Massachusetts, in 1640, and received a grant of four hundred acres of land. Governor Winthrop thus speaks of her in his journal: "In 1643, Lady Moody was in the colony of Massachusetts, a wise and anciently religious woman, and being taken with the error of denying baptism to infants, was dealt withal by many of the elders and others, and admonished by the church of Salem, whereof she was a member, but persisting still, and to avoid further trouble, etc., she removed to the Dutch, against the advice of her friends." On the 19th of December, 1645, Governor Kieft, of New Amsterdam, issued a general patent for the town of Gravesend, Long Island, to Lady Deborah Moody, Sir Henry Moody, her son, George Baxter and James Hubbard, their heirs and successors, "to have and enjoy free liberty of conscience, according to the customs and manners of Holland, without molestation." Gravesend was planted entirely by English settlers from Massachusetts, and, unlike the "five Dutch towns," which constituted the rest of Kings County, the records, which are still well preserved, were kept from the commencement of the settlement in the English language.

Friends came to Gravesend in considerable numbers in 1657. Many of the inhabitants embraced their doctrines, and their first religious meeting on Long Island was established there. It was recorded that "meetings were held at the house of Lady Moody, who managed all things with such prudence and observance of time and place as to give no offense to any person of another religion; so she and her people remained free from molestation."

Flushing was similarly settled by refugees from Massachusetts. They were careful to have inserted in their charter, granted by Governor Kieft on the 10th of October, 1645, a clause permitting them "to have and enjoy the liberty of conscience according to the manner and custom of Holland, without molestation from any magistrate or any ecclesiastical minister that may pretend jurisdiction over them." In 1657 Friends came to Flushing with several able preachers among their number. Many of the other inhabitants attended their meetings. Governor Stuyvesant had failed in his efforts to induce the people to accept and support a minister whom he had sent there, and he soon commenced a persecution of the Quakers only second to that so much better known in Massachusetts. In the official instructions given by the directors of the Dutch West India Company, the official oath required "the maintenance of the Reformed Religion in conformity to the word and the decrees of the Synod of Dordrecht, and not to tolerate in public any other sect."

In this the Governor had an excuse for his treatment of the Quakers. Some were imprisoned for a long time. Some were severely flogged, and a prominent member was sent to Holland to be tried before the company's college. He was at once released by the college and returned to his home, while a severe reprimand was sent to Stuyvesant. An ordinance of the New Amsterdam Council, enacted in 1662, provided severe penalties for holding public meetings for worship by any "besides the Reformed religion." The Quakers rapidly increased in numbers, and meetings were established at Flushing, Oyster Bay, The Farms, The Kills, Newtown, etc., in quick succession. In the year 1672, George Fox, the founder of the sect, visited America and attended the meetings on Long Island.

Flushing was the headquarters of the Quakers, and from that town the principal emigration to Westchester County took place. In the autumn of 1672 two Quaker ministers visited Rye, "in Governor Winthrop's government," and held meetings there. The first who settled here located in the town of Westchester. When the first meeting was held there we cannot learn, but one was in existence in 1685. Soon afterward numbers of Quakers settled in Mamaroneck. In 1695 a step was taken that proved of great moment in the future settlement of Friends in Westchester County. John Harrison, of Flushing, purchased of the Indians a tract of land about nine miles in length and nearly three in width, "bounded on the north by the Rye Ponds, on the east by Blind Brook, on the west by Mamaroneck River, and on the south by the lands of Joseph Budd." The Indians reserved "such whitewood trees as shall be found suitable to make canoes of." In the same year Governor Fletcher ordered the survey of the purchase, and soon after Harrison, and four others associated with him, received a patent for the whole tract. The people of Rye claimed this land as a part of their territory; but, as they had taken no patent for their lands from the government of New York, their claims was not regarded. In 1685, Governor Dongan had ordered the inhabitants of Rye to appear and prove their title to their lands; but, considering themselves under Connecticut jurisdiction, they disregarded the order. Harrison's purchase was made for the settlement of Friends from Long Island. They called it "The Purchase," and it is still so known. The emigration began as soon as the interests of the patentees who were not Friends were purchased, and the necessary arrangements completed. Large numbers then came across the Sound. In 1704 the Court of General Sessions recorded the places where the Quakers held public meetings for worship, as directed by act of Parliment for all Dissenters, as being at Westchester and Mamaroneck. Soon afterward two other meetings were established in Harrison's purchase.

As soon as the lands of Harrison's purchase were occupied, a movement began that placed the Quakers in possession of a large portion of the central line of the county. The Dutch, who had settled along the Hudson River, and the English, who occupied the towns along the Connecticut border, entertained no very friendly feelings for each other. Their enmity and jealousies kept them apart, and, on this account, a district of considerable width running north and south between them had remained comparatively unoccupied. Into this the Quakers rapidly pushed, purchasing the lands from those who had obtained titles therefor. The line of settlement ran through the present towns of Harrison, North Castle, New Castle, Yorktown, Lewisborough and North Salem, and through Putnam, Dutchess and Columbia Counties. In the town of Harrison, and in some of those just named, the Quakers constituted for a considerable time a majority of the inhabitants, while a great number afterward emigrated to the northern and central portions of the State.

NEGROES.—In the West India Company's charter of "Privileges and Exemptions" for the Patroons, for the purpose of encouraging agriculture, the company agreed to furnish the colonists with "as many blacks as they conveniently could." These they brought from the West Indies, and negro slavery existed in Westchester County almost from its first white settlement. The English settlers were not adverse to availing themselves of the supposed advantages of negro labor. The Quakers brought slaves with them

from Long Island. While slavery thus existed throughout the county, the number of slaves was never large. About the year 1698 a cargo of negroes brought from the coast of Guinea was landed at Rye, in the interest of Frederick Philipse, of Philipse manor.

Slavery continued to exist, without any protest against it, until the Quakers took action to free the slaves held by their members. In 1767, Purchase Quarterly Meeting sent the following minute to the Yearly Meeting, then held at Flushing: "If it is not consistent with Christianity to buy and sell our fellowmen for slaves, during their lives and their posterity after them, then whether it is consistent with a Christian spirit to keep those in slavery that we have already in our possession by purchase, gift or any other ways." This was just twenty years before Wilberforce took his first step in England against the slave trade. The subject was continually before their meetings until the last slave held by a Friend was set free, in 1779. But they did not leave the matter there. In 1781, Purchase Monthly Meeting, in session at Chappaqua, decided "to appoint a number of solid, judicious Friends as a committee to perform a visit to such Friends who have set their negroes free, and inspect into the circumstances of such negroes and afford them advice, both with respect to their spiritual and their temporal good, as they may be enabled to do; and endeavor to find what in justice may be due to such negroes as may have spent the prime of their days in the service of their masters." The committee were directed to determine the amount so due, where the late masters were willing to leave it to their judgment. They were also directed to see that provision was made for the proper education of the negro youth. Reports were made from time to time of the progress of this work, until, in 1784, it was recorded that "proper settlements had been made between the Friends who had set their negroes free and the negroes so set free."

Others followed the example set by the Quakers in freeing their slaves, so that, by the end of the century, but few slaves remained in the county. All slaves in the State of New York were made free by law on 4th of July, 1827.

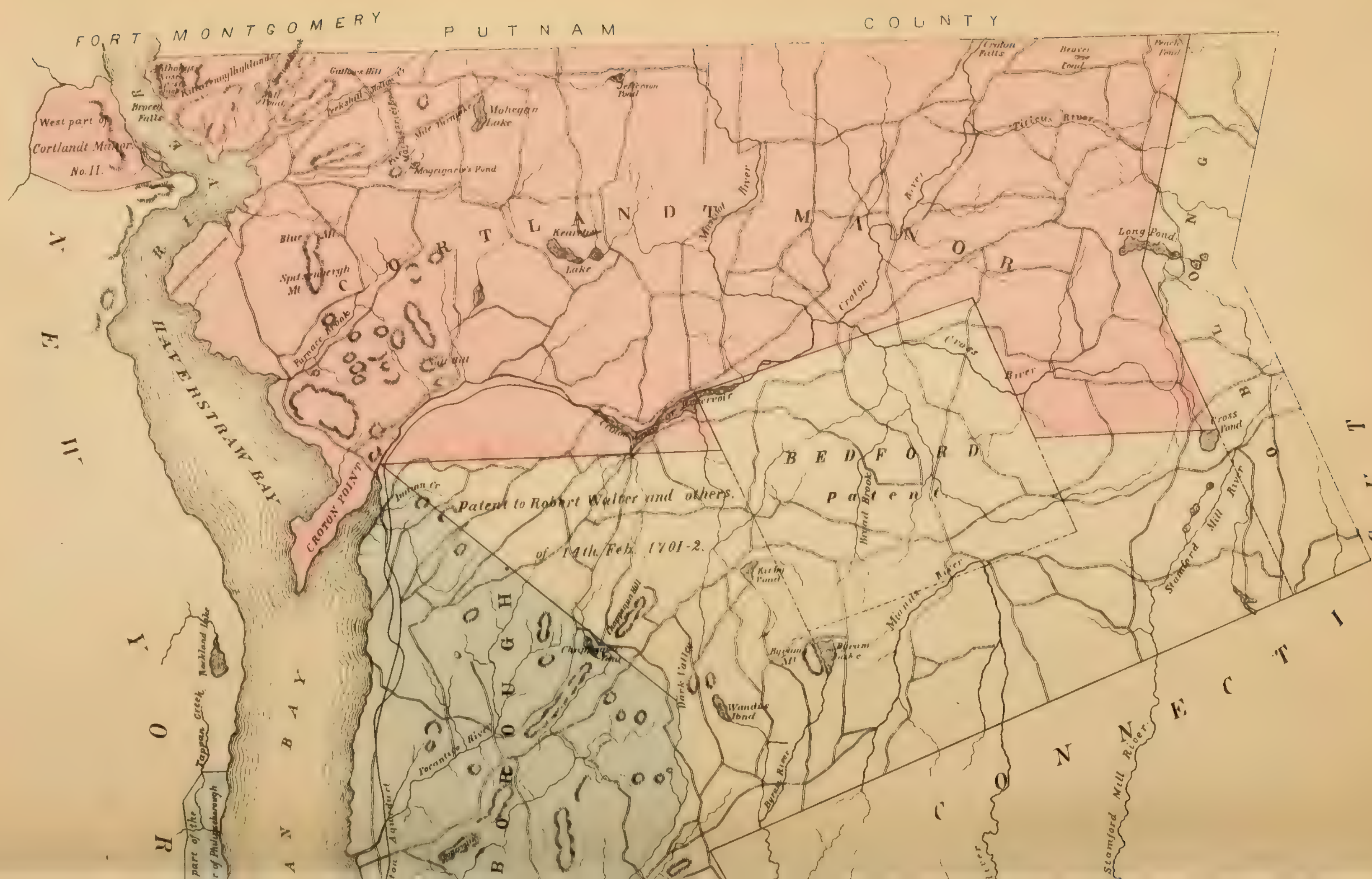
When the Quakers of Purchase liberated their slaves they settled them upon their rough lands in the northwestern portion of the town of Harrison, and thus the negro community, still existing northeast of the village of White Plains, was begun. Some of the slaves liberated in the northern portion of the county collected into a smaller settlement near the village of Bedford. These were the largest colonies of negroes in the county.

Occupations of the Early Settlers.—The first settlers in Westchester, like those who located elsewhere, had many difficulties to overcome besides those usually attending the occupation of a new country. Every native animal and bird was new to them and every plant unknown. The planting of every crop was an experiment, and the requirements of its successful cultivation were not understood. It is true that the cereals they brought across the Atlantic succeeded well here, but the climate was uncertain to them and the seasons differed greatly from those of their native lands.

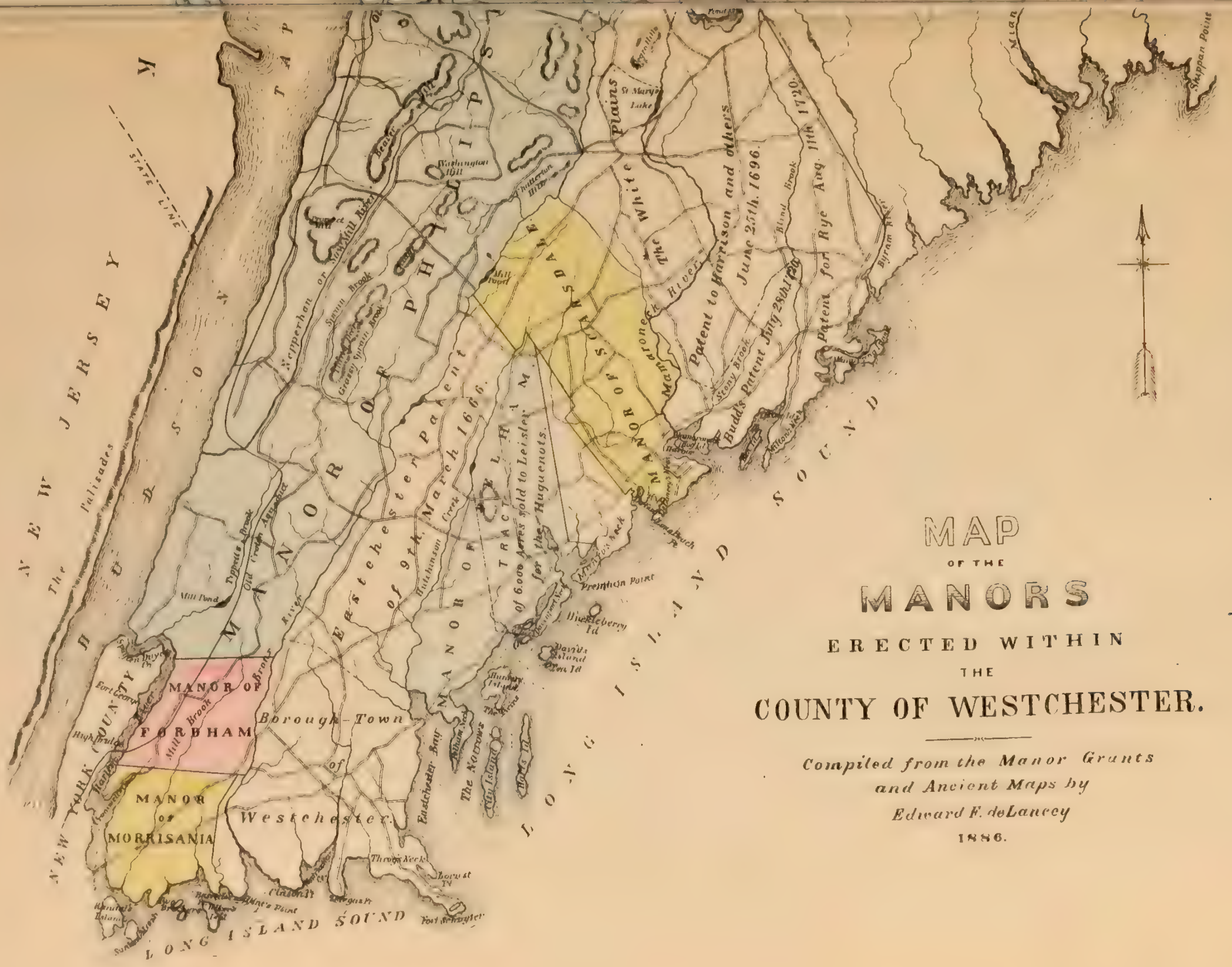
The maize, upon which the Indians so largely subsisted in winter, was strange to them, and its preparation as food had to be learned, while their palates were slow in appreciating its excellence. The heat of summer and the continued cold of winter were found most trying. The animals they brought with them were greatly reduced by their long voyages and then had to endure the trials of acclimatization. As there were no mills for sawing lumber, the houses were constructed of stones and logs, while the necessary boards were obtained only by tedious hand labor. The shingles were riven from straight-grained chestnut timber and the laths from easy-splitting oak.

The whole country was covered with dense forests, except the parcels cleared by the Indians, and these had become exhausted of their fertility by continuous cropping with corn, and the settlers had no means of obtaining the necessary manure for their enrichment. After the trees had been removed from fresh fields the soil was generally very stony and difficult to cultivate.

When the settlers had become well established and lived in comfortable homes, their circumstances were rude and their occupations truly primitive. They had no roads other than the tortuous paths that led from one settlement to another, and over these nearly all their transportation was done by oxen, yoked to rude and cumbersome carts. The wheels were constructed from roughly-hewn oak with strong felloes, upon which pieces of iron were spiked to protect them from wear. They had no continuous tires. Wagons were very rare. Oxen also performed nearly all the animal labor of the farm. There were but few horses. These were chiefly used under the saddle, the women often riding upon pillions behind the men. Until mills for grinding grain were built, the flour was made by hand-grinding in a mortar, and afterward, the mills being few in number, much of the grain was carried long distances upon the backs of horses. Nearly everything used in the family was raised and manufactured upon the premises. Flax was an important crop and its preparation consumed much time and labor. It was dressed, spun and woven at home. During the greater portion of the year the people wore only linen garments and their beds were also furnished with linen coverings. The fleeces of their sheep were scoured, carded, spun and woven by the hands of those who wore the woolen clothes in winter and slept under the blankets they had themselves made. The loom occupied a room in nearly every house. The skins of their animals were tanned and dressed at home, the tan-vat being a nec-



FORT MONTGOMERY
PUTNAM COUNTY
CORTLANDT MANOR
West part of Cortlandt Manor. No. 11.
BEDFORD Patent
Patent to Robert Walter and others. of 14th Feb. 1701-2.
CROTON POINT
HAVERSTRAW BAY
NEW YORK
CONNECTICUT
Mohegan Lake
Croton Falls
Titicus River
Long Pond
Cross Pond
Stamford Mill River
Croton River
Cross River
Broad Brook
Byram Lake
Wampus Pond
Dark Valley
Byram River
Rockland Lake
Tappan Creek
Furnace Brook
Blue Mt
Spitzenbergh Mt
Gallows Hill
Kirby Pond
Mianus River
Jefferson Pond
Bronck Falls


MAP
OF THE
MANORS
ERECTED WITHIN
THE
COUNTY OF WESTCHESTER.
Compiled from the Manor Grants
and Ancient Maps by
Edward F. deLancey
1886.
NEW JERSEY
The Palisades
STATE LINE
HUDSON
NEW YORK COUNTY
MANOR OF PHILIPSE
MANOR OF FORDHAM
MANOR OF MORRISANIA
MANOR OF SCARSDALE
MANOR OF PELHAM
TRACT of 6.000 Acres sold to Leisler for the Huguenots.
Westchester Patent of 9th March 1666.
Borough-Town of Westchester.
Patent to Harrison and others June 25th. 1696.
Budds Patent July 28th 1720.
Patent for Rye Aug. 11th 1720.
The White Plains
Mamaroneck River
Nepperhan or Sawmill River
Bronx River
Mill Brook
Stony Brook
Blind Brook
Byram River
St. Marys Lake
Mill Pond
Tippetts Brook
Old Croton Aqueduct
Hutchinson Creek
Eastchester Bay
The Narrows
Harts Id
Hunters Island
Huckleberry Id
Davids Island
Prespitian Point
Throgs Neck
Fort Schuyler
Clasons Pt
High Bridge
Fort George
Spuyten Duyvil
LONG ISLAND SOUND
Shippan Point

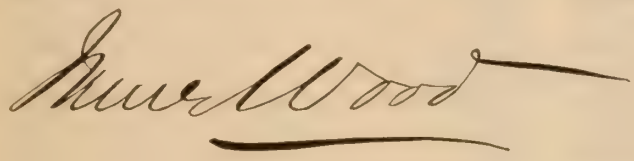
essary adjunct to every well-regulated establishment. The people made their own shoes or were supplied from leather of their own making by the itinerant shoemaker, who sojourned with the family till his work was completed. In the preparation and manufacture of so many articles all the members of the family were employed, and each home was the scene of busy industries, furnishing all its inmates with a practical education that made them useful and self-reliant.

Their tables were furnished with simple and wholesome food, usually served in one dish, in the centre, from which each person helped himself as he required. Many of the dishes were of wood, but most of pewter, and these were valued heirlooms in the family.

The wealthier houses had dishes of delftware which their owners had brought with them across the Atlantic.

Our fathers knew nothing of ease. Stern necessity kept them ever on the alert. By nature they were active and full of courage. Difficulties never disheartened them, but nerved them to greater effort. They manfully overcame the obstacles that beset them; from rough materials they hewed homes of comfort and contentment; they reared their families to virtue and usefulness, and their children rose up to call them blessed.

Those were rich streams that flowed into Westchester County: the Dutch, the Puritan, the Huguenot and the Quaker. Each fought its battle for civil and religious liberty. Each knew the rights of humanity, and, knowing, dared achieve them. Flowing together, they gave to Westchester more strains of good blood than any other section can boast, and they furnished an unequaled foundation stock for peopling the county and the State.



CHAPTER IV.

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF MANORS IN NEW YORK, AND IN THE COUNTY OF WESTCHESTER.

BY EDWARD FLOYD DE LANCEY, ESQ.

Copyright, 1886.

1.

The Indian Owners of Westchester.

The Europeans who, it is certain, first beheld any part of what is now the County of Westchester, were Henry Hudson, and his mixed crew of Hollanders and Englishmen. They sailed up the great "River of the Mountains" in the yacht Half-Moon of Amsterdam, flying the orange white and blue flag of the United Provinces, on the thirteenth and fourteenth days of September, 1609.[1]

They were the earliest civilized men to gaze enraptured on the beautiful land of Westchester. They saw before all others, her lofty hills, rich valleys, and deep magnificent forests, glowing in the transparent air and warm sun of Autumn beneath the bright blue sky of America.[2]

They sailed up the river as far as the site of Albany and then slowly returned. On the second of October, they anchored at the historic inlet of Spyt-den-Duyvel, their progress being checked by a strong flood tide. Here, they first met the tawny, well formed, brown eyed, people, clad in skins and adorned with feathers, who then ruled over Westchester; and most unhappily as enemies. The cause was this. While still in the lower bay the Half-Moon, on the 9th of September, was threatened by some canoes full of savages. Hudson therefore detained two Indians as hostages, "putting red coats on them." Six days later, when she had got into the Highlands, the two Indians escaped through a port and swam ashore. When she stopped at Spyt-den-Duyvel on her return, one of the escaped Indians, and others, in a canoe, with some more canoes of Indians, tried to board her. Being repelled, they made an attack with bows and arrows, supported by about a hundred more Indians on shore. The fire-arms of the crew drove them off with a loss of nine or ten killed.[3]

Such was the unfortunate beginning of the intercourse of white men with the Indians of Westchester. These Indians, as well all the others with whom Hudson came in contact, belonged to a great aboriginal nation, or stock, termed the Lenni-Lenape. This was the name of that great confedera cy of Indian tribes, which, as Heckewelder states, extended from the mouth of the Potomac northeastwardly to the shores of Massachusetts Bay, and the mountains of New Hampshire and Vermont, and westwardly to the Alleghanies and the Cattskills,[4] and were afterwards known as the Delawares. Beyond the Lenni-Lenape, still further to the northeast, and extending to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and up the magnificent river of that name to the Great Lakes, was a second great nationality or confederacy of Indian tribes, that of the Hurons or Adirondacks, sometimes called the Algonquins. The term "Algonkin" or "Algonquin" is

[1] Juet's Journal of Hudson's Voyage, I. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. Second Series, 325. These colors were those of William I., Prince of Orange—Nassau. The orange bar was changed to *red* after the death of William II. in 1650. As thus altered the flag of Holland continues to this day. de Jonge, cited in I. Brodhead, 325 n.

[2] That any earlier navigator *sailed up the Hudson*, as has lately been alleged, is, as yet, without sufficient proof.

[3] Juet's Journal, I. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., Second Series, 324, 326, 330.

[4] Moulton's Hist. N. Y., 95 and 226.

used, however, by many writers to describe all the aborigines east of the Mississippi and south of the St. Lawrence, from the singular and very striking fact, that but one language was spoken throughout this entire region which was styled the "Algonquin" or "Algonkin." All the Indians within these limits understood each other. There were only comparatively slight local variations. They required no interpreters, except to communicate with white men.

West and northwest of the Lenni-Lenape, extending



A SUSQUEHANNA OR DELAWARE CHIEF.
(From Smith's "History of Virginia.")

from the western slopes of the Cattskills and the Helderbergs south of the Mohawk, and north of it, from the banks of the upper Hudson and the waters of Champlain to the shores of Lake Erie, and thence through the region south of that lake to the Mississippi, was the dominion of the third, and, perhaps, the most famous of the three great nationalities or races of confederated Indians, the Five (and later Six), Nations or Iroquois, and their affiliated tribes.

These were the three great stocks of aborigines, who were in possession of North America from the Potomac and Ohio on the south, to Canada on the north, and from the Atlantic Ocean on the east, to the Father of Waters on the west, at the time of Hudson's discovery of the great bay of New York and the magnificent river which bears his name.

Each of these three confederacies embraced numerous distinct tribes, sub-tribes, and smaller tribal divisions, or cantons, and chieftaincies, all having separate names, but united more or less closely by the bond of a common origin. Each tribe, or sub-tribe, possessed its own locality and specific region as its own property, which was never lost, except by voluntary migration or by conquest.

There also existed a distinguishing characteristic of a different nature in all these great Indian confederations. This was the clan or family distinction. Each confederacy was divided into tribes, families, or clans, designated by the name of some living creature, which they called their *totem*, or badge, the representation of which was painted upon their persons and upon their lodges. This tie, as members of the same confederacy, or even of the same totemic family, was not of itself sufficient to prevent them warring with each other in all cases. Like more civilized people they took up the hatchet against a tribe of the same stock, if occasion arose, as freely as against an enemy of another race. Conflicting claims to lands, disputed boundaries, and the rivalries of neighborhoods, not unfrequently gave rise to enmities and wars. Thus in 1609, the tribes on the western side of the bay of New York and the lower Hudson, and those on the eastern side, were bitter enemies,[1] although all were tribes and sub-tribes of the Lenni-Lenape or Delaware stock.

Among the Lenni-Lenape there were but three clans or families, designated from their *totems* or badges, as the Unamis, or Turtle (or Tortoise) clan, the Unalachtgo or Turkey, and the Minsi or Wolf, clans,[2] to one, or the other of which, belonged every tribe or minor sub-division of the Delaware stock. The tribes east of the Hudson, and all the sea coast tribes on both sides of Long Island Sound belonged to the Turkey clan, the tribes between the Hudson and the Alleghanies to the Minsi (sometimes termed Moncey) or Wolf clan, and those on the Lower Delaware, Lower Susquehanna, and Potomac to that of the Turtle (or Tortoise) clan.

The first writer on New Netherland, was Johan (John) de Laet, a learned man, a native of Antwerp, but a resident of the city of Leyden. He wrote in 1622, and first published in 1625, sixteen years only after the discovery, through the Elzevirs at Leyden a "History of the New World," which contains the first historical account of what is now New York. He was a director of the Dutch West India Company, subsequently one of the first patroons of New Nether-

[1] De Laet's New World, I. N. Y. Hist. Society's Coll., 2d series, 297.
[2] Ruttenber's Hist. River Indians, 47. Moulton Hist., N. Y., 35.

land, and a personal friend of Hudson, whose private journal, as he tells us, he had before him when he wrote and from which, the extracts in his pages, are all that exist of Hudson's own account of his great discovery. At that time, de Laet says, the Indians on the west side of the Bay and River were called "*Sankhicanni*," or Sanhicans, and those on the east, "*Mahicanni*," or Mahicans, Mohicans, or Mohegans, the latter being Connecticut spelling of the word. The Dutch termed them "*Mahikanders*," and the natives on both sides of the Hudson collectively, the "River Indians." The Dutch word, however in general use, when speaking or writing of them was, "the Wilden," literally the wild men, or the savages.

The Long Island Indians the Dutch called Matouwacks. They were Mohicans and were divided into twelve or thirteen sub-tribes or chieftaincies. All bore different names and possessed distinct, and different, localities. The ruling tribe were the Montauks who possessed the eastern extremity of the island. They owed their supremacy to the abundance of clams in their waters, from the shells of which they made the seawant or Indian money. This great abundance of the clam-shells enabled them to supply the Indians of all tribes westward almost to the great lakes with seawant, and thus Montauk became the seat of financial power, not only of Long Island, but of a region larger even than the Dutch Province of New Netherland.

All the natives of the main between the Hudson and the Connecticut, from the Sound on the south to the Green, and the White, mountains on the north, were Mohicans, and their great council fire was established on the Hudson, in the present town of Greenbush, nearly opposite Albany. The name of the Hudson was "*Mahicannituck*," or River of the Mahicans; just as the Delaware was called by them "*Lenape-wchi-hi-tuck*," or the rapid river of the Lenape; on the right bank of which, near where Philadelphia was afterward built, was the place of the Great Council Fire of the Lenni-Lenape confederacy.[1]

The Iroquois name of the Hudson, according to John R. Bleecker, the old Indian interpreter and surveyor of the middle and latter part of the last century, was "Cahotatea."[2] Judge Egbert Benson in his "Memoir" says, on the authority of a Palatine settler on Livingston manor, that the Hudson was also called "Shatemuc" by the Indians of that locality.[3]

The Indians of Westchester County were therefore Mahicans, or Mohicans, as it is easier to call them, of the Turkey tribe or clan of the Lenni-Lenape, or Delaware, stock of North American aborigines. They were divided into several sub-tribes, cantons, or chieftaincies, each ruled by a Sacchima, as the Dutch called the title, or Sagamore, or Sachem, and owning its own specific location.

Upon the island of New York, and in Westchester west of the Bronx, and as far north as Yonkers, were seated the Manahatas, as de Laet calls them, or the Manhattans; those of them in Westchester were also



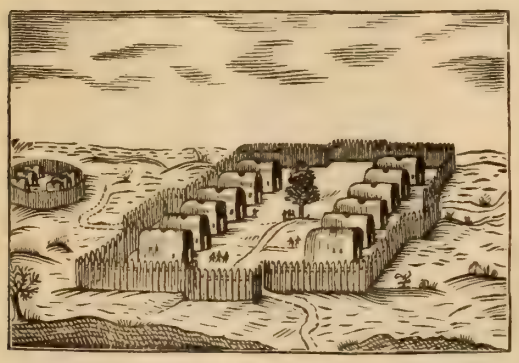
DELAWARE INDIAN FAMILY.
(From Campanius' "New Sweden.")

termed the Reckewacks, or Reckgawawancks, their territory, Keskeskick, and their chief village, Nappeckamak, was situated on the Nepperhaem, now Neperan, or Sawmill river, where it flows into the Hudson, the site of the present city of Yonkers.[4] The next tribe were the Wickquaeskecks, or Wickquaesgecks, or Wickerschreecks, so called from their village of that name which De Vries, writing in 1640, thus describes,—"Opposite Tappaen is a place called Wickquaesgeck. This land is also fit for corn, but too stony and sandy. We got there good masts. The

[1] Moulton, 34 and 35.
[2] I. N. Y. Hist. Coll., 2, 3.
[3] Memoir, N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., II. series, vol. 2, p. 85.
[4] Rut⁂nber, 78. II. Col. Hist. N. Y., 2nd Series, 5.

land is mountainous." This "place" was the site of the present village of Dobbs Ferry. A few miles further up the Hudson was another town of the same tribe called Alipconck, or place of Elms, now Tarrytown. This tribe seems to have held the centre of the County from the lands of the Siwanoys on the east to the Hudson on the west. Adjoining them on the north were the Sint-sinks possessing two villages, Ossingsing now Sing-Sing, and Kestabuinck, the latter of which was inland and a little south of the Croton river.

From the Kicktawanc, or Croton, extending up the river to Anthony's Nose, and what is now the north line of the County, dwelt the Kicktawancks, or Kitchawongs, whose chief village was just above the mouth of the Croton river, on the isthmus connecting Senasqua, or Teller's Point, with the main land, and near the old Van Cortlandt Manor House. Eastwardly their lands appear to have extended to Connecticut and the lands of the Siwanoys. The Indians in the northern part of the county were also called the Tankitekes, which seems to have been a general



DELAWARE INDIAN FORT.
(From Campanius' "New Sweden.")

name for all dwellings north of the Wickquaeskecks. These last were said by Tienhoven in 1651, to have extended east to the Sound, but this being in conflict with de Laet's account of 1624, is believed to be an error. From Hellgate along the Sound, including the whole eastern side of Westchester County, and Connecticut, as far as Norwalk and its islands, and inland to the valley of the Bronx and the head waters of the Croton, a single and numerous tribe possessed all the land. These were the Sewanoes, or Siwanoys, as de Laet writing in 1624, the earliest and most trustworthy authority on New Netherland history, distinctly states.[1] They had several towns in this territory, some of which were fortified. One of the latter occupied the beautiful height in the township of Westchester overlooking the Sound, on which still stands the old seat of the Wilkins family, which from it has always borne, and still bears, the name of "Castle Hill." A village, and also a burial-place, existed on Pelham Neck, another on Davenport's Neck in New Rochelle, still another on Heathcote Hill and Nelson's Hill, at the head of Mamaroneck Harbor. A fifth, and a very large one, was on the attractive banks of Rye Lake in the northern end of the town of Harrison. Besides these there were scattered collections of a few lodges in other places chiefly resorted to in the fishing and hunting seasons. One of these was at Throg's Point, another at the extreme point of Pelham Neck, another on de Lancey's Neck at the narrowest point at the mouth of the Harbour, where a small creek running into the Harbour from the west, and a round field of upland adjacent to it, are still known as the Indian creek, and the Indian field, and the point itself as Indian Point. A fourth existed on Milton Neck, and a fifth on Manussing Island, both in the town of Rye. This account of the Westchester Indians is based upon a study of de Laet, de Vries, Van der Donck, O'Callaghan, Brodhead, Moulton, Schoolcraft, Ruttenber, and an examination of many Indian deeds, and records of councils.

From the Sakimas, Sagamores, or Sachems, of these various tribes, and some of their chief men and women, have come by deeds of conveyance the Indian titles to all the lands in Westchester County. There is no part of America of equal area, in which the Indian title was so fully and fairly extinguished. And none where in proportion to its size more Indian deeds have been given, preserved, and recorded.

There was a peculiarity in the customs of the Indians in relation to sales of lands which should always be remembered, and to their observance of which is to be ascribed the discredit sometimes attached to them in these matters. "Oh! you are an Indian giver" is sometimes heard, expressive of the idea, of giving a thing and then taking it back, which has its origin in this custom. They sometimes sold and deeded the same land more than once, in whole, or in part. This was in pursuance of a custom which with them was a law. It is thus stated by Ruttenber in his "History of the River Indians," page 80. "Lands held by them were obtained by conceded original occupation or by conquest. If conquered original right ceased and vested in the conquerors; if re-conquered, the title returned to its original owners. This rule they applied also to the sale of lands to the Dutch. [And to the English also.] As often as they sold to the latter and subsequently drove off the settlers, so often was re-purchase necessary, and if it was not made, a cause of grievance and future war remained." It was in fact, nothing but the application of their idea of the right of eminent domain. Of course there were instances of fraudulent deeds by Indians who had no power or right to convey, or who were drawn into sales when intoxicated or prisoners by designing whites. And there were some where rival Sachems claimed and deeded the same lands to different parties; but these exceptions were rare.

[1] De Laet's New World, ch. VIII.

In Westchester County the Indian title was first extinguished by purchase from the Indians pursuant to a license from the Dutch or English authorities, then Manors and Grants, by patents were obtained in the manner directed by the Dutch or English laws. And usually in the case of the Manors and larger patents, deeds of confirmation were subsequently obtained from the Indians, merely as a matter of precaution, notwithstanding the fact that the Indian title had, pursuant to the laws both of the Dutch and the English, been always extinguished by deed or deeds beforehand.

The North American Indians claimed that they sprung from the earth—that they were Antochthoni, produced from the earth itself, and hence they boasted their title to the lands could never be questioned and was indefeasible. This belief was the underlying foundation of the many curious, grotesque, and absurd, accounts of their origin given by different tribes, and different writers at different times. This is not the place to discuss the origin of the Indians, nor any of the many theories that have been broached to account for it.

But the belief above mentioned, in some form or other, always existed among themselves. Never was it more forcibly, or more eloquently expressed than by the great Tecumseh at the Council of Vincennes held by General Harrison, afterwards the ninth President of the United States, at that place in 1811. The chief of some tribes attended, to complain of a purchase of lands which had been made from the Kickapoos. The harshness of language used by Tecumseh in the course of the conference caused it to be broken up in confusion. In the progress of the long "talks," which took place, Tecumseh, having finished one of his speeches, looked around, but seeing every one seated, while no seat was prepared for him, a momentary frown passed over his countenance. Instantly General Harrison ordered that a chair should be given him. Some person presented one, with a bow, saying, "Warrior your father General Harrison offers you a seat." Tecumseh's dark eyes flashed. "My father!" he exclaimed with indignation, and extending his arm towards the heavens, burst forth "The Great Spirit is my father and the earth is my mother; she feeds and clothes me, and I recline on her bosom."[1]

2.

How the Indian Title vested successively in the Dutch West India Company, the British Crown, and the Independent State of New York.

The nature and extent of the Indian ownership, and the foundation of the title to the domain of the State of New York were settled by the principles on these subjects very early adopted and carried into effect by the different European nations which divided between themselves this western world. These principles formed the basis of a conventional international law which has been always observed in America. They define with precision, to whom the Indians could dispose of their rights to dominion and to the soil, and to whom they could not. They have been laid down by Chancellor Kent and Chief Justice Marshall in the highest courts of this State and the United States.[2]

These decisions are so admirably treated by Moulton, in that most valuable fragment of his "History of New York"[3] which is all that his early and lamented death has left to us, that his statement a little abridged will be almost all that is necessary to say on this subject here.

"Upon the discovery of this continent the great nations of Europe, eager to appropriate as much of it as possible and conceiving that the character and religion of its inhabitants afforded an apology for considering them as a people, over whom the superior



DAVID PIETERSEN DE VRIES.

genius of Europe might claim an ascendancy, adopted, as by a common consent, this principle,—

"First, that *discovery* gave title to the government, by whose subjects, or under whose authority it was made, against all other European governments, which title might be consummated by possession. Hence if the country be discovered and possessed by emigrants of an existing acknowledged government, the possession is deemed taken for the Nation, and title must be derived from the sovereign in whom the power to dispose of vacant territories is vested by law.

"Secondly, Resulting from this principle was that of the sole right of the discoverer to acquire the soil from the Natives, and establish settlements, either by purchase or by conquest. Hence also the exclusive right cannot exist in government and at the same time in private individuals; and hence also,—

"Thirdly, The Natives were recognized as rightful occupants, but their power to dispose of the soil at their own will to whomsoever they pleased, was

[1] Moulton's Hist. N. Y., 27.

[2] In Goodell v. Jackson, 20 Johnson, 693, and Johnson & Graham's Lessee v. McIntosh, 8th Wheaton, 543.

[3] P. 301, &c.

denied by the original fundamental principle, that discovery gave exclusive title to those who made it.

"Fourthly, The ultimate dominion was asserted, and, as a consequence, a power to grant the soil while yet in the possession of the Natives. Hence, such dominion was incompatible with an absolute and complete title in the Indians. Consequently they had no right to sell to any other than the government of the first discoverer, nor to private citizens without the sanction of that government. Hence the Indians were to be considered mere occupants, to be protected indeed while in peace in the possession of their lands, but with an incapacity of transferring the absolute title to others.

"Fifthly, The United States have acceded to those principles which were the foundation of European title to property in America. The Declaration of Independence gave us possession, and the recognition of Independence by Great Britain gave title to all the lands within the boundary lines described in the treaty that closed our revolutionary war, subject only to the Indian right of occupancy, and we thus became possessed of all the right Great Britain had, or which before the separation the provinces possessed, but no more. Hence the exclusive power to extinguish that right, was vested in that government which might constitutionally exercise it. Therefore each State before the Union in 1789, and each State since, (within its circumscribed territorial jurisdiction) possessed, and possesses, by its government the exclusive right to purchase from the Indians.

"Sixthly, That the allodial property in the territory of this State, or that which has become exclusively vested in the United States, is solely in the governments respectively, and that no foreign grant or title can be recognized by the Courts of Justice of this State, or of the United States.

"Spain though deriving a grant from the Pope, was compelled to rest her title on discovery; Portugal to the Brazils; France to Canada, Acadia, and Louisiana; Holland to the discoveries of Henry Hudson. England, though she wrested the Dutch possessions on the ground of pre-eminent right, asserted it on the same principle, tracing her right to the discovery of the Cabots, though they merely sailed along the coast of America, and extending her claim from 34° to 48° of north latitude. This principle of ultimate domain, founded on discovery is recognized in the wars, negotiations, and treaties of the European nations claiming territory in America. Such were the contests of France and Spain as to the territory on the north coast of the Gulf of Mexico; between France and Great Britain from their nearly contemporaneous settlements, till the treaty of Paris in 1763, when France ceded and guaranteed to Great Britain, Nova Scotia or Acadia, Canada and their dependencies. The cessions and retrocessions of the European powers in America were all made while the greater portion of the territories so ceded and retroceded were in the possession of the Indians. This was also the case when the right of ultimate dominion was asserted by actual settlement. The charter to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, renewed in that to Sir Walter Raleigh; the charters of James I. successively vacated, surrendered, annulled, or renewed, to the North and South Virginia Companies, until that to the Duke of Lenox and others in 1620; were all granted while the country was in the occupation of the Indians.

"Under the last mentioned patent, viz. to the Plymouth Company, New England has, in a great measure, been settled. They conveyed to Henry Rosewell and others in 1627, the territory of Massachusetts, who, in 1628, obtained a charter of incorporation. Having granted a great part of New England, the Company made partition of the residue in 1635, and surrendered their charter to the Crown. A Patent was granted to Ferdinando Gorges for Maine, which was allotted to him in the division of property. New Hampshire was granted to John Mason. Before the surrender by the Dutch of their colony, now New York, in 1664, the King of England had granted to the Duke of York, the country of New England, and as far as the Delaware Bay. The Duke subsequently transferred New Jersey to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. And yet, during these events, a great proportion of the country was in possession of the Indians. In 1663 the Crown granted to Lord Clarendon and others the country lying between the 36th degree of North latitude and the River St. Mary's; in 1666 the proprietors obtained a new charter granting to them that province in the King's dominions in North America from the Atlantic to the South Sea. Thus our whole country, the soil as well as the right of dominion, was granted while occupied by the Indians. However extravagant the pretension may appear, of converting the discovery of an inhabited country into conquest, if the principle has been asserted in the first instance, and afterwards maintained; if a country has been acquired and held under it; if the property of the great mass of the community originates in it, it becomes the law of the land and cannot be questioned. . . . . The law of conquest, founded in force, but limited by that humanity or policy which incorporates the conquered with the victorious, spares all wanton oppression, and protects title to property, whether the vanquished became incorporated, or were governed as a distinct society, was incapable of application to the aborigines of this country. The tribes of Indians were fierce savages, whose occupation was war, and whose subsistence was chiefly from the forest. To leave them in possession of their country, was to leave the country a wilderness; to govern them as a distinct people was impossible, because they were as brave and high spirited as they were fierce, and were ready to repel by arms every attempt on their independence. To mix with them was impossible. The Europeans were then compelled either to abandon the country, and all

claim to their discovery, remain exposed to perpetual hazard of massacre, or enforce their claim by the sword. Wars, in which the whites were not always the aggressors, ensued. European policy, numbers, and skill, prevailed. As the white population advanced, that of the Indians necessarily receded. The country in the neighbourhood of agriculturalists became unfit for them. The game fled into thicker and more unbroken forests, and the Indians followed. The soil to which the Crown originally claimed title, being no longer occupied, was parceled out according to the will of the sovereign power, and taken possession of by those claiming under it. Hence the absolute title and exclusive right of extinguishing that of the Indians having been vested in, and exercised by, the government cannot exist at the same time in private individuals, and was incompatible with an absolute and complete title in the Indians. The British government, which was then ours, and whose rights passed to the United States by, and at, the peace of 1783, asserted, and maintained, a title to all the lands occupied by the Indians in the British colonies in America, and the exclusive right of extinguishing their title by occupancy. These claims were carried to the line of the Mississippi by the terms of the treaty of 1783. Our title to a vast portion of the lands we hold originates in them. The United States therefore maintain the principle which has been received as the foundation of all European title in America."

By the treaty of peace, in 1783, Great Britain relinquished all claim not only to the government, but to the soil, and territorial rights, of the thirteen Colonies as claimed by the American negotiators of that treaty, the boundaries of which collectively were fixed by its second article. And by that treaty all the powers of that government and its right to the soil passed to the Thirteen States, not as a single Sovereignty, but as thirteen Independent Sovereignties. But neither the Declaration of Independence, nor the Treaty, could give us more than we possessed by virtue of the former, or to which Great Britain was before entitled.

New York, four years before the Articles of Confederation were adopted and became operative (which did not occur till March, 1781), adopted a constitution, at Kingston, on the 20th day of April, 1777; by the 37th Article of which (since reincorporated in all the subsequent State Constitutions), contracts for lands with the Indians in this State are made void unless sanctioned by the Legislature, and such purchases are declared to be a penal offense by a subsequent act of the Legislature; the object being the protection of the Indians in the possession of their lands.

During her whole existence as a British Colony, a period of one hundred and nineteen years, New York was a Royal Government, a Province independent in all respects except her allegiance to the British sovereign, whose representative was the Royal Governor for the time being. As such representative the Governor granted by patent all the lands which were granted in the Province, except those previously granted by, the prior Dutch government, the possession of which by their owners was duly confirmed by the Articles of Capitulation under which the Dutch surrender of New Netherland was made in 1664.

By the thirty-sixth article of the first State Constitution of 1777, all these crown grants under, through, and by Provincial Governors, prior to October 14, 1775, were declared to be valid and incontestible, and were thereby confirmed. And this declaration and confirmation have been continued and adopted in all the succeeding constitutions of New York to the present time. Consequently a grant from the British Crown is the highest source of title in this State, and one which is irrefragable, and incapable of being affected adversely in any way by any legislative, or other, act of the State government, or any decision of any Court of this State, or of the United States.

3.

The Dutch in New Netherland.

A brief statement of the dealings of the Dutch with their newly discovered country, before its colonization was actually begun, is necessary to a right understanding of the principles upon which that colonization was undertaken, and of the system of government, and laws, which that great nation established, in New Netherland.

And here let it be noted, that this name was *New Netherland*, not New Netherland*s*, as so often, and so wrongly, printed, written, and spoken. "Niew Nederlandt" was the term in Dutch. Adding a final "s" to the English translation, and calling it New Netherland*s*, is simply a pure New England vulgarism, and an utterly erroneous translation of the true name.

The Netherlands, in the plural, was the correct name in English of the United Provinces, from the fact that they consisted of seven Provinces, while Niew Netherlandt was but a single Province, notwithstanding its great extent, and hence was always spoken of, and written of, by the Dutch in the singular number.

The announcement of Hudson's great discovery did not produce rapid results. The extraordinary success of the East India Company at that time and the enormous dividends it declared drew the general attention to the eastern, and not to the western world. A single vessel in 1610, the year after the return of the Half Moon, made a successful trading voyage to the "River of the Mountains," returning to Holland with a valuable cargo of peltries. Two Dutch navigators, Hendrick Christiaensen, or Corstiaensen, and Adrian Block, chartering a vessel commanded by Captain Ryser, next made a voyage to the new region. In the early part of 1613, Hendrick Corstiaensen, in the "Fortune," and Block, in the

Tiger, sailed again to the Manhattans, and explored the adjacent coasts and waters. Other vessels also visited the bay and river, and all returned with profitable cargoes of furs. No trouble was experienced with the natives, who were ready and willing to exchange their skins for the novel and attractive goods of Europe.

Block's vessel, the "Tiger," was accidentally burned in the Bay of New York in the autumn of 1613, and he therefore built another during the succeeding winter,[1]—the first ever constructed by white men in the waters of New York. It was a small yacht of only sixteen tons burden (English measure), which, with strange appropriateness, he named "*the Onrust*"—*the Restless*. In this yacht, in the summer of 1614, Block sailed through Hellgate and explored Long Island Sound and the adjacent coast as far east as Cape Cod, discovering the Housatonic, and Connecticut rivers, Narraganset Bay, and the island that still bears his name. He then first ascertained that Long Island was an island. The Connecticut river he ascended to a little above the present city of Hartford. He was the first European who sailed through the Sound, and the first white man who beheld the southern and eastern shores of Westchester County.

Corstiaensen finally determined to remain at Manhattan to extend the Indian trade. Turning over his own ship to Block, who left him the Onrust, the latter returned to Holland. Corstiaensen built two fortified trading-stations, one on an island below Albany, the other at the south end of Manhattan Island, and visited and traded with the Indians of all the neighboring tribes. Three other vessels, the Little Fox, the Nightingale and the Fortune, under Captains John de Witt, Rhys Volkertssen and Cornelis Jacobsen May, respectively, visited the "River of the Mountains," exploring and trading with the natives, and those of the regions adjacent.

This trade, thus begun, was so profitable that it induced these navigators, and the owners of their ships, to apply to the States-General of the United Provinces for a grant of the sole privilege of trading with the new and pleasant land beyond the ocean. They presented a memorial to this effect, accompanied by the first map ever made of the region of New Netherland—a "Carte Figuratif," as they styled it—to the States-General in the autumn of 1614. The application met their approval, and on the 11th of October, in the same year, that sovereign body made a grant to the petitioners of the privilege sought, to run for the term of three years, from the 1st of January, 1615. This grant is in the following words, and in it appears for the first time, as the name of the new region, the term "*New Netherland*."

"The STATES-GENERAL of the United Netherlands to all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting.

Whereas Gerrit Jacobz Witssen, antient Burgomaster of the City of Amsterdam, Jonas Witssen, Simon Morrissen, owners of the ship named the Little Fox, whereof Jan de Witt has been skipper; Hans Hongers, Paulus Pelgrom, Lambrecht van Tweenhuysen, owners of two ships named the Tiger and the Fortune, whereof Adriaen Block and Henrick Corstiaensen were skippers; Arnolt van Lybergen, Wessel Schenck, Hans Claessen and Barent Sweettsen, owners of the ship named the Nightingale, whereof Thys Volckertsen was skipper; Merchants of the aforesaid City of Amsterdam, and Pieter Clementzen Brouwer, Jan Clementzen Kies, and Cornelis Volckertssen, Merchants of the City of Hoorn, owners of the ship named the Fortuyn, wherof Cornelis Jacobssen May was skipper; all now associated in one company, have respectfully represented to us, that they, the petitioners, after great expenses and damages by loss of ships and other dangers, had, during the present year discovered and found, with the above-named five ships, certain New Lands situate in America, between New France and Virginia, the seacoasts whereof lie between forty and fortyfive degrees of Latitude, and now called New Netherland: And whereas We did, in the month of March last, for the promotion and increase of commerce, cause to be published a certain General Consent and Charter, setting forth, that whosoever should thereafter discover new havens, lands, places or passages, might frequent, or cause to be frequented, for four voyages, such newly discovered and found, places, passages, havens, or lands, to the exclusion of all others from visiting or frequenting the same from the United Netherlands, until the said first discoverers and finders shall, themselves, have completed the said four voyages, or caused the same to be done within the time prescribed for that purpose, under the penalties expressed in the said Octroy, &c., they request that we should accord to them due Act of the aforesaid Octroy in the usual form:

"Which being considered, We therefore in Our Assembly having heard the pertinent Report of the Petitioners, relative to the discoveries and findings of the said new Countries between the above-named limits and degrees, and also of their adventures, have consented and granted, and by these presents do consent and grant, to the said Petitioners now united into one company, that they shall be privileged exclusively to frequent, or cause to be visited, the above newly discovered lands, situate in America between New France and Virginia, whereof the seacoasts lie between the fortieth and fortyfifth degrees of Latitude, now named New Netherland, as can be seen by a Figurative Map hereunto annexed, and that for four voyages within the term of three years, commencing the first of January, sixteen hundred and fifteen next ensuing, or sooner, without it being permitted to any other person from the United Netherlands, to sail to, navigate, or frequent the said newly discovered lands, havens, or places, either di-

[1] I. Col. Hist. N. Y., 12. I. O'Callaghan's Hist. of New Netherland, 47.

rectly or indirectly, within the said three years, on pain of confiscation of the vessel and Cargo wherewith infraction hereof shall be attempted, and a fine of Fifty thousand Netherland Ducats for the benefit of the said discoverers or finders; provided, nevertheless, that by these presents We do not intend to prejudice or diminish any of our former grants or charters; And it is Our intention, that if any disputes or differences arise from these our concessions they shall be decided by ourselves.

"We therefore expressly command all Governors, Justices, Officers, Magistrates, and inhabitants, of the aforesaid United Countries, that they allow the said company peaceably and quietly to enjoy the whole benefit of this Our grant and consent, ceasing all contradictions and obstacles to the contrary. For such we have found to appertain to the public service. Given under our seal, paraph and signature of Our Secretary, at the Hague the xith of October, 1614."[1]

This exclusive charter expired by its terms on the first of January, 1818, and the company of merchants to whom it had been granted,—"the United New Netherland Company"—as they styled themselves, applied for its renewal. This the States-General refused, having in contemplation to charter a great military and commercial company for the West Indies similar to the great organization of that nature then existing for the East Indies. The object in view in both was the same, namely, to establish a power, which could, at the same time, maintain profitable foreign trade, and carry on military and naval enterprises against Spain, thus in both ways crippling their hereditary enemy. In the summer of 1618, Hendrick Eelkens and his partners, by special permission of the States-General, sent their ship, the "Scheldt" to the Manhattans for a single trading voyage. In 1619 Captain Cornelis Jacobsen May, who had made the voyage, a few years before in command of the "Fortune," sailed again in the ship "Glad Tidings," and explored the Bays of the Delaware, and the Chesapeake. Returning in 1620, he and his owners applied to the States-General for a special charter in their favor, and Eelkens and his partners put in an opposing petition claiming such special charter for themselves on the ground of prior discovery. The States-General tried to compel these parties to settle their differences, and unite their interests, and appointed a committee upon the subject. This committee sat for several months endeavoring, after hearing both sides, to effect this object; but finding it impossible, they so reported, and the States General refused to give either party the wished for prize. In less than seven months after this rejection, "the long pending question of a grand armed commercial organization was finally settled; and an ample charter, (bearing date the third day of June 1621) gave the West India Company almost unlimited powers to colonize, govern, and defend New Netherland."[2]

In the year 1619 Captain Thomas Dermer, a navigator in the employment of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of the leading corporators of the "Council of Plymouth" (as the Company chartered by James I. in 1606, was styled) who terms him "a brave stout gentleman," was sent in command of a ship of two hundred tons on a voyage to Monhegan, an island on the Coast of Maine some distance east of the Mouth of the Kennebec. One object of this voyage was to obtain a cargo of fish, another was to return to his home Squanto, one of the twenty-seven Massachusetts Indians kidnapped, carried to Malaga in Spain, and sold as slaves, late in 1614, by Hunt, the master of one of the three vessels of Captain John Smith, which that famous explorer left behind him to complete her cargo on his departure from New England in July, 1614.[3]

By the good efforts of some benevolent monks of Malaga many of the kidnapped Indians were rescued from slavery, and eventually found their way back to America. One of these was Squanto, who on reaching London, was sent by Mr. Slaney, merchant and treasurer of the Newfoundland Company to that island. There Dermer met him, on touching at the island on his way to England on a previous voyage, and carried him back to that country, as the easiest way of returning him to New England. On this, his next voyage he carried Squanto along with him. On arriving at Monhegan, and leaving his vessel there to obtain her cargo of fish, he took the ship's pinnace, an open, undecked boat, of only five tons, and with Squanto and two or three sailors departed for the home of his Indian friend. The unhappy savages so wickedly kidnapped by Hunt were natives of Patuxet on the coast of Massachusetts Bay and its neighborhood, Squanto himself having been born at that place. Dermer left Monhegan on the 19th day of May, 1619, and in his letter to the Rev. Samuel Purchas, (which the latter published in the fourth volume of his "Pilgrimage," in 1625,) says, "I passed along the coast where I found some ancient plantations, not long since populous, now utterly void; in other places a remnant remains, but not free from sickness. Their disease is the plague, for we might perceive the sores of some that had escaped who described the spots of such as usually die, (evidently the small-pox). When I arrived at my savage's native country, finding all dead, I travelled a long days journey westward to a place called Nummastaguyt (a place fifteen miles west from Patuxet) where finding inhabitants, I despatched a messenger a days journey farther west to Pocanaoket which bordereth on the sea, (now Bristol, Rhode Island); whence came to see me two kings, attended

[1] I. Col. Hist. N. Y. 11.

[2] I. Brod. 97.

[3] N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2d Series. Vol. I. 347. I. Brodhead, 97.

with a guard of fifty men, who being well satisfied with what my savage and I discoursed unto them—being desirous of novelty—gave me content in whatever I demanded, where I found that former relations were true.

"Here I redeemed a Frenchman, and afterwards, another at Mastachusit, who three years since escaped shipwreck at the north-east of Cape Cod."

Patuxet was the very place where on the 21st of December, 1620, eighteen months later, the Pilgrims from Leyden landed from the Mayflower, and which Captain John Smith six years before had called "Plymouth," a name which will ever be famous in New England history. Strange are the historic facts, that slaves were its first export, and those slaves Indians, that its first foreign visitors, after its discovery by Smith, were Frenchmen, the two redeemed by Dermer, who was the first to point out its advantages for a town, and that the coming there of the Pilgrims afterward was the merest accident of an accident, they having sailed for New Netherland.

Dermer reached Monhegan on his return, on the 23d of June, 1619, and after despatching his ship back to England, prepared to sail on a voyage to Virginia in his pinnace. "I put," he says, "most of my provisions aboard the Sampson of Captain Ward, ready bound for Virginia from whence he came, taking no more into the pinnace than I thought might serve our turns, determining with God's help to search the coast along, and at Virginia to supply ourselves for a second discovery if the first failed." He then sailed along the coast to Virginia arriving there on the 8th of September, 1619. Squanto terribly disappointed at finding all his people dead, remained with Dermer, till he touched on this second pinnace voyage, at Sawah-quatooke (an Indian town in the present township of Brewster on Cape Cod) "where," in Dermer's words, "he desired to stay with some of our savage friends." Subsequently Squanto, from the knowledge of English he had picked up, became of great assistance to the Pilgrims as an interpreter and his later career is well known.

Dermer stopped at Martha's Vineyard, and thence as he says, shaped his voyage "as the coast led me till I came to the most westerly part where the coast began to fall away southerly. (This was the eastern entrance of Long Island Sound.) In my way I discovered land about thirty leagues in length heretofore taken for main, where I feared I had been embayed, but by the help of an Indian I got to sea again, through many crooked and straight passages. I let pass many accidents in this journey occasioned by treachery, where we were twice compelled to go together by the ears; once the savages had great advantage of us in a strait, not above a bow-shot, [wide], and where a great multitude of Indians let fly at us from the bank; but it pleased God to make us victors. Near unto this we found a most dangerous cataract amongst small, rocky islands, occasioned by two unequal tides, the one ebbing and flowing two hours before the other." This was Hellgate, and the place were the Indians "let fly" at them was in the neighborhood of Throg's Point. Such was the voyage of the first Englishman who ever sailed through Long Island Sound, and the first who ever beheld the southern and eastern shores of Westchester County. This was five years after the Dutch skipper Block had sailed through the same Sound from the Manhattans, and ten years after Hudson's discovery of "the Great River of the Mountains." Very singular it is, that fights with the Indians, both, on the Hudson, and on the Sound, and at points nearly opposite each other, were the beginning of civilization in Westchester County; and that the first was with the Dutch and the second with the English, the two races of whites, which, in succession, ruled that county, and the Province and State of New York.[1]

Dermer spent the succeeding winter (1619-20) in Virginia, went back to New England the next summer, again visited Plymouth in June, and described its advantages for a town settlement in his letter of the 30th of that month, went again to Virginia, and there died.

On this return voyage from Virginia, Dermer, in the words of the "Brief Relation" of the Plymouth Company's proceedings from 1607 to 1622, "met with certain Hollanders, who had a trade in Hudson's river some years before that time, with whom he had a conference about the state of that coast, and their proceedings with those people, whose answer gave him good content."

This visit of Dermer to "certain Hollanders" was the first visit of an Englishman to Manhattan Island, and he was the first man of that race who trod its soil. Hudson never landed on the island, and they who first did so, and those whom Dermer found there, were Dutchmen. This voyage, however, was the basis of one of the most famous myths of American and New York history. Twenty-nine years after Dermer's visit, in the year 1648, there appeared in England a pamphlet, under the *nom de plume* of "Beauchamp Plantagenet, Esq.," entitled, "A Description of the Province of New Albion," in which it is stated, that Capt. Samuel Argall, on his return to Virginia from Acadia in 1613, "landed at Manhatas Isle, in Hudson's river, where they found four houses built, and a pretended Dutch Governor under the West India Company of Amsterdam," and that he (Argall) forced the Dutch to submit themselves to the King of England and to the government of Virginia.[2]

This story, often and often repeated, is not supported by any official document of the English, Virginia, or Dutch governments yet discovered to this day, and is believed by modern scholars to have been

[1] This letter of Dermer reprinted from Purchas with a learned preface, is in I. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. 2d Series, 343. Also in 26 Mass. Hist. Coll., p. 63.

[2] I. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2d Series, 335.

based by "Plantagenet" on Dermer's account of his voyages, somewhat dressed up. In 1613 the Dutch West India Company had not only not been incorporated. but it was not formed till 1621. That eminent American historical scholar, the late Hon. Henry C. Murphy of Brooklyn, a great lawyer, a practiced statesman, in the Dutch language profoundly skilled, and who had been minister to Holland, after a thorough investigation of this story of Argall's visit, placed in a note to his translation of Van der Donck's "Vertoogh," or "Representation," of New Netherland, published in 1849, the following emphatic opinion,—"This story is a pure fiction, unsustained by any good authority—though some writers have heaped up citations on the subject—and as fully susceptible of disproof as any statement of that character at that early period can be."[1]

It is clear that from Hudson's Discovery to the chartering of the West India Company the Dutch considered New Netherland as a colony for commercial purposes only, and maintained it simply for the profits of the fur trade with the Indians. Its true colonization, as a land to be settled by their own people, for its agricultural and other resources, and as a possible market for the productions of Holland, was gradually forced upon them by their experience of its constantly increasing value, and pleasant, and productive, climate and soil.

The first step in this direction was the chartering of the West India Company by the States General of the United Netherlands on the third of June 1621. Such an organization as an armed military trading company to Africa and Virginia, was suggested by William Usselinx, a merchant of Antwerp, in 1606, as a means of aiding the Government in the war with Spain, then raging. Some preliminary measures were taken, but before any practicable ones could be adopted, the truce of 1609 was agreed upon for the term of twelve years, and the scheme fell to the ground.

The charter of 1621 was not put into immediate operation, but was held for further consideration and discussion, during the next two years. Finally the interests of all parties were harmonized, certain amplifications and amendments were fully agreed upon, and were embodied in an "ordinance" of the States-General, which passed the seals on the 21st of June 1623, containing twelve "Articles," and which closes in these words:—

"We having examined and considered the aforesaid articles, and being desirous to promote unity and concord between the directors and principal adventurers, and the advancement of the West India Company, have with the advice of the Prince of Orange,[2] thought fit to agree to, and approve of, and do hereby agree to, and approve thereof, and direct that the same shall be punctually attended to and observed, by the directors, members, and every person concerned therein, in the same manner as if they were inserted in the charter; because we find them proper for the service of the West India Company."[3]

While these modifications were being considered the States-General authorized many special voyages to New Netherland, each under a special license, which also contained a proviso obliging the parties in interest to return with their ships by the first of July 1622. This was to avoid any interference with the West India Company, or any anticipation of the commencement of their business.[4]

The Charter of the Dutch West India Company was modeled after that of the Great Dutch East India Company, and like it was intended to promote trade, colonization, and the breaking down by armed fleets of the power and pride of the kingdom of Spain.

Both were armed commercial monopolies with most extensive powers and enormous capital. Both were established on the basis of the public law of Holland, which was simply the "Roman Law," with slight modifications. And both were supported by the assistance and strength of the Government of the United Provinces.

The West India Company's Charter consists of a preamble and forty-five articles, together with the preamble and twelve articles of the final agreement of the 21st of June 1623 above-mentioned. The central power of this vast association, as O'Caliaghan states, "was divided, for the more efficient exercise of its functions, among five branches or chambers, established in the different cities of the Netherlands, the managers of which were styled 'Lords Directors.' Of these, that of Amsterdam was the principal, and to this was intrusted the management of the affairs of New Netherland. The general supervision and government of the Company, were, however, lodged in a board, or Assembly of Nineteen delegates [briefly termed the Assembly of XIX.]; eight (changed to nine in 1629) of whom were from the Chamber at Amsterdam; four from Zealand; two from Maeze; and one from each of the chambers of Friesland and Groeningen (forming the North Department). The nineteenth was appointed [as their own representative] by their High Mightinesses, the States General of the United Provinces."

Apart from the exclusive trade of the coast of Africa, from the tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, and of the coast of America, from the Straits of Magellan to the extreme North [Terra Nova or Newfoundland], this Company was authorized to form alliances with the chiefs of the Indian tribes, and obligated to advance the settlement of their possessions, encourage population, and do everything that

[1] II. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2d Series, 326; see also I. Brodhead, 51, and note E., p. 754.

[2] Prince Maurice.

[3] I. O'Call., Appendix "B," 408.

[4] I. Col. Hist. N. Y., 22-27.

might promote the interests of those fertile countries and increase trade.

To protect its commerce and dependencies, the Company was empowered to erect forts and fortifications; to administer justice and preserve order; maintain police, and exercise the government generally of its transmarine affairs; declare war and make peace, with the consent of the States-General; and, with their approbation, appoint a Governor or Director-General, and all other officers, civil, military, judicial, and executive, who were bound to swear allegiance to their High Mightinesses, as well as to the Company itself.

The Director-General and his Council were invested with all powers judicial, legislative, and executive, subject, some supposed, to appeal to Holland; but the will of the Company, expressed in their instructions, or declared in their marine or military ordinances, was to be the law of New Netherland, excepting in cases not especially provided for, when the Roman Law, the imperial statutes of Charles V., the edicts, resolutions, and customs of *Patria*—Fatherland—were to be received as the paramount rule of action.[1]

"The States General engaged, among other things, to secure to the Company freedom of navigation and traffic, within the prescribed limits, and to assist them with a million of guilders, equal to nearly half a million of dollars; and in case peace should be disturbed, with sixteen vessels of war and four yachts, fully armed and equipped; the former to be at least of three hundred, and the latter of eighty, tons burthen; but these vessels were to be maintained at the expense of the Company, which was to furnish, unconditionally, sixteen ships and fourteen yachts, of like tonnage, for the defence of trade and purposes of war, which, with all merchant vessels, were to be commanded by an admiral appointed and instructed by their High Mightinesses."[2]

Such were the great and extensive powers under which New York was colonized. And such was the basis of the legal system under which civil rule and civil law was first established within its borders; and under which it flourished and was governed, till the close of the Dutch dominion, a period of more than half a century.

4.

The Colonization by the West India Company.

In the same year, 1623, the West India Company began the colonization of New Netherland, which was then erected into a Province, by the States-General and invested with the armorial bearings of a Count;[3] the shield being, argent, a pale sable charged with three crosses saltire, argent, paleways; the crest a Beaver couchant proper.[4]

To the Chamber of Amsterdam was committed its direction and management. That body despatched the first expedition in March, 1623, under Cornelis Jacobsen May[5]—from whom the northern cape at the mouth of the Delaware is named—as the first Director-General of New Netherland. It consisted of the ship "New Netherland" of 266 tons burthen, with a cargo of supplies and tools, and thirty families of colonists, who were Protestant Walloons. These Walloons were the inhabitants of the frontier between France, and Flanders, from the river Scheldt to the river Lys, their language was the old French, and their religion the Reformed Faith of the Huguenots. Associated with this expedition, as the captain of the ship, was Adrian Joris, who had made several prior voyages to the coast of America, although he is sometimes erroneously styled "Director."[6] After a two months' voyage by way of the Canaries and the West Indies May and his colonists arrived in the bay of New York. He divided the Walloons into several parties, sending some to Albany, some to the Delaware, some to Hartford, some to Staten Island, some to Long Island—where the name of the Wallabout bay still denotes the place of their settlement—and retained others on the island of Manhattan. Thus began the real colonization of New Netherland, a region out of which was to be formed four of the Middle States and one of the New England States of the American Union. The first colonists of this region spoke no English, and knew no English law, and they were brought here by the nation which first discovered and occupied the land,[7] a nation likewise ignorant of English law and of the English tongue. The Roman law, with a few Batavian customs engrafted upon it, was the first legal system established in the entire region, and it not only governed the foundation of European rule and civilization in New Netherland, but maintained their continuous existence there, for half a century; and even then only yielded to another tongue and another legal system by the force of arms.

May administered the affairs of the new colony about a year, and was succeeded by William Verhulst as second Director-General, whose administration likewise continued only a year, when he resigned and returned to Holland. It was marked however by the arrival and introduction of the first wheeled vehicles and first domestic animals into this State. Peter Evertsen Hulst, a merchant, and a director of the Amsterdam Chamber, despatched to "The Manhadoes" three ships of 280 tons each, at his own expense and risk, in April 1625, with supplies, tools,

[1] I. O'Call. Hist., 89.

[2] Ib., 91.

[3] I. Brod., 148; I. O'Call., 99.

[4] These arms, in 1654, appear on the first seal of the Province, which in those days was also the seal of "New Amsterdam," surmounted by a mantle having in its centre the letters G. W. C., the initials of "Geoctroyeede West Indische Compagnie," the Dutch appellation of the West India Company.—III. Doc. Hist, 396.

[5] Wassenaer, III. Doc. Hist., 43.

[6] I. Brod., 156.

[7] Cabot, whose voyage along the coast of North America was the basis of the English claim to New Netherland, never landed upon nor took possession of any part of it for the King of England.

and wagons, and one hundred and three head of animals, consisting of stallions, mares, bulls, cows, swine and sheep; "each beast," says Wassenaer, in his account of the voyage, "had its own separate stall," arranged on a flooring of sand three feet deep, which was laid upon a deck specially constructed in the vessel, beneath which were stowed 300 tuns (casks) of water. Only two beasts died at sea. The rest on arriving were landed on "Noten," now Governor's, Island, then covered by a dense forest of nut trees, so thick that the pasturage was insufficient, and two days later all the animals were transferred to Manhattan Island where they throve well. These ships also brought six more families of Walloons, and a few single people, forty-five persons in all.[1]

To Verhulst succeeded, as third Director-General, Peter Minuit, of Wesel, in Westphalia, who was of French Huguenot origin. He sailed from the Texel on the ninth of January, 1626, in the ship Sea-Mew, and reached "the Manhadoes" on the fourth of the succeeding May.

The second and third articles of the Charter of the West India Company conferred upon it the power of appointing the Directors-General, and other officers, of all colonies it might establish. The Amsterdam Chamber, to which had been committed the care of New Netherland, under these powers proceeded to organize the first civil government in the new Province. The grant in the West India Company's charter is very extensive. The operative words are, "and also build any forts and fortifications there, to appoint and discharge governors, people for war, and officers of justice, and other public officers, for the preservation of the places, keeping good order, police, and justice, and in like manner for the promoting of trade; and again others in their place to put, as they, from the situation of their affairs shall see fit."

By virtue of these powers, and of the vote of the Company placing New Netherland under its sole control and management, the Amsterdam Chamber of the Company appointed Peter Minuit Director-General, and the following persons as his council, viz., Peter Bylvelt, Jacob Elbertsen Wissinck, Jan Jansen Brouwer, Symon Dirksen Pos and Reynert Harmensen. To these were added Isaac de Rasieres as Provincial Secretary, and Jan Lampo as "Schout-Fiscaal," (*pronounced as if spelled "Skowt"*), who was an executive officer, combining the powers of a sheriff and an attorney-general. These formed the first organized civil government in what is now this State of New York—and collectively were styled "The Director-General and Council of New Netherland." The Schout-Fiscaal was entitled to sit with the Council but had no vote. The Secretary was the officer next in importance to the Director, and was also "Opper-koopman," or book-keeper and treasurer.

This Council had supreme executive and legislative authority in the colony. It was also the sole tribunal for the trial of all civil and criminal cases, and all prosecutions before it were instituted and conducted by the Schout-Fiscaal. In taking informations, he was bound to note as well those points which made for the prisoner as well as those against him, as the Roman law provides, and after trial to see that the sentence was lawfully executed. He was also chief custom-house officer and had power to inspect vessels and their cargoes, sign their papers, and confiscate all goods introduced in violation of the Company's regulations. This most responsible of all the offices in the new government was held during Director Minuit's entire administration by the above-named Jan Lampo who was a native of Cantelberg. It should be stated also, that when the Schout-Fiscaal acted as prosecuting officer he retired from the bench. It will be seen that this Council acted in a twofold capacity, as an Executive Council, and as a Court of Justice. When, later, inferior tribunals were established, its members were not amenable to them. On extraordinary occasions it was usual to adjoin some of the principal inhabitants, or Public Servants, *pro hac vice*, to the Council by its own vote, who then had an equal voice in the decision of the matter in question.[2]

Such was the nature of the body by which executive, legislative, and judicial authority was exercised, not only on Manhattan Island, and in the County of Westchester, but in all parts of New Netherland.

The new government began vigorously. The Governor and Council first laid out and commenced the erection of a regular fortification on the extreme southern point of Manhattan Island. The engineer was Krijn Frederickje, and it was begun in 1626, was not finished in July 1627, as de Rasières tells us, but was probably completed at the end of 1627. Its predecessor, though called a fort, was simply a stockaded trading house. This, however, was a regular work of four bastions, entirely faced with stone.[3]

Isaac de Rasières, the writer of the letter mentioned, arrived in the ship "Arms of Amsterdam" on July 27th, 1626. He was a Huguenot Walloon, an agent of Blommaert an Amsterdam merchant, and a member of the West India Company, to whom his letter is addressed. He was made by Minuit Provincial Secretary, and as such, opened a correspondence with Gov. Bradford of Plymouth, for a friendly trade, visited that celebrated place, as a New Netherland envoy in 1627, and has left us an account of it in this letter, discovered at the Hague in 1846, and first printed in II. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2 Series, 339.

On the 23d of September, 1626, this ship, the "Arms of Amsterdam," sailed again on her return voyage to Holland, with a very valuable cargo of furs.

[1] III. Doc. Hist. N. Y., 41–43.

[2] I. O'Call., 101; N. Netherland Register, 2.

[3] Wassenaer, III. Doc. Hist. N. Y., 47; Brodhead's Early Colonization of N. Netherland, II. N. Y. Hist. Coll., 2d Series, pp. 363–365.

She also carried out the official account of the most important event that had yet happened in New Netherland, the result of a treaty held by Director Minuit and his Council with the natives of Manhattan, the first ever held by the Dutch with the Indians in America. This event was the purchase of the Island of Manhattan by the West India Company, which is the foundation of title to all the real estate on the Island of New York, and by which the city holds all the land that it still possesses at this day, south of the Harlem River. She had a comparatively rapid passage, reaching Amsterdam on the fourth of November following, a little over six weeks. The very next day, the delegate of the States-General in the "Assembly of the XIX.," then in session, advised that august body of the arrival, and the news, by letter. Unfortunately Minuit's official despatch has not been preserved, but the letter of Pieter Schagen, the States-General's representative, is still in the Royal Archives at the Hague, and proves the fact. It is, in full, as follows;—

"High and Mighty Lords:—Yesterday arrived here the ship 'the Arms of Amsterdam,' which sailed from New Netherland out of the River Mauritius,[1] on the 23d of September. They report that our people are in good heart and live in peace there; the Women have also borne some children there. They have purchased the Island Manhattes from the Indians for the value of 60 guilders; 'tis 11,000 morgens in size.[2] They had all their grain sown by the middle of May, and reaped by the middle of August. They send thence samples of summer grain; such as wheat, rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, canary seed, beans, and flax.

The cargo of said ship is;—

7,246 Beaver skins.
178½ Otter skins.
675 Otter skins.
48 Minck skins.
36 Wild cat skins.
33 Minckes.
34 Rat skins.
Considerable oak timber and hickory.

Herewith, High and Mighty Lords, be recommended to the mercy of the Almighty.

In Amsterdam, the 5th of November A. D. 1626.

Your High Mightinesses obedient,

P. SCHAGEN."

It is endorsed, "Received 7th November, 1626."

This action of Director-General Minuit and the Council of New Netherland marks the beginning of the policy of the Dutch nation in its treatment of the Indians of America in the matter of their lands, and also its Christian character. This policy and all the dealings with the natives pursuant to it was based on the principle, that the Indians were the lawful proprietors of their native land by original right of occupancy, and that it could only be alienated by their own act, and not taken from them by right of conquest, or by rapine. Of no other of the nations of Europe which colonized America, except the Dutch, can it be truly said that this wise and Christian principle always governed them in their dealings with the Indians. Much has been written about William Penn as being the first to purchase their lands by treating with them. But Director Minuit on the banks of the Hudson preceded him in this honorable and Christian treatment of the Indians by more than half a century. And the same policy and treatment was ever continued during the whole period of the Dutch possession of the Province of New Netherland.

At the date of the purchase the Indian population of Manhattan Island is said by some writers to have been 200, men, women, and children, and by none has it been put at more than 300. The numbers of the Dutch, we know, were only 270.[3] So that the population on each side could not have been far from equal. A fact that speaks well for those early Dutch people, for from the discovery up to 1626 their possession of the island was only by the sufferance of the Indians, and during that whole time there was never a contest or a quarrel between them and the savages.

The price paid for the Island was a fair one, for the time, age, and place, for it was nothing but a little wild island on a coast almost unknown, of a continent entirely unknown. It was but one of hundreds and hundreds of small islands lying all along the Western shores of the Atlantic Ocean, with nothing to show it had any value at all except the prior occupation of one end of it as a trading post by the Dutch. And many of those same little islands in as out-of-the-way places, may be purchased to-day for a price almost as low.

De Laet in his history of the West India Company gives a table of the annual exports and imports from, and into, New Netherland, from 1624 to 1635, from which it appears, that in 1626, the year of the purchase, but two ships came to, and went from, New Amsterdam, and that the value of the imports (supplies and goods) was 20,384 guilders, about 8,500 dollars, and that of the exports (furs and timber) were 45,050 guilders, about 14,000 dollars.[4]

It was simply as a station to collect furs from the Indians that Manhattan Island then had any value whatever. Such was the beginning of that "Province of New Netherland" in the year 1623, which 262 years later, in 1885, is the State and City of New York, the former with 5,000,000 of inhabitants, the latter with 1,250,000 people. And the island that was

[1] The Dutch so named the Hudson after Maurice, the then Prince of Orange.

[2] A morgen, or Dutch acre, was two English acres; "60 guilders" was 24 dollars of our money.

[3] Wassenaer, III. Doc. Hist. N. Y., 47.

[4] De Laet, I. N. Y. Hist. Coll., 2d series, 385. I. O'Call., 104.

then bought for 24 dollars, now has a value so high up in the millions of dollars, that the mind with difficulty can take it in; while the city built upon it, is the third in importance, size, and wealth in the civilized world, and the chiefest in the western hemisphere.

The Walloons had moved in the matter of leaving Holland for America in the year 1621, two years before the thirty families came out under Director May as mentioned above. They applied to Sir Dudley Carleton, British Ambassador at the Hague, to know, whether the King of England, James the First, would permit them "to settle in Virginia," in accordance with a petition setting forth the terms and conditions under which they desired to undertake the enterprise. This Petition of fifty-six heads of families, Walloon, and French, all of the Reformed Religion was presented to, and left, with Carleton, who sent it to England, enclosed in a letter of his own favoring its object, dated the 19th of July, 1621. Accompanying the petition was a written covenant in these words;— "We promise his Lordship the ambassador of the most serene king of Great Britain, that we will go to settle in Virginia, a part of his Majesty's dominions, at the earliest time practicable, and this under the conditions set forth in the articles we have communicated to his said lordship the ambassador, and not otherwise."

This paper bore the signatures of all the petitioners, attached in the form of a round-robin the centre of which was the above covenant; and it showed, besides the names of the signers, their occupations, and the number of the children of each. Among the names are those well known in New Amsterdam from that day to this, as De Forest, De La Montagne, Lambert, Le Roy, Du Puy, and others, as good, honest, upright people. The Lords in Council referred the application to the Virginia Company, who received it very coldly, suggested a few modifications and declined any assistance, in money or in transportation. This ended the matter with the English, and these "Walloons as well as French," afterwards made arrangements with the West India Company to go to New Netherland, which were carried out under May in 1623 as mentioned before.

This petition to the British King contained seven articles specifying in detail, the conditions and terms under which, these first colonists desired to enter upon the work of colonization, and is therefore of the greatest value as acquainting us, beyond cavil, with the views and ideas of those who actually did begin that work in what is now the City and State of New York.[1]

In this document appears the very earliest mention of the land tenure which the first colonists of New York desired and asked for. It was that with which they were familiar, and which they fully understood, and under which they had always lived, and was based on fealty, homage, and manorial rights, as fixed by the Roman law, with which alone they were acquainted, and which under the West India Company was established as the law of New Netherland, and governed it till its conquest by the English in 1664. The articles of this "petition" numbers five and six, are in these words (The whole is in French, and this is the translation):

"VI. Whether he (His Britannic Majesty) would "grant them a township or territory, in a radius of "eight English miles, or say, sixteen miles in diameter, "which they might improve as fields, meadows, vine-"yards, and for other uses; which territory whether "conjointly or severally, they would hold from his "Majesty upon fealty and homage; no others being "allowed to dwell within the bounds of the said "lands, unless they shall have taken letters of citi-"zenship; in which territory they would reserve to "themselves inferior manorial rights; and whether it "might be permitted to those of their number who "are entitled to maintain the rank of noblemen, to "declare themselves such.

"VII. Whether they would be permitted in the "said lands to hunt all game whether furred or "feathered, to fish in the sea and the rivers, to cut "heavy timber, as well for ship building as for com-"merce, at their own will; in a word, whether they "could make use of all things either above or beneath "the ground, at their own pleasure and will, the royal "rights reserved; and whether they could dispose of "all things in trade with such persons as may be per-"mitted them.

"Which provisions would extend only to said "families and those belonging to them, without ad-"mitting those who might come afterwards to the said "territory to avail themselves of the same, except so "far as they might of their own power, grant this to "them, and not beyond, unless his said Majesty should "make a new grant to them."

Such were the clear, undeniable wishes and desires, expressed in their own words, by those men who began the actual settlement of the region now known as New York, and which they did carry out, a little modified, by the Dutch system and rule.

The West India Company by its charter was bound to take measures for the increase of the population of its new Province, and the development of its agricultural resources. It found this a difficult duty to perform, mainly in consequence of two causes. The first was, the extreme profit of the fur trade which absorbed the general attention. The second was, that the farmers and laborers of Holland knew that they could do well enough at home. This fact is thus stated in a report of the Assembly of XIX. to the States General in 1629, referring to the effect of a proposed truce with Spain, upon the interests of New Netherland.

[1] This petition is given at length, with an engraving of the "round robin" and its signatures, in the valuable "History of the Huguenot Emigration," by the Rev. Dr. C. W. Baird, vol. I. p. 158, just published.

"Moreover the colonizing such wild and uncultivated countries, demands more inhabitants than we can well supply; not so much through lack of population, in which our provinces abound, as from the fact, that all who are inclined to do any sort of work here, procure enough to eat without any trouble; and are, therefore, unwilling to go far from home on an uncertainty."[1]

This subject had engaged the attention of the Company, and of the Chamber of Amsterdam especially, in 1627 and 1628. After much discussion, and long deliberations, it was finally determined in the Assembly of the XIX. that a plan should be prepared giving special privileges, powers, and exemptions, to such members of the Company who would, at their own expense and risk, send out expeditions, and establish separate and distinct plantations in any part of New Netherland, Manhattan Island excepted. The details were slowly and carefully determined, and not till the seventh of June, 1629, was the plan finally approved and adopted by the Assembly of XIX., and ratified and confirmed by their High Mightinesses the States-General.

This plan, or charter, as it sometimes styled, was entitled:—

"FREEDOMS AND EXEMPTIONS.

GRANTED BY THE ASSEMBLY OF THE XIX. OF THE PRIVILEGED WEST INDIA COMPANY, TO ALL SUCH AS SHALL PLANT ANY COLONIES IN NEW NETHERLAND."

It consisted of thirty-one articles, and was printed in a small quarto pamphlet of four or six pages and distributed throughout the United Provinces in 1630. Only three or four copies of this pamphlet are now known to exist, and it is so rare that within ten years a distinguished New York antiquarian reprinted it in fac-simile.

As it is the first instrument under which lands in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware, and Connecticut, were acquired, and on which titles rest, it is here given in full from the translation made by the late eminent historian of New Netherland, Dr. Edmund B. O'Callaghan, for his own great work, the "History of New Netherland; or, New York under the Dutch," first published in 1846.

"FREEDOMS AND EXEMPTIONS.

GRANTED BY THE ASSEMBLY OF THE XIX. OF THE PRIVILEGED WEST INDIA COMPANY, TO ALL SUCH AS SHALL PLANT ANY COLONIES IN NEW NETHERLAND:

"I. Such members of the said Company as may be inclined to settle any colonie[2] in New Netherland, shall be permitted to send in the ships of this Company going thither, three of four persons to inspect the situation of the country, provided that they, with the officers and ships company, swear to the articles, so far as they relate to them, and pay for provisions and for passage, going and coming, six stuyvers per diem; and such as desire to eat in the cabin twelve stuyvers, and to be subordinate, and give assistance like the others, in cases offensive and defensive; and if any ships be taken from the enemy, they shall receive pro rata, their proportions with the ships company, each according to his quality; that is to say, the colonists eating out of the cabin shall be rated with the sailors, and those who eat in the cabin with those of the company's men who eat at table and receive the lowest wages.

"II. Though, in this respect, shall be preferred such persons as have first appeared and desired the same from the Company.

"III. All such shall be acknowledged Patroons of New Netherland, who shall, within the space of four years next after they have given notice to any of the chambers of the company here, or to the Commander or the Council there, undertake to plant a colonie there of fifty souls, upwards of fifteen years old; one-fourth part within one year, and within three years after the sending of the first, making together four years, the remainder, to the full number of fifty persons, to be shipped from hence, on pain, in case of wilful neglect of being deprived of the privileges obtained; but it is to be observed that the company reserve the island of the Manhattes to themselves.

"IV. They shall, from the time they make known the situation of the places where they proposed to settle colonies, have the preference to all others of the absolute property of such lands as they have chosen; but in case the situation should not afterwards please them, or they should have been mistaken as to the quality of the land, they may, after remonstrating concerning the same to the Commander and Council there, be at liberty to choose another place.

"V. The Patroons, by virtue of their power, shall and may be permitted, at such places as they shall settle their colonies, to extend their limits four miles along the shore, that is, on one side of a navigable river, or two miles[3] on each side of a river, and so far into the country as the situation of the occupiers will permit; provided and conditioned that the company keep to themselves the lands lying and remaining between the limits of the colonies, to dispose thereof, when, and at such time, as they shall think proper, in such manner that no person shall be allowed to come within seven or eight miles[4] of them without their consent, unless the situation of the land thereabout

[1] I. Col. Hist. N. Y., 39; Ibid., 65.

[2] This word "colonie," pronounced in Dutch with the accent on the last two letters, does not mean "colony" in the English sense, but means a plantation, or settlement, and includes people, cattle, tools, stock of all kinds, as well as the lands on which all were to be placed.

[3] These are Dutch miles, one of which is equal to four English ones.

[4] Twenty-eight or thirty-two English miles.

were such, that the Commander and Council for good reasons, should order otherwise; always observing that the first occupiers are not to be prejudiced in the right they have obtained, other than, unless the service of the Company should require it, for the building of fortifications, or something of that sort; remaining, moreover the command of each bay, river, or island, of the first settled colonie, under the supreme jurisdiction of their High Mightinesses the States-General, and the company; but that on the next colonies being settled on the same river or island, they may, in conjunction with the first, appoint one or more council, in order to consider what may be ne cessary for the prosperity of the colonies on the said river and island.

"VI. They shall forever possess and enjoy all the lands lying within the aforesaid limits, together with the fruits, rights, minerals, rivers and fountains thereof; as also the chief command and lower jurisdictions,[1] fishing, fowling, and grinding, to the exclusion of all others, to be holden from the company as a perpetual inheritance, without it ever devolving again to the Company, and in case it should devolve, to be redeemed and repossessed with twenty guilders per colonie, to be paid to this Company, at the chamber here, or to their Commander there, within a year and six weeks after the same occur, each at the chamber where he originally sailed from; and further, no person, or persons, whatsoever, shall be privileged to fish and hunt but the Patroons and such as they shall permit; and in case any one should in time prosper so much as to found one or more cities, he shall have power and authority to establish officers and magistrates there, and to make use of the title of his colonie according to his pleasure and the quality of the persons.

"VII. There shall likewise be granted to all Patroons who shall desire the same, venia testandi, or liberty to dispose of their aforesaid heritage by testament.

"VIII. The Patroons may, if they think proper, make use of all lands, rivers, and woods, lying contiguous to them, for and during so long a time as this company shall not grant them to other Patroons or particular individuals.

"IX. Those who shall send persons over to settle colonies shall furnish them with proper instructions, in order that they may be ruled and governed conformably to the rule of government made or to be made by the Assembly of the Nineteen as well in the political as the judicial government; which they shall be obliged first to lay before the directors of the respective colleges [or chambers].

"X. The Patroons and colonists shall be privileged to send their people and effects thither, in ships belonging to the company, provided they take the oath[2] and pay to the Company for bringing over the people as mentioned in the first article; and for freight of the goods five per cent. ready money, to be reckoned on the prime cost of the goods here; in which is, however, not to be included such creatures and other implements, as are necessary for the cultivation and improvement of the lands, which the Company are to carry over without any reward if there is room in their ships. But the Patroons shall at their own expense, provide and make places[3] for them, together with every thing necessary for the support of the creatures.

"XI. In case it should not suit the Company to send any ships, or in those going there should be no room; then the said Patroons, after having communicated their intentions, and after having obtained consent from the Company in writing, may send their own ships or vessels thither; provided that in going or coming they go not out of their ordinary course; giving security to the Company for the same, and taking on board an assistant, to be victualled by the Patroons, and paid his monthly wages by the Company; on pain, for doing the contrary, of forfeiting all the right and property they have obtained to the colonie.

"XII. Inasmuch as it is intended to people the island of the Manhattes first, all fruits and wares that are produced on the lands situate on the North River, and lying thereabout, shall, for the present, be brought there before they may be sent elsewhere; excepting such as are from their nature unnecessary there, or such as cannot, without great loss to the owner thereof, be brought there; in which case the owners shall be obliged to give timely notice in writing of the difficulty attending the same, to the Company here, or the Commander and Council there, that the same may be remedied as the necessities thereof shall be found to require.

"XIII. All the Patroons of colonies in New Netherland, and of colonies on the Island of Manhattes, shall be at liberty to sail and traffic all along the coast from Florida to Terra Neuf,[4] provided that they do again return, with all such goods as they shall get in trade, to the Island of Manhattes, and pay five per cent. for recognition to the Company, in order, if possible, that after the necessary inventory of the goods shipped be taken, the same may be sent hither. And if should so happen, that they could not return, by contrary streams or otherwise, they shall, in such case, not be permitted to bring such goods to any other place but to these dominions, in order that under the inspection of the directors of the place where they may arrive, they may be unladen, an inventory thereof made, and the aforesaid recognition

[1] Under the Roman Dutch law.

[2] Of allegiance to the Company, and to the States General.

[3] Stalls, or other accommodations.

[4] Newfoundland.

of five per cent. paid to the company here, on pain, if they do the contrary, of the forfeiture of the goods so trafficked for, or the real value thereof.

"XIV. In case the ships of the Patroons, in going to, or coming from, or sailing on, the coast from Florida to Terra Neuf, and no further without our grant, should overpower any of the prizes of the enemy, they shall be obliged to bring, or cause to be brought such prize to the college (chamber) of the place, from whence they sailed out, in order to be rewarded by them; the company shall keep the one-third part thereof, and the remaining two-thirds shall belong to them in consideration of the cost and risk they have been at, all according to the orders of the company.

"XV. It shall also be free for the aforesaid Patroons to traffic and trade all along the coast of New Netherland and places circumjacent, with such goods as are consumed there, and receive in return for them, all sorts of merchandise that may be had there, except beavers, otters, minks, and all sorts of peltry, which trade the company reserve to themselves. But the same shall be permitted at such places where the company have no factories,[1] conditioned that such traders shall be obliged to bring all the peltry they can procure to the island of Manhattes, in case it may be, at any rate, practicable, and there deliver to the director, to be by him shipped hither with the ships and goods; or, if they should come hither, without going there, then to give notice thereof to the Company, that a proper account thereof may be taken, in order that they may pay to the Company one guilder for each merchantable beaver and otter skin; the property, risk and all other charges, remaining on account of the Patroons or owners.

"XVI. All coarse wares that the colonists of the Patroons there shall consume, such as pitch, tar, wood-ashes, wood, grain, fish, salt, hearthstone, and such like things, shall be brought over in the company's ships, at the rate of eighteen guilders ($7.20) per last; four thousand weight to be accounted a last, and the company's ship's crew shall be obliged to wheel and bring the salt on board, whereof ten lasts make a hundred. And in case of the want of ships, or room in the ships, they may order it over at their own cost, in ships of their own, and enjoy in these dominions such liberties and benefits as the company have granted; but in either case they shall be obliged to pay over and above the recognition five per cent., eighteen guilders per each hundred of salt that is carried over in the company's ships.

"XVII. For all wares which are not mentioned in the foregoing article, and which are not carried by the last, there shall be paid one dollar per each hundred pounds weight; and for wines, brandies, verjuice, and vinegar, there shall be paid eighteen guilders per cask.

"XVIII. The Company promises the colonists of the Patroons, that they shall be free from customs, taxes, excise, imposts or any other contributions, for the space of ten years; and after the expiration of the said ten years at the highest, such customs as the goods are taxable with here for the present.

"XIX. They will not take from the service of the Patroons any of their colonists, either man or woman, son or daughter, man-servant or maid-servant; and though any of them should desire the same, they will not receive them, nor permit them to leave their Patroons, and enter into the service of another, unless on consent obtained from their Patroons in writing; and this for and during so many years as they are bound to their Patroons; after the expiration whereof, it shall be in the power of the Patroons to send hither all such colonists as will not continue in their service, and until then shall not enjoy their liberty. And all such colonists as shall leave the service of their Patroons, and enter into the service of another, or shall, contrary to his contract, leave his service; we promise to do everything in our power to apprehend and deliver the same into the hands of his Patroon, or attorney, that he may be proceeded against, according to the customs of the country as occasion may require.

"XX. From all judgments given by the courts of the Patroons for upwards of fifty guilders ($20), there may be an appeal to the Company's Commander and Council in New Netherland.

"XXI. In regard to such private persons as on their own account, or others in the service of their masters here (not enjoying the same privileges as the Patroons), shall be inclined to go thither and settle; they shall with the approbation of the Director and Council there, be at liberty to take up as much land, and take possession thereof, as they shall be able properly to improve, and shall enjoy the same in full property either for themselves or masters.

"XXII. They shall have free liberty, of hunting and fowling, as well by water as by land, generally, and in public and private woods and rivers, about their colonies,[2] according to the orders of the Director and Council.

"XXIII. Whosoever whether colonists of Patroons, or free persons for themselves, or other particulars for their masters, shall discover any shores, bays, or other fit places for erecting fisheries, or the making of salt ponds, they may take possession thereof and begin to work on them in their own absolute property, to the exclusion of all others.

[1] Trading stations.

[2] Plantations.

And it is consented to that the Patroons of Colonists may send ships along the coast of New Netherland, on the cod fishery, and with the fish they catch to trade to Italy, or other neutral countries, paying in such cases to the Company for recognition six guilders ($2.40) per last; and if they should come with their lading hither, they shall be at liberty to proceed to Italy, though they shall not, under pretext of this consent, or from the company, carry any goods there, on pain of arbitrary punishment; and it remaining in the breast of the company to put a supercargo on board each ship, as in the eleventh article.

"XXIV. In case any of the colonists should, by his industry and diligence, discover any minerals, precious stones, crystals, marbles, or such like, or any pearl fishery, the same shall be the property of the Patroon or Patroons of such colonie; giving and ordering the discoverer such premium as the Patroon shall beforehand have stipulated with such colonist by contract. And the Patroons shall be exempt fr m all recognition to the company for the term of eight years, and pay only for freight, to bring them over, two per cent., and after the aforesaid eight years, for recognition and freight, the one-eighth part of what the same may be worth.

"XXV. The company will take all the colonists, as well free as those in service under their protection, and the same against all outlandish and inlandish wars and powers, with the forces they have there, as much as lies in their power, defend.

"XXVI. Whoever shall settle any colonie out of the limit of Manhattes Island, shall be obliged to satisfy the Indians for the land they shall settle upon, and may extend or enlarge the limits of their colonies, if they settle a proportionate number of Colonists thereon.

"XXVII. The Patroons and colonists shall in particular and in the speediest manner, endeavor to find out ways and means whereby they may support a minister and school-master, that thus the service of God, and zeal for religion may not grow cool, and be neglected among them; and that they do, for the first, procure a comforter of the sick there.

"XXVIII. The colonies that shall happen to lie on the respective rivers, or islands (that is to say, each river or island for itself), shall be at liberty to appoint a deputy, who shall give information to the Commander and Council of that Western quarter, of all things relating to his colonie, and who are to further matters relating thereto, of which deputies there shall be one altered or changed every two years; and all colonies shall be obliged, at least once in every twelve months, to make exact report of their colonie, and lands thereabout, to the commander and council there, in order to be transmitted hither.

"XXIX. The colonists shall not be permitted to make any woollen, linen, or cotton cloth, nor weave any other stuffs there, on pain of being banished, and as perjurers to be arbitrarily punished.

"XXX. The company will use their endeavours to supply the colonists with as many blacks as they conveniently can, on the conditions hereafter to be made; in such manner, however that they shall not be bound to do it for a longer time than they shall think proper.

"XXXI. The company promises to finish the fort on the island of the Manhattes, and to put it in a posture of defence without delay."

It will be noted that under the first article of this Plan, or charter, of Freedoms and Exemptions, the privilege of becoming Patroons, with all their rights, powers, and exemptions, hereditary and otherwise was confined solely to the members, that is the stockholders, of the West India Company. Other persons however, could, with the permission of the Director and Council of New Netherland, take up as much land as they could improve, "and enjoy the same in full property either for themselves or others," but without any of the advantages and privileges conferred upon the Patroons. These were styled Free Colonists. Under these clauses the colonizing of the territory of New Netherland began.

While the charter was in process of discussion and formation in the Assembly of the XIX., which it will be recollected was composed of directors chosen from the several chambers of the West India Company, certain directors of the Amsterdam Chamber, which had been specially charged with the care and supervision of New Netherland, as soon as it became certain that the charter would be approved by the Company and ratified by the States-General, sent out to agents to purchase for them, the Indian title to certain lands in different parts of New Netherland, so that they might be ready to constitute themselves Patroons under the charter, as soon as it should finally pass and go into effect. The first of these were Samuel Godyn and Samuel Blommaert, whose agents, sent out some time previously, on June 1st, 1729, a few days before the passing of the charter, bought for them of the Delaware Indians, the lands on the southwest side of Delaware Bay from Cape Henlopen thirty-two miles northwardly in length, and two miles inland in width. As these were Dutch miles, the tract was 128 English miles long and eight miles broad.

After the passage of the charter and on the 19th of June, 1729, Godyn notified the Chamber of Amsterdam that he had sent out agents to purchase lands, and declared "that he now in quality of 'Patroon' has undertaken to occupy the Bay of the South River, on the conditions (the charter) concluded in the last Assembly of the XIX., as he hath likewise advised the Director Pieter Minuit, and charged him to register the same there."[1]

[1] I. O'Call., Appendix S, p. 479.

Minuit in due time with his Council executed and passed the grant, or "transport" as the Dutch termed the instrument, and sent it to Godyn in Holland. In 1841 Mr. J. Romeyn Brodhead found the original document in the West India House at the Hague, brought it back to New York, and it is now deposited in the State Library at Albany. It bears date the 15th of July 1630, and bears the signatures of Pieter Minuit and his Council,—the only signatures of those officials known to be in existence, and is the first title given by civilized men to lands in the present State of Delaware, and the first in New Netherland under the charter of Freedoms and Exemptions of 1629. Its date is two years before Lord Baltimore's charter of Maryland from Charles the First, and fifty-two years prior to William Penn's charter of Pennsylvania from Charles II. The name Godyn and Blommaert gave to their "Colonie" was "Zwanandael;" in English, "Swansdale." The following is a translation of this first conveyance for any part of New Netherland.

TRANSPORT.

The Director and Council of New Netherland to Samu·l Godyn and Samuel Blommaert.

"We, the Director and Council in New Netherland, residing on the Island Manahatas and in Fort Amsterdam, under the authority of their High Mightinesses the Lords States-General of the United Netherlands, and of the Incorporated West India Company, Chamber at Amsterdam, hereby acknowledge and declare, that on this day, the date underwritten, came and appeared before us, in their proper persons, Queskakous, and Eesauques, Siconesius, and the inhabitants of their village, situate at the South cape of the Bay of the South River, and freely and voluntarily declared, by special authority of the rulers and consent of the Commonalty there, that they already, on the first day of the month of June of the past year, 1629, for and on account of certain parcels of cargoes, which they, previous to the passing hereof, acknowledged to have received and gotten into their hands and power, to their full satisfaction, have transported, ceded, given over, and conveyed in just true and free property, as they hereby transport cede, give over, and convey to, and for the behoof of, Messrs. Samuel Godin and Samuel Blommaert, absent; and for whom We, by virtue of our office, under proper stipulation, do accept the same namely: the Land to them belonging, situate on the South side of the aforesaid Bay, by us called the Bay of the South River, extending in length from C. Hinlopen off unto the mouth of the aforesaid South River, about eight leagues (groote mylen), and half a league in breadth; into the interior, extending to a certain marsh (leegte) or valley through which these limits can clearly enough be distinguished. And that with all the action right and jurisdiction to them in the aforesaid quality, therein appertaining, constituting, and surrogating the said Messrs. Godin and Blommaert in their stead state, real and actual possession thereof; and giving them at the same time, full and irrevocable authority, power, and special command, to hold in quiet possession, occupancy and use, tanquam Actores et Procuratores in rem propriam, the aforesaid land acquired by the above mentioned Messrs. Godin and Blommaert or those who may hereafter obtain their interest; also to do barter and dispose thereof, as they may do with their own well and lawfully acquired lands. Without they, the Grantors having, reserving, or retaining for the future, any, the smallest part, right, action, or authority, whether of property, command, or jurisdiction therein; but now, hereby, forever and a day desisting, retiring from, abandoning and renouncing the same for the behoof aforesaid; promising further, not only to observe, fulfil, and to hold fast, unbroken and irrevocable, this their conveyance, and whatever may be done in virtue thereof, but, also, the said parcel of land to maintain against every one, and to deliver free of controversies, gainsays and contradictions, by whomsoever instituted against the same. All in good faith without guile or deceit. In witness is this confirmed with our usual signature and our seal dependant therefrom. Done on the aforesaid Island Manahatas, this fifteenth of July, XVI^c and thirty.

(Signed) PIETER MINUIT, Director,
PIETER BYLVELT,
JACOB ELBERTSEN WISSINCK,
JAN JANSEN BROUWER,
SYMON DIRCKSEN POS,
REYNER HARMENSEN,
JAN LAMPO,
Sheriff.[1]

Another of the directors who took time by the forelock in the matter of the Patroonships was Kiliaen van Rensselaer of Amsterdam, who de Vries tells us "was accustomed to polish pearls and diamonds."[2] At his request Sebastian Jansen Kraol, who had resided as commissary at Fort Orange for three or four years, bought for him early in 1630, of the Mohican Indians, a tract on the west side of the Hudson, and shortly after another agent, Gillis Hosset, bought for him another tract on the east side of that river, of the same Indians. These purchases were on the 13th of August duly "transported" or granted to van Rensselaer by Director Minuit and his Council, and were the first lands in the State of New York granted under the charter of Freedoms and Exemptions, and consequently the following "transport" of these lands, is the first deed of conveyance for any lands in this State to a private person under the charter of 1629. The original in Dutch is in Holland, the translation was made by

[1] I. Col. Hist. N. Y., 43.
[2] De Vries, p. 102.

the late Dr. Edmund B. O'Callaghan, from the copy in Dutch in the Brodhead Papers, and is as follows:

TRANSPORT.

The Director and Council of New Netherland to Kiliaen van Rensselaer. Anno 1630, adi[1] 13th August. We the Director and Council of New Netherland, residing on the Island of Manahatas and in Fort Amsterdam, under the authority of their High Mightinesses the Lords States-General of the United Netherlands and the Incorporated West India Company, Chamber at Amsterdam, do hereby acknowledge and declare, that on this day, the date underwritten, before us appeared and presented themselves in their proper persons: Kottomack, Nawanemit, Albantzeene, Sagiskwa, and Kanaomack, owners and proprietors of their respective parcels of land, extending up the River, South and North, from said Fort[2] unto a little south of Moeneminnes Castle, to the aforesaid proprietors, belonging jointly and in common, and the aforesaid Nawanemit's particular land called Semesseerse lying on the East Bank opposite Castle Island off unto the above mentioned Fort; Item from Petanock, the Millstream, away North to Negagonse, in extent about three miles, and declared freely and advisedly for and on account of certain parcels of cargoes, which they acknowledge to have received in their hands and power before the execution hereof, and, by virtue and bill of sale, to hereby transport, convey, and make over to the Mr. Kiliaen van Rensselaer, absent, and for whom We, ex-officio and with due stipulation, accept the same; namely: the respective parcels of land hereinbefore specified, with the timber, appendencies, and dependencies, thereof, together with all the action right and jurisdiction to them the grantors conjointly or severally belonging, constituting and surrogating the said Mr. Rensselaer in their stead, state, and right, real and actual possession thereof, and at the same time giving him full, absolute, and irrevocable power, authority, and special command, to hold in quiet possession, cultivation, occupancy, and use, tanquam actor et procurator in rem suam ac propriam, the land aforesaid, acquired by said Mr. Van Rensselaer, or those who may hereafter acquire his interest; also to dispose of, do with, and alienate it, as he or others should or might do with his other and own Lands and domains acquired by good and lawful title, without the grantors therein retaining, reserving, or holding, any the smallest part, right, action, or authority, whether of property command, or jurisdiction, but rather hereby desisting, retiring, and renouncing therefrom forever, for the behoof aforesaid; further promising this their conveyance and whatever may by virtue thereof be done, not only forever to hold fast and irrevocable, to observe and to fulfil, but also to give security for the surrender of the aforesaid land, obligans et renuncians a bona fide. In testimony is thus confirmed by our usual signature, with the ordinary seal thereunto depending.

Done at the aforesaid Island Manahatas and Fort Amsterdam on the day and year aforesaid.

(Signed) PIETER MINUIT, Director,
PIETER BYVELT,
JACOB ELBERTSS. WISSINCK,
JAN JANSEN BROUWER,
SYMON DIRCKS. POS,
REYNER HARMENSEN,
JAN LAMPO,
Sheriff.

There was besides: This conveyance written with mine own hand is, in consequence of the Secretary's absence, executed in my presence on the thirteenth day of August, XVI,° and thirty as above.

(Signed) LENART COLE,
Deputy Secretary.[3]

The lands covered by the above "transport" together with some adjacent land subsequently acquired by Kiliaen van Rensselaer formed the great Patroonship of "Rensselaerswyck." In 1705, seventy-five years later, it was erected into a Manor of the same name under the English law, and continued in unbroken existence till 1837, when the last Patroon Stephen van Rensselaer died.

He devised in fee to his eldest son Stephen the part of the manor west of the Hudson, and to his son William the part east of that river. Under titles derived from these two sons the lands of the old manor, which had not been sold by their father, the last Patroon, in his lifetime, are now held in fee, subject in some cases to former leases the terms of which are not yet expired.

A third keen, long-headed, director of the Amsterdam Chamber was Michael Pauw of Achtienhoven, near Utrecht. Like Godyn, Blommaert, and Van Rensselaer, early in 1630 he bought through agents the Indian title to the lands on the west side of the Hudson River, opposite Manhattan Island from the heights of Wehawken, and Hoboken, to Bergen Point, and also the island of Staten Island. He duly obtained like transports of these regions from the Director and Council, and gave to his Patroonship the name of "Pavonia," a Latinized derivation from his own surname.

These three Patroons in a document laid before the States-General in June 1634,[4] thus, describe their own action in relation to their Patroonships, their rights as Patroons, and the expenses they had incurred in the colonization of their lands. After stating the enact-

[1] Abbreviation of "Anno Domini."
[2] Fort Orange is here meant.
[3] I. Col. Hist. N. Y., 44.
[4] I. Col. Hist., 84.

ment of the Freedoms and Exemptions on the 7th of June 1629) they continue thus;—

"Whereupon some directors of the before-named Company in addition to the great interest they possessed with their next friends in the said Company (who imported [to the value of] more than two tons of gold); animated with new zeal to carry out their High Mightinesses' intentions, and hoping in consequence for God's blessing, preceded all the other stockholders by way of a good example, saving the Company from expenses, troubles, and heavy charges, and further involved themselves by undertaking divers Patroonships, the expenses whereof incurred and laid out to this day, amount to not far from one ton of gold, cash down, and are yearly taxed, in addition, with at least 45,000 guilders for the support of three of their Patroonships."

"The Patroons proceeding on daily, notwithstanding, bought and paid for not only the grounds belonging to the chiefs and natives of the lands in New Netherland, but also their rights of sovereignty (*jura Majestatis*) and such others as they exercised within the limits of the Patroons purchased territories.

"So that on the 28th November, 1630, were read at the Assembly of the Directors, the deeds of conveyance of the lands and jurisdictions purchased from the Saccimaes, the Lords of the Country, executed for the behoof of the Patroons, their successors; and the new proprietors were accordingly thereupon congratulated.

"On the 2d December, in the year aforesaid, the patents sent to the Patroons from New Netherland were in like manner also again read, recorded in the Company's Register, ordered by the Assembly to be ensealed with the seal of New Netherland; the Patroons were again congratulated and handed their patents.

"16th ditto. The Patroons on resolution of the Assembly, delivered to the Company's Counsel a perfect list of their undertaken patroonships.

"8th January, 1631. The Patroons Colonies were ex supra abundanti confirmed, on submitting the question to the Assembly of the XIX., holden in Zealand."

Such was the manner and the method in which began the colonization, settlement, and population, of New Netherland in general, and the territories of the States of Delaware, New Jersey, and New York in particular. Space will not permit mention of other and later Patroonships in different parts of the Dutch territory in America, except that of Colen-Donck, the only one which was created in the County of Westchester which will be treated of hereafter.

Very soon difficulties arose between the West India Company and the Patroons in relation chiefly to the trade in furs and the claims of the Patroons to embark in the same under the articles of the charter of Freedoms and Exemptions. The latter were more inclined to push the trade in peltries than the agricultural settlement of their lands, for the reason that the former was highly profitable, whereas the latter required a constant outgo of money with a prospect of only distant and much smaller returns. Clashings as to civil powers and duties also occurred between them. But notwithstanding, population and agriculture slowly increased. Other Patroonships were taken up, and some lands were settled by individuals. The West India Company, although several other Directors in the Assembly of the XIX. had been taken in as partners by the three Patroons above named in their ventures, but without participation in their personal privileges and dignities, thought that the Patroons were prospering too much at the expense of the interests of the Company itself, and sought to restrict them in their trading operations. The Patroons on their side claimed that the Company not only had no right to restrict them, but had not fulfilled its own obligations as laid down in the articles of the Freedoms and Exemptions.

These controversies led finally after much discussion, to a determination by both parties, concurred in by the States-General, to which both had appealed, that the charter of 1729 should be revised, changed in some important respects, and re-enacted in the form of an entirely new Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions.

One of the memorials of the Company to the States-General presented in October 1734, growing out of these difficulties and those arising from the claim set up by the English to authorize trade to New Netherland, is of extreme interest for its clear and succinct account of the Dutch discovery and settlement from 1609 to 1634.

It states, "That said river" ("the North River in New Netherland," so styled in the memorial which is believed to be the first time it is so named in any official document) "and adjacent countries had been discovered in the year 1609, at the cost of the East India Company, before any Christians had ever been up said river, as Hudson testified, who was then in the service of said Company, for the purpose of discovering the north-west passage to China.

"And that your High Mightinesses' grant hath conferred from that time down, on divers merchants, the exclusive trade in peltries there.

"Likewise, that one or more little forts were built, also under your High Mightinesses' chief jurisdiction, even before the year 1614, and supplied with people for the security of the said trade;

"Further, that after these countries had passed into the hands of the incorporated West India Company, not only were the above-named forts renewed and enlarged, but said Company purchased from the Indians who were the indubitable owners thereof, the Island of the Manhattes, situate at the entrance of the said river, and there laid the foundation of a city.

"As also, not only on that river, but likewise on the South River, and others lying to the east of the

aforesaid North River, divers natives and inhabitants of these countries, by the assistance of said Company, planted sundry Colonies, for which purpose, were also purchased from the chiefs of the Indians, the lands and soil, with their respective attributes and jurisdictions.

"As is to be seen by divers deeds of Conveyance and cession, executed in favor of the Patroons of the Colonies by the Sachems and Chief Lords of the Indians, and those who had anything to say therein." [1]

In 1638, A "Report on the Condition of New Netherland was made to the States-General by a special Committee of eight members, of which Rutger Huygens was Chairman, in the form of eight brief questions and answers thereto, (The questions were propounded by the States-General, and the answers were made by the special committee of that body, after it had held a joint meeting with the Company's Assembly of the XIX. at the Hague.) of which the last three very clearly show the state of affairs at that time;—

"6. Has the Company realized profit or loss since the planting of New Netherland?

A. Loss. But it could afford profit, principally from grain.

"7. And in case of loss, and their High Mightinesses consider it advantageous to preserve the limits of New Netherland, and to establish the population on a better and surer footing?

A. The Company cannot people it; because the Company cannot agree among themselves; but a plan of throwing it open must be considered.

"8. Whether it would not, therefore, be expedient to place the district of New Netherland at the disposal of the States-General?

A. They have no intention so to do; unless they derived profit by it. But they hope, now that they have taken some order about Brazil, that it will prove a source of profit in time.

They propose to surrender the trade with the Indians, or something else. Nothing now comes from New Netherland but beaver skins, minck's, and other furs; considerable grain could be raised there in course of time." [2]

The effect was, that the States-General appreciating the necessity of action, considered a "plan of throwing open" New Netherland, adopted it on the 2d of September 1638, and at once put it into operation.

This plan opened the trade of New Netherland to all the world on certain simple conditions, and permitted any one to take up land according to his means for immediate cultivation. It is in these words;—

"Whereas the Directors of the Incorporated West India Company, Chamber at Amsterdam, are authorized by resolution of the XIX., to promote and improve the trade and population of New Netherland; they, therefore, with the approbation of their High Mightinesses, hereby make known to all and every the inhabitants of this State, or its allies and friends, who may be disposed to take up and cultivate lands there, and to make use for that purpose of the harbors of these countries, that they may henceforth convey thither in the company's ships, such cattle merchandise and property as they shall deem advisable; and receive the returns, they, or their agents may obtain therefor in those parts; on condition that all the goods shall first be brought to the Company's store, so as to be put on shipboard all at once, in the best manner, on payment of the following duties and freights; and the Directors will take care that they shall be sent thither by the safest conveyance;—

On all merchandises going thither, there shall be paid to the company here (*an export duty*) a duty of ten per cent. in money, proportionably to their value; and on those coming thence hither (*an import duty*) fifteen per cent. there, in kind or money, at the choice of the Company or its Agent; eighty-five remaining for the owner. And if any one happen to commit an error, in the valuation of his goods, the Company shall be at liberty to take such goods, paying one-sixth more than they are entered at; but all concealed and smuggled goods, either in this country or that, which may be discovered to have been brought on board the Company's ships, by secret plans or other cunning contrivances, shall be immediately forfeited and confiscated to the profit of the said Company, without any right of action accruing thereby." And after specifying rules for freight charges, it continues thus;—

"And whereas it is the Company's intention to cause those countries to be peopled and brought into cultivation more and more, the Director and Council there, shall be instructed to accommodate every one according to his condition and means, with as much land as he can properly cultivate, either by himself or with his family. Which land thus conceded to any person in the name of the Company, shall remain the property of him, his heirs, or assigns, provided he shall pay to the Company after it has been pastured or cultivated four years, the lawful tenths of all fruit, grain, seed tobacco, cotton, and such like, as well as of the increase of all sorts of cattle; of which property a proper deed shall be given, on condition that he truly undertakes the cultivation or pasture thereof. Failing therein, he shall incur, in addition to the loss of such land, such penalties and fines as shall be mutually agreed on at the time of the grant. To which penalties and fines his successors and assigns shall be also bound. And in order to obviate all confusion and losses, which have formerly arisen therefrom, and are hereafter to be expected in a still graver degree, no one shall henceforward be allowed to possess or hold any lands or houses in those parts, that have not previously come through the hands of the Company.

[1] I. Col. Hist. N. Y., 94.
[2] I. Col. Hist., 107.

The Company, subject to the High and Mighty Lords States-General, shall take care that the places and countries there shall be maintained in peace and quietness, in proper police and justice, under its ministers or their deputies, conformably to the regulations and instructions thereupon already established and issued, or to be hereafter enacted and given, upon a knowledge and experience of affairs.

All those who will be inclined to go thither, to inhabit the country or to trade, shall severally declare under their signatures, that they will voluntarily submit to these regulations, and to the orders of the Company, and shall allow all questions and differences there arising, to be decided by the ordinary courts of justice, which shall be established in that country, and freely suffer there the execution of the sentences and verdicts, without any further opposition. And shall pay for passage and board in the state-room, one guilder, in the cabin twelve stuivers, and between decks, eight stuivers, per diem."[1]

The effect of thus throwing open to the world the trade of New Netherland, was to increase at once its population, and the development of the agricultural capacity of the country. Capital was attracted, colonists came over from Holland, and Patroonships and individual grants of lands were freely taken up. Englishmen and their families driven from New England by Puritan persecution,—a persecution unparalleled in North America save by that inflicted by the Spaniards in Mexico, fled to the Dutch province, became subjects of the New Netherland government, and as grantees of its lands took the oaths of allegiance to the West India Company and to the States-General of Holland.

The old disputes between the Company and the Patroons as to their respective rights, though modified, still continued. At last in January, 1640, the matter was taken up by the States-General, the Assembly of the Nineteen, and the Patroons, with a determination to come to a final settlement of the whole subject. Debates, discussions, and negotiations, were actively continued till July of the same year, with the result, that an entirely new charter of "Freedoms and Exemptions" was framed which met the assent of all parties. This was reported to the States-General on the 19th of July, 1640, duly enacted, and went into immediate operation.

The first charter of "Freedoms and Exemptions of 1629," and this new charter of 1640, together, are the foundation of civilized government as originally established, in New York, and successfully maintained there during the entire period of its possession by the Dutch nation.

Before describing the system of government, civil and ecclesiastical law, and land tenures, thus founded and set in operation, it is necessary to a right understanding of the subject to set forth at length, in its own words, the new charter of 1640, so that there can be no misunderstanding of these most important instruments as to what they do, or do not, contain.

It is entitled;—

"FREEDOMS AND EXEMPTIONS granted and accorded by the Directors of the General Incorporated West India Company at the Assembly of the XIX., with the approbation of the High and Mighty Lords States General of the free United Netherlands, to all Patroons, Masters, or Private persons who will plant any Colonies or introduce cattle in New Netherland. Exhibited 19th July, 1640.

"All good inhabitants of the Netherlands and all others inclined to plant any Colonies in New Netherland shall be at liberty to send three or four persons in the Company's ships going thither, to examine the circumstances there, on condition that they swear to the articles, as well as the officers and seamen, as far as they relate to them, and pay for board and passage out and home, to wit, those who eat in the master's cabin, fifteen stivers per day, and those who go and eat in the orlop, shall have their board and passage gratis, and in case of an attack, offensive or defensive, they shall be obliged to lend a hand with the others, on condition of receiving, should any of the enemy's ships be overcome, their share of the booty *pro rata*, each according to his quality, to wit—the Colonists eating out of the Cabin shall be rated with the seamen, and those eating in the cabin with the Company's servants who board there and have the lowest rate of pay.

"In the selection of lands, those who shall have first notified and presented themselves to the Company, whether Patroons or private Colonists, shall be preferred to others who may follow.

"In case any one be deceived in selecting ground, or should the place by him chosen afterwards not please him, he will, upon previous representation to the Governor and Council then be at liberty to select another situation.

"For Patroons and Feudatories of New Netherland, shall be acknowledged all such as shall ship hence, and plant there a Colonie of fifty souls, above fifteen years of age, within the space of three years after having made a declaration and given notice thereof to some Chamber of the Company here or to the Governor there; namely, one-third part within the year, and so forth, from year to year, until the number be completed; on pain of losing, through notorious neglect, the obtained Freedoms and cattle. But they shall be warned that the Company reserves the Island Manhattes to itself.

"All Patroons and Feudatories shall, on requesting it, be granted *Venia Testandi*, or the power to dispose of, or bequeath, his fief by Will.

"For Masters or Colonists, shall be acknowledged, those who will remove to New Netherland with five

[1] I. Col. Hist., 113.

souls above fifteen years; to all such, our Governor there shall grant in property one hundred morgens, Rhineland measure, of land, contiguous one to the other, wherever they please to select.

"And the Patroons, of themselves or by their agents, at the places where they will plant their Colonies, shall have the privilege to extend the latter one mile (consisting of, or estimated at, 1600 Rhineland perches) along the coast, bay, or a navigable river, and two contiguous miles landward in; it being well understood, that no two Patroonships shall be selected on both sides of a river or bay, right opposite to each other; and that the Company retains to itself the property of the lands lying between the limits of the Colonies, to dispose thereof hereafter according to its pleasure; and that the Patroons and Colonists shall be obliged to give each other an outlet and issue, (*uytteweeghen ende uyttewateren*) at the nearest place and at the smallest expense; and in case of disagreement, it shall be settled in the presence and by the decision of the Governor for the time being.

"The Patroons shall forever possess all the lands situate within their limits, together with the produce, superficies, minerals, rivers and fountains thereof, with high, low and middle jurisdiction, hunting, fishing, fowling and milling, the lands remaining allodial, but the jurisdiction as of a perpetual hereditary fief, devolvable by death as well to females as to males, and fealty and homage for which is to be rendered to the Company, on each of such occasions, with a pair of iron gauntlets, redeemable by twenty guilders within a year and six weeks, at the Assembly of the XIX., here, or before the Governor there; with this understanding, that in case of division of said fief or jurisdiction, be it high, middle or low, the parts shall be and remain of the same nature as was originally conferred on the whole, and fealty and homage must be rendered for each part thereof by a pair of iron gauntlets, redeemable by twenty guilders, as aforesaid.

"And should any Patroon, in course of time, happen to prosper in his Colonie to such a degree as to be able to found one or more towns, he shall have authority to appoint officers and magistrates there, and make use of the title of his Colonie, according to the pleasure and the quality of the persons, all saving the Company's regalia.

"And should it happen that the dwelling places of private Colonists become so numerous as to be accounted towns, villages or cities, the Company shall give orders respecting the subaltern government, magistrates and ministers of justice, who shall be nominated by the said towns and villages in a triple number of the best qualified, from which a choice and selection is to be made by the Governor and Council; and those shall determine all questions and suits within their district.

"The Patroons who will send Colonies thither, shall furnish them with due instruction agreeably to the mode of government both in police and justice established, or to be established, by the Assembly of the XIX., which they shall first exhibit to the Directors of the respective Chambers, and have approved by the Assembly of the XIX.

"The Patroons and Colonists shall have the privilege of sending their people and property there in the Company's ships, on condition of swearing allegiance, and paying to the Company for the conveyance of the people, as in the first article, and for freight of the goods requisite for their bouwery, five per cent. on the cost of the goods here, without, however, including herein the cattle, on the freight of which the Company shall be liberal.

"But in case it should come to pass that the Company have no ships to dispatch, or that there be no room in the sailing vessels, in such a case the Patroons and Colonists can, upon previously communicating their determination to, and obtaining the consent of the Company in writing, send their own ships thither, provided, in going and returning, they shall not leave the ordinary track laid down, and take a supercargo, whose board shall be at the expense of the Patroons or Colonists, and whose wages shall be paid by the Company; on pain, in case of contravention, of forfeiting their ship and goods to, and for the behalf of, the Company, it remaining optional with the Patroons, during the term of the current grant, and no longer, to convey over their cattle, wares and people in the Company's ships, in their own or in chartered vessels.

"And, whereas, it is the Company's intention first to settle the Island of the Manhattes, it shall provisionally be the staple of all produce and wares accruing on the North river and the country thereabout, before they can be sent further, except those which by nature itself are useless there, or cannot be brought there except with great loss to the owners, in which case the latter shall be bound to give timely notice of such inconvenience to the Company here, or to the Governor and Council there, that it be provided for, according as the circumstances shall be found to require.

"All Patroons, Colonists and inhabitants there, as well as the stockholders in the Company here, shall be privileged to sail and trade to the entire coast, from Florida to Newfoundland, on the following conditions:—

"First, that all goods which will be sent hence for sale there, whether freighted by the Company, or by Colonists, or the stockholders themselves, must be brought into the Company's stores for inspection and payment of the proper duties, to wit: ten per cent. on the cash cost of the article here, besides convoy-freight and average, an agreement being made for the freights of what may be sent in the Company's ships; and bulk will not be allowed to be broken any where except at the Manhattes, or such place as the Company here may order, so as to be at liberty, after

proper inspection of their loading and the entry thereof, to depart to whatever place they think proper.

"And on the other wares which will be sent thence hither, shall be paid here, over and above the convoy duty granted by the State to the Company, five per cent., according to the valuation to be made here, on such penalty as aforesaid; but an agreement must be made with the Governor and Council there, for the freight of any of the goods that are being sent from there in the Company's ships, as aforesaid; and on all beavers, otters and other peltries, which will be sent from there here, shall be paid to the Governor and Council there, ten per cent., all in kind, and due receipt for the payment thereof, shall be brought along, on pain of confiscation of all the furs which will be found not to have paid any thing for the behoof of the Company, and with that to be exempt from further duty.

"And in case said private ships, in going or coming, or in ranging along the coast from Florida to Newfoundland, happen to capture any prizes, they shall, in like manner be obliged to bring the same, or to cause the same to be brought, to the Governor and Council in New Netherland, or to the Chamber whence they respectively sailed, to be rewarded by them, and the third part thereof shall be retained for the Company, before deducting his Highness' and the State's portion, the two other third parts for themselves, in return for their incurred expenses and risk, all in pursuance of the Company's order.

"In like manner they shall not be at liberty to depart thence with their goods obtained in barter, without first returning to the said place, to enter their goods there and to obtain proper clearance, signed by the Governor and Council, and they shall be bound to return to this country, with their ships and yachts, to the place they sailed from, in order to discharge all their freight into the Company's stores, according to the register and clearance to be brought from thence, on pain of forfeiting their ship and goods for the Company's behoof, should they go and break bulk elsewhere, or have any unregistered goods on board.

"The Company promises, during the continuance of the present charter and no longer, not to burden the Patroons and Colonists in that country, either with customs, toll, excise, imposts or any other contributions, and after the expiration hereof, at farthest, with no greater duty than is imposed on goods in this country.

"The Company shall not take from the service of Patroons or Colonists, their man servants or maid servants, even though some person should solicit it; nor receive them, much less suffer them to go from their master's service to that of another, during the term of such years as they are bound for; and if any man servant or maid servant run away, or take his freedom contrary to contract, the Company shall, according to its means, cause such to be delivered into the hands of their masters, to be proceeded against according to the circumstances of the case.

"From all definitive judgments pronounced by the Courts of the Patroons or Colonists, for an amount exceeding one hundred guilders, or from such as entail infamy, also from all sentences pronounced in matters criminal, on ordinary prosecution, conformable to the custom of this country, an appeal shall lie to the Governor and Council of the Company in New Netherland.

"All Patroons, Colonists and inhabitants are allowed free hunting and fishing, both by land and by water, generally in public woods and rivers in the extent of their lands, according to the order to be made thereupon by the Governor and Council; and the Patroons exclusively within the limits of their Colonies, with the clear understanding that the Governor and Council shall not be excluded therefrom.

"All Patroons, inhabitants or Colonists, are also allowed to send ships along the coast of New Netherland and the countries circumjacent thereunto, to fish for Cod, &c., and to proceed with the catch straight to Italy or other neutral countries, on condition of paying to the Company for duty, in such case, six guilders per last, and on coming here with their freight, it shall be allowable and sufficient to pay the Company the custom dues alone, without conveying, under pretence of this consent, any other goods elsewhere, on pain of arbitrary punishment, it remaining at the pleasure of the Company to put a supercargo on board each ship, on such conditions and terms as hereinbefore set forth.

"If any Patroons, inhabitants or Colonists happen by their industry, diligence or otherwise to discover any minerals, precious stones, crystals, marbles, pearlfisheries or such like within the limits of their lands, all such Patroons and Colonists shall give one-fifth part of the nett proceeds to the Company, which for this purpose shall have the power to appoint one or more inspectors, at the charge of said mines and pearlfisheries; but any one finding such without their limits, the same shall belong to the Company on paying the discoverer such premium as the merits of the case shall demand.

"The Company shall take all Colonists, whether free or bound to service, under their protection, defend them as far as lies in their power with the force which it has there, against all domestic and foreign wars and violence, on condition that the Patroons and Colonists shall, in such case, put themselves in a suitable state of defence for which purpose each male emigrant shall be obliged to provide himself, at his own expense, with a gun or musket of the Company's regular calibre, or a cutlass and side arms.

"And no other Religion shall be publicly admitted in New Netherland except the Reformed, as it is at present preached and practiced by public authority

in the United Netherlands; and for this purpose the Company shall provide and maintain good and suitable preachers, schoolmasters and comforters of the sick.

"The particular Colonies which happen to lie on the respective rivers, bays or islands shall have the privilege (to wit, each river or island for itself) of designating a deputy who shall give the Governor and Council of that country information respecting his Colonie, and promote its interests with the Council: one of which deputies shall be changed every two years, and all the Colonies shall be obliged to communicate to the Governor and Council there a pertinent report, at least every twelve months, of their condition and of the lands in their vicinity.

"The Company shall exert itself to provide the Patroons and Colonists, on their order, with as many Blacks as possible, without however being further or longer obligated thereto than shall be agreeable.

"The Company reserves unto itself all large and small tythes, all waifs, the right of mintage, laying out highways, erecting forts, making war and peace, together with all wildernesses, founding of cities, towns and churches, retaining the supreme authority, sovereignty and supremacy, the interpretation of all obscurity which may arise out of this Grant, with such understanding, however, that nothing herein contained shall alter or diminish what has been granted heretofore to the Patroons in regard to high, middle and low jurisdiction.

"The Company shall, accordingly, appoint and keep there a Governor, competent Councillors, Officers and other Ministers of Justice for the protection of the good and the punishment of the wicked; which Governor and Councillors, who are now, or may be hereafter, appointed by the Company, shall take cognizance, in the first instance, of matters appertaining to the freedom, supremacy, domain, finances and rights of the General West India Company; of complaints which any one (whether stranger, neighbor or inhabitant of the aforesaid country) may make in case of privilege, innovation, dissuetude, customs, usages, laws or pedigrees; declare the same corrupt or abolish them as bad, if circumstances so demand; of the cases of minor children, widows, orphans and other unfortunate persons, regarding whom complaint shall first be made to the Council holding prerogative jurisdiction in order to obtain justice there; of all contracts or obligations; of matters pertaining to possession of benefices, fiefs, cases of lesæ majestatis, of religion and all criminal matters and excesses prescribed and unchallenged, and all persons by prevention may receive acquittance from matters there complained of; and generally take cognizance of, and administer law and justice in, all cases appertaining to the supremacy of the Company."

Owing to the difficulties which arose at the close of Kieft's administration, and continued during the earlier years of that of Stuyvesant, between the Commonalty of New Netherland and the West India Company as represented by those Directors, growing out of the restrictions upon trade and traders established by the Company and strictly enforced by their officers, the States-General, after the delegates, Van der Donck, Couwenhoven and Bout, who were sent by the Commonalty to Holland, had explained the matters in question, enacted on the 24th of May 1650, a third Charter of "Freedoms and Exemptions," which modified somewhat the clauses of that of 1640 relating to trade, and the administration of justice in some minor points.[1] It did not however vary in the least the principles of the former Charters, or the system of settlement and Colonization by them fixed and established in relation to land and its tenure. It is therefore unnecessary to refer to it more particularly in this connexion. These three were the only charters of "Freedoms and Exemptions," in force in New Netherland during the entire Dutch domination.

5

The Nature of the Dutch Systems of Government and Law established in New Netherland, and of the Patroonships there.

To comprehend the system of government, laws, and religion, established in New Netherland, through the West India Company, by the Dutch republic under these Charters of Freedoms and Exemptions, a brief account of that of the "Fatherland," or "Patria," as that republic was called in its province in America, must be given.

The form of government of the Seven United Provinces was republican, the law was the Roman law, and the church was the established Reformed Church of Holland in accordance with the Synod of Dort. All were transplanted to New Netherland, and there existed and flourished until its capture by the English in 1664. Nine years later when the Dutch re-conquered it, all were re-introduced, a Dutch Governor re-appointed, and New Netherland replaced in its original position, except as to the names of its three largest towns which were changed. New York, as the English had called it, was re-named "New Orange," Albany was re-named "Willemstadt," and Kingston "Swanenburgh," instead of New Amsterdam, Beverswyck, and Wiltwyck, their original appellations.

The Province of Holland the largest of the seven United Provinces formed at an early period a portion of the Kingdom of the West Franks, and about the year 922 was conferred by Charles the Simple upon Count Dirk, who thus became the first "Count of Holland." In 925 Charles ceded it to Henry the Fowler, King of the East Franks, with the rest of the Kingdom of Lotharingia, the Count of Holland still being its own local sovereign. The successive Counts

[1] I. Col. Hist., 401.

of Holland ruled over their little province, to which in the course of time they added the adjoining province of Zeeland, for four hundred years of unbroken male descent when their race died out, and the Countship passed into the hands of the Counts of Hainault. From them it devolved upon the Dukes of Bavaria, the last representative of which house was dispossessed by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, who held the rest of the Netherlands under his rule. By the marriage of his daughter, Mary of Burgundy, with the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, the entire Netherlands passed from the House of Burgundy to the Imperial House of Austria. In 1496, Philip the Fair married Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile and Arragon, and the Netherlands, through this marriage came under the dominion of the Kings of Spain. Philip the Fair was succeeded by his only son, the Emperor Charles the Fifth, who was born in the Netherlands, and ruled the country as a part of his empire till 1555, when he abdicated in favor of his son Philip II. By Philip II. as King of Spain, through savage persecutions and ferocious wars, were the people of the Netherlands driven into a rebellion and war of Independence, which after an heroic struggle of forty years continuance, was successfully terminated by the famous twelve years truce of 1609.[1]

One of the strange results of this truce, was the voyage of Hudson in search of a western passage to Cathay, and his momentous discovery of the Bay of New York and the magnificent river which has immortalized his name. Another remarkable result, was the establishment in the same year of the Bank of Amsterdam, which so long ruled the exchanges of Europe, and through which, the financial transactions of the first merchants and Patroons of New Netherland were subsequently carried on.

During the whole period in which these different Princes, Kings, and Emperors, possessed the Netherlands, they ruled the provinces of Holland and Zeeland, which together comprised about five-eighths of the area of the "United Provinces," not in their royal capacities, but as "Counts of Holland." These two Provinces with, Friesland, Groningen, Utrecht, Guelderland, and Overyssel, comprising the other three-eighths of the Netherlands, formed the "Seven United Provinces" of the Republic, which founded Christian government and Christian civilization in New York.

What was the nature and constitution of this Republic? A Republic which not only established its own independent existence as one of the nations of Europe, but humbled forever the pride and power of Spain then one of the greatest of those nations. A Republic which founded in the New World a system of government, the principles of which to-day form the basis, upon which rests the constitution of that greater Republic which under the name of the United States of America dominates the Western Hemisphere.

The Republic of the Netherlands was a small country, in area but a trifle larger than Wales, but its population of about two millions in 1609, of Teutonic origin, was dense, reliant, and self-supporting. Each of the seven provinces into which it was divided contained a number of cities and large towns, each governed by a Board of Managers styled a 'Vroedschap.' These Boards of Managers were self-electing close corporations, the members of which were appointed for life from the general body of the citizens. Whenever vacancies occurred these Boards either filled them by a direct election of new members, or by making a double or triple nomination of names, and submitting them to the Stadtholder, or Governor, of the province, who selected one to fill the vacancy. This Stadtholder was, originally, the representative of the Count, or the Sovereign, but at the period of which we are treating, he was elected by a body called the "States-Provincial" of each Province, which consisted of deputies elected by the Boards of Managers and Nobles of the Province. These "States Provincial" managed all the affairs of each Province for itself, the Provinces in their domestic concerns being entirely independent of each other. They were the representative assemblies of the numerous Municipalities and Nobles of which each Province was composed. The "States Provincial" had also conferred upon them, another, and most important, power, one which then existed in no other part of the civilized world. For neither in the Swiss republic, nor in the Italian republics of the middle ages, did a precisely similar power exist. This was the election of envoys to the Supreme Legislature of the republic,—the States General. The members of this body so elected were not representatives in the usual sense of that term but envoys from their respective Provinces to the Supreme Parliament of the nation, in which each Province, though it could have as many envoys as it pleased, had but one vote. These envoys were bound by instructions in writing from their constituents the "States Provincial," whom they were obliged to consult in all doubtful or new matters before acting upon them. Neither war nor peace could be made, nor troops nor money raised, without a unanimous vote of the whole seven Provinces by their envoys in the States-General. The title of this Supreme Council of Parliament of the Republic, was "The High and Mighty Lords the States-General." It received ambassadors, appointed its own to other nations, and conducted, wholly, the foreign relations of the republic. Each Province, by one of its deputies or envoys presided in turn for a week. Its Greffier, or Clerk read all papers, put all questions to vote, and announced the result. Its sessions were held at the Hague, in a very handsome oblong apartment in the

[1] Maasdorp's Introduction to his translation of Grotius' treatise on Dutch Jurisprudence, p. iv.

Binnenhof, the old palace which formed a part of the ancient chateau of the Counts of Holland, which remains to this day.[1]

In these Independent "States Provincial," their representative envoys, and the States-General in which they sat, we see the origin of the Independent Sovereign states of the Federal Constitution of 1787, the Senators who represent those Sovereign States, and that great body, the Senate of the United States of America, in which they sit. So ancient and honorable is that system and doctrine of State rights, upon the continued preservation of which in their integrity depends the existence of the American Union.

The source of power in the "States Provincial" of Holland was in the constituencies of the deputies to them who were the Municipal Councils of the towns and cities, and the College of Nobles, by which the deputies were elected. To them was each deputy responsible, and under their instructions alone he acted.

Holland was an aggregate of independent towns and cities each administering its own taxation, finances, and domestic affairs, and making its own ordinances. Its inhabitants were not on an equality. To entitle a man to every municipal franchise, he must have acquired the greater or lesser burger-right—"*burger recht*"—either by inheriting it, by marriage, or by purchase. In the latter case a larger sum was required for the great burger right and a smaller sum for the lesser. In either case, however, the amount was not very large. Only a year's previous residence was necessary for any foreigner to obtain it. The privileges it conferred were, freedom of trade, exemption from tolls, special privileges and preferences in the conduct of lawsuits, and an exclusive eligibility of election to municipal office. The privileges of the two classes of burghers varied only in degree. The city and town governments consisted of a Board of Burgomasters and Schepens, and a Schout, that is a Board of magistrates and aldermen, and a sheriff who was also a prosecuting officer.

These Burgomasters and Schepens, provided for the public safety, attended to police matters, called out the military when needed, assessed all taxes, and administered all financial, and civic matters. They were elected either by the general body of the citizens possessing a small property qualification, or by the "Vroedschapen," or Boards of Managers mentioned before, who were themselves elected by the general body of qualified citizens, the custom varying in different towns and Provinces.

Such was the form of political liberty which constituted the great strength of the Dutch Republic, by which it conquered its own independence of Spain, and which it carried to, and established in, New York.[2] It is well summed up by Brodhead in these words, "The self-relying burghers governed the towns; the representatives, of the towns, and of the rural nobility, governed the several Provinces, and the several States of the respective Provinces claimed supreme jurisdiction within their own precincts." The system of the Dutch Republic was a thorough system of town government, expanded to meet the needs of a national governmental organization. It was also a strikingly conservative as well as effective form of government, and after the termination of the twelve years truce with Spain in 1621, it enabled the Netherlands to carry on that brilliant series of hostilities against Spain which, in 1648, resulted in her final acknowledgment of the United Provinces as an Independent Nation.[3] Subsequently to that event the Republic enlarged and increased the machinery of her government—developing it further upon the same principles to meet the enlarged sphere of action upon which she had entered, but this it is unnecessary to describe here.

There was in this system of government one principle which must be particularly noticed, one which has had but scant mention from American historians, and yet upon it rests the system of colonization begun by the Dutch in New Netherland, and that is the rights, powers, privileges, and position of the nobles of the Netherlands in the government of their native land.

The Dutch people of the United Provinces at the date of Hudson's discovery of New Netherland, and during the period of its settlement and possession by that Republic consisted, by their own law, of two classes, "Nobles" and "Commoners." The Commoners were subdivided into "Gentlemen by birth," and "Common people." Thus practically making three classes of Dutch citizens.

They are thus described, and the definition of each given, by the most famous of the great lawyers of Holland;—[4]

"From descent comes the distinction whereby some are born Noble and some Commoners.

Noble by birth are those sprung from a father whose ancestors have, from times of old, been acknowledged as noble, or who was himself ennobled by the sovereign.

For some families have held their rank for a period so far distant, and so fully acknowledged, that no proof is necessary. Other families have been ennobled from services, or favors subsequently bestowed.

Commoners were formerly of two classes, such as Gentlemen by birth and the common people.

[1] Maasdorp's introduction to his translation of Grotius, vi. I. Brod. Hist. N. Y., 454.

[2] First learned in Holland by the English self exiled Brownists it was carried by them to Plymouth their new home across the Atlantic and was thus the origin of the town and township system established in New England.

[3] I. Sir Wm. Temple's Works, 68, 70, 126, 127, 131, 139–142.

[4] Grotius, ch. XIV.; also note IX. to Benson's Memoir, II. N. Y. Hist. Coll., 2d series, p. 138.

It seems formerly that Gentlemen by birth were those who from generation to generation were descended from free and honorable persons. These, being favoured by different Counts [of Holland], and especially by Count Floris, who was disliked by the nobles (which gave rise to a conspiracy against him and ultimately to his death), had a right to wear arms publicly, as a token of descent, to ride with a spur, and be exempt from taxes. At present [1620, in which year Grotius wrote] all these matters, together with others, having become general by practice, the only distinction is, that those who are gentlemen born are selected as judges of the Bailiff's Court, in the place of vassals [or tenants], and were consequently exempt from serving in the office of schepens, or civic magistrates."

The Seven United Provinces were composed of the patroonships of nobles, cities, and towns, the two latter possessing municipal privileges, or rather, privileges as municipalities, similar to those possessed as individuals by the nobles. Both originated in the ancient Teutonic system of military tenures modified by the Roman law and the spirit of commercial enterprise. There were then in the United Provinces, no small independent farms; isolated houses scattered through the country did not exist. The people dwelt in the towns and cities, and only the nobles on large estates in the country with great buildings, strongholds, and sometimes churches, to accommodate themselves and their numerous retainers whom they were bound to protect. In the single province of Holland alone, the largest of the seven provinces of the republic, there existed, and had existed for more than a century prior to the Discovery of New Netherland, three hundred of these Patroonships, or fiefs as they were called,[1] to the mutual advantage of their owners and their tenants or vassals, as the then flourishing and powerful condition of the Dutch republic fully proves.

There was no clashing of interests between the nobles, the commoners, and the municipalities. Each held their rights and privileges from the same sovereign authority. The latter were in fact incorporated nobles, so to speak. The people of the towns, as the military features of the feudal system gradually weakened, demanded and obtained of the Sovereign authority, Count, King, or Emperor, the same rights and privileges as a body, which the nobles possessed individually. The Sovereign, as Lord Paramount, granted these as they were desired, for he was perfectly willing that the people of the towns should commute for specific annual sums the military and other feudal services to which he was entitled, just as the nobles did. The people, however, in the Dutch provinces, always claimed and demanded the right to fix the amount of these annual sums themselves. This was always granted, and they ever held tenaciously to this right of taxing themselves. In this manner town corporations and city corporations originated, in the Netherlands, and as such were in full vigor, with a happy, flourishing, and united population, not only when New Netherland was discovered, but for a very long period preceding that event. The magistrates of these municipalities, chosen by the people themselves, were the means by which they were united with the Sovereign power, and through which the latter communicated with the people of the municipalities themselves, just as the nobles were the point of union and communication between the same Sovereign power and their own vassals or tenants.

The nobles formed a distinct House or College in each province, and sent deputies to the States of the Province, and the States-General, and also to the three Councils, of State, Accounts, and Admiralty. In the Council of State their deputy was the President, and in the States-General his was the first vote[2] cast. "The Dutch Nobility" says the English author of the "Description of Holland" in 1743, seem to observe a medium between the loftiness of those of the same rank in some countries, and the meanness of others. The *Italian* Nobility do not scruple to trade: The *French* are nicer: yet they make no difficulty to marry a tradesman's daughter, if she be rich, and thereby capable of repairing a shattered Estate. The *British* Nobility do not differ from the French in this respect. The *Germans* abhor trade; and perhaps in effect of the general barbarous constitution of their country, Tyrant and Slave, disdain to mingle their blood with that of base plebeians, though their brethren of nature."[3]

It was this combined and harmonious system of mingled municipalism and aristocracy, which gave the United Netherlands their great power and made them such a strong, conservative, and successful nation. It was a system they had tried, and under which they had lived, for more than two centuries, which all classes approved, and with which they were fully satisfied and thoroughly familiar. Hence it was, that when the West India Company undertook to colonize New Netherland, they naturally adopted for that new possession the same system which they knew had always worked well in the old, which they had always been accustomed to, and which was in entire consonance with the views, habits, manners, and customs, of the people of the Batavian republic.

It was not this system in New Netherland, but the ways and means of putting it into operation and carrying it out, which produced the delays, disputes, and changes, that began soon after the enactment of the charter of Freedoms and Exemptions of 1629, and only

[1] I. O'Call. 1302.

[2] "Description of Holland," p. 76. This work, by an Englishman, resident from infancy in Holland, was published in 1743, and is a full, fair and good account of that country.

[3] Ibid., 79.

ended with the adoption of the revised and amended charter of Freedoms and Exemptions of 1640.

It is needful to consider only the most salient features of these instruments, for a simple reading of documents themselves, as above given in full, will afford the best possible idea of the nature of the system of colonization, of which they were the foundation, and upon which rests that civilization, which, increasing and improving in the course of years, and modified, not abrogated, by a subsequent change of dominion and rulers, now constitutes the pride and glory of the great Empire State of New York.

They were drawn in accordance with the views and spirit of the age in which they had their birth, and should, and must, be judged in the light of that age if we would wish to form a fair and true opinion of them and the system they established. No more unjust, yet more common error, exists, than to make the views and spirit of this, our own age, the standard by which to judge the views, spirit, and actions of every age that has gone before it, and to praise or condemn, accordingly.

Judged by the lights of the seventeenth century these charters of Dutch Colonization were extremely free and liberal, far more so than those of any other nation at that time. It must be remembered, too, that, they were the work of an armed commercial organization, of the nature of those then existing, intent upon its own interests, as well as those of the nation to which it belonged; an organization equally well adapted to triumph in the pursuits of peace, or conquer in those of war.

Essentially monopolies, as were all the colonizing and commercial companies of that era in England, and in all the other European nations, the charter of Freedoms and Exemptions of 1629 confined its benefits and privileges to the members of the Dutch West Indian Company by which it was granted. This was changed by that of 1640 which threw them open to, "All good inhabitants of the Netherlands and all others inclined to plant any colonies in New Netherland." The former acknowledged, and granted the rights, powers, and privileges, of Patroons, as they then existed in the United Provinces of the Netherlands, to those who would plant a "colonie," (that is establish a plantation) of fifty souls above fifteen years of age, within four years in New Netherland, after notifying the proper authorities of their intention so to do. The latter reduced the time to three years, and by it all New Netherland was thrown open to the establishment of Patroonships, except the Island of Manhattan, which the Company reserved to itself.

All Patroons under the first charter (Art V.) were permitted, after settling upon a location, to extend the limits of their "colonies," or plantations, four miles Dutch, (*equal to sixteen English*) along the shore on one side of a navigable river, or two miles (*eight English*) on each side of the same, at their option. This was restricted by the second charter, to one Dutch mile along a navagable river, or two miles landward.

The latter also provided for a class of colonists, not Patroons, in these words "For Masters or Colonists, shall be acknowledged, those who will remove to New Netherland with five souls above fifteen years; to all such, our Governor there shall grant in property one hundred morgens, (two hundred English acres) Rhineland measure, of land, contiguous one to the other, wherever they please to select."

Thus were provided for New Netherland colonists of the two upper classes then dwelling in the Republic of the United Provinces, nobles and commoners of the first class, as before described. Both of these classes, brought out the third, the common people, the boers, who were the men and women, whom they settled upon their "colonies" and farms.

All the colonists, whether the Patroons, or of the Masters of farms, "Free Colonists," as they were styled in the charter of 1640, were freed from customs, taxes, excise, imposts, or any other contributions for the space of ten years."[1]

The special powers, rights and privileges of Patroons are set forth in articles VI, VII, VIII, and IX, of the charter of 1629, and as revised, and slightly altered, are thus stated in the charter of 1640;—

"The Patroons shall forever possess all the lands situate within their limits, together with the produce, superficies, minerals, rivers, and fountains thereof, with high, low, and middle jurisdiction, hunting, fishing, fowling, and milling, the lands remaining allodial, but the jurisdiction as of a perpetual hereditary fief, devolvable by death as well as to females as to males, and, fealty and homage for which is to be rendered to the Company, on each of such occasions, with a pair of iron gauntlets, redeemable by twenty guilders within a year and six weeks at the Assembly of the XIX here, or before the Governor there; with this understanding, that in case of division of said fief or jurisdiction, be it high, middle, or low, the parts shall be, and remain, of the same nature as was originally conferred upon the whole, and fealty and homage must be rendered for each part thereof by a pair of iron gauntlets, redeemable by twenty guilders as aforesaid.

And should any Patroon, in course of time, happen to prosper in his colonie to such a degree as to be able to found one or more towns, he shall have authority to appoint officers and magistrates there, and make use of his Colonie, according to the pleasure and the quality of the persons, all saving the Company's regalia.[2]

And should it happen that the dwelling places of private Colonists become so numerous as to be ac-

[1] Charter of 1629, art. XVIII.
[2] Rights of Sovereignty.

counted towns, villages, or cities, the Company shall give orders respecting the subaltern government, magistrates, and ministers of justice, who shall be nominated by the said towns and villages in a triple number of the best qualified, from which a choice and selection is to be made by the Governor and Council; and those shall determine all questions and suits within their district.

The Patroons who will send colonies thither, shall furnish them with due instruction agreeably to the mode of government, both in police and justice,[1] established, or to be established by the Assembly of the XIX, which they shall first exhibit to the Directors of the respective chambers, and have approved by the Assembly of the XIX."

The possession of the land, with everything, in, upon, or produced by it, as well as all matters of every kind, within the bounds of the patroonship, was first granted. Then follow the powers, rights, and privileges, the first of which was the high, middle, and low jurisdiction within the patroonship; a power necessarily appertaining to the ownership of the land, as requisite to the orderly government of the patroonship, the due protection of the tenants in their rights, and the determination of all controversies between themselves, or between themselves and the Patroon, or his agents, as well as the trial and punishment of criminal offenses. "High jurisdiction" means the power of capital punishment. Under the charter of 1629 (Art. XX), a right of appeal from all judgments of these courts, of fifty guilders ($20), and upwards, lay to the Governor and Council in New Netherland. By that of 1640, the limit was increased to 100 guilders ($40), and the right extended to all cases of criminal sentences, and judgments entailing infamy upon any person. Thus the rights of all people were thoroughly protected.

Next are enumerated the sole rights of hunting, fishing, fowling, and milling. These explain themselves, except the last,—milling. This means, not the actual grinding, or manufacturing, but the right to erect, or control the erection of, all mills within the Patroonship. For every Patroon was to build a mill, or mills, for the use and benefit of the tenants or vassals, these terms being simply synonymous, of the Patroonship. These mills could, either be run by the Patroon or his agent, or rented by him to any one who wished to run them, at a fixed rent or toll. But the Patroon was in all cases bound to provide the mills and appurtenances themselves.

The Tenure by which the lands, rights, powers, privileges, and jurisdictions of the Patroons of New Netherland were held, is thus stated in the sixth article of the charter of 1629, "to be holden from the Company as a perpetual inheritance, without it ever devolving again to the Company, and in case it should devolve, to be redeemed and repossessed with twenty guilders per colonie to be paid to this Company, at the Chamber here (*Holland*), or to their commander there (*New Netherland*) within a year and six weeks after the same occurs, each at the Chamber where he originally sailed from." This continued without change till 1640, when the revised charter of that year, stated the same tenure more fully, in these words, "the lands remaining allodial, but the jurisdiction as of a perpetual hereditary fief, devolvable by death as well to females as to males, and fealty and homage for which is to be rendered to the Company, on each of such occasions with a pair of iron gauntlets, redeemable by twenty guilders within a year and six weeks, at the Assembly of the XIX here (*in Amsterdam*), or before the Governor there (*in New Amsterdam*); with this understanding, that in case of division of said fief or jurisdiction, be it high, middle, or low, the parts shall be and remain of the same nature as was originally conferred on the whole, and fealty and homage must be rendered for each part thereof by a pair of iron gauntlets, redeemable by twenty guilders as aforesaid."

The Dutch words translated in the above quotation "a perpetual hereditary fief," and in the sixth article of the charter of 1629 "a perpetual inheritance," mean more than these English renderings, and express a technicality of the Dutch law which the latter does not convey. It is this. A feud, or fief, (these terms are synonymous) is thus defined in the Dutch law, "an hereditary indivisible use over the immoveable property of another, with a mutual obligation of protection on the one side, and a duty of homage and service on the other."[2] Such a fief, under the law, "was not divisible, except by charter and passed only per capita, or by stipulation in cases of intestacy, to the eldest male amongst the lawful children, or further descendants, of the last possessor; to males sprung from males, the nearest degree taking precedence of one more remote."[3] These, the old fiefs of the Fatherland, were termed "*recta feuda*," right fiefs, and were the fiefs referred to in both the New Netherland charters of "Freedoms and Exemptions" and the above translations of them. As they were indivisible and passed of right to the eldest male representative of the last possessor, and did not depend upon the intestacy of a son, they were termed "undying" fiefs, as opposed to fiefs where the succession might be changed by stipulation at the time of the investiture, or afterwards, which last were also hereditary. These "old fiefs" were not transplanted to New Netherland by the charters of Freedoms and Exemptions, but the new fiefs created by virtue of those charters had merely the same rights of jurisdiction, hunting, fishing, fowling, and milling, as the old un-

[1] This means "political and judicial," the original being badly translated. See Art. X, in the charter of 1629, where the language, "is as well in the political as the judicial government."

[2] Herbert's Grotius, 230, § I.

[3] Ibid. § II.

dying ones. In all other respects they were entirely different. The jurisdiction of the Patroons and their seignorial rights were held "as" of these undying fiefs, that is in the same manner as jurisdiction and seignorial rights were held under them. But the land itself, together with the produce, superficies, minerals, rivers and fountains thereof, was held by a very different tenure. That tenure was *allodial*, which means, not feudal, independent of a lord paramount. "The lands remaining allodial but the jurisdiction as of a perpetual (*undying*) hereditary fief" is the language of the charter of 1640. Then follows this radical change from the old fiefs, "devolvable by death as well to females as males," to women as well as to men, is the literal translation of the original words. Thus in New Netherland the right of succession was extended to at least double the number of persons, that it was under the old fiefs of the Fatherland. Annexed to this right, was the provision that upon each person succeeding to the inheritance of the Patroonship, fealty and homage were "to be rendered on each of such occasions to the Company with a pair of iron gauntlets, redeemable by twenty guilders within a year and six months, at the Assembly of the XIX. here (*Amsterdam*), or before the Governor there (*New Amsterdam*)." This was simply a method adopted for the acknowledgment by the Patroons of the political supremacy of the West India Company, as the ultimate and paramount government and source of title in New Netherland; a method borrowed from the old feudal manner in which the tenant, or vassal, acknowledged the holding of his lands from a lord paramount, who was in his turn thereby obliged to protect him, and which was called tenure by knight-service. Nothing of the latter ever existed in New Netherland. Except this political acknowledgment of the West India Company to be what we now call "the State," the Patroonships were held as hereditary allodial lands, which the Patroons could divide in parts and sell in fee at their pleasure; but what they did not sell in fee, descended to the next heir, whether man or woman, unless devised by will otherwise.

This power of devising by will was earnestly desired and contended for by the Patroons. The seventh article of the charter of 1629 says, "There shall likewise be granted to all Patroons who shall desire the same, *venia testandi*, or liberty to dispose of their aforesaid heritage by testament." "All Patroons and feudatories (*fundatories were the holders of any part of the fief*) shall, on requesting it, be granted "*Venia Testandi*, or the power to dispose of, or bequeath his fief by Will," is the language of that of 1640. This power alone, as it insured at some time or other the dividing up of all large fiefs, was sufficient to prevent the New Netherland fiefs from ever becoming dangerous, or the source of a great, continued, and oppressive aristocracy.

The "feudal system" of Europe, as such, never existed in New Netherland. That system however is the basis of the land titles of every civilized country of Europe at this hour, as it was at the discovery of the New World; and, as derived from the various countries of Europe which colonized America, is now the basis of those of the various States of the American Republic. The system of tenure introduced into New York by the Dutch, was divested of all burdensome attributes—the *nova feuda*, the new fiefs, by which all the land was there held were purely allodial, with full right in the Patroons to sell in fee in whole or in part, and to devise it in whole or in part by will, free of all charges and incumbrances, except the mere political acknowledgment of the West India Company as the ultimate paramount source of all title, the State. It was the most liberal land system, introduced upon the American Continent; far more so than the English system as introduced into the English Colonies, and the full feudal system, introduced into the American Colonies of France, Spain, and Portugal. It certainly did not "scatter" in New Netherland "the seeds of servitude, slavery, and aristocracy."[1] There were no "serfs" in the feudal sense, either in the Dutch republic or its colony of New Netherland. Slavery was, and had been, the universal, acknowledged, source of labor, the result of conquest originally, for centuries before, and at that time—the 17th century—all over the world. And equally in all countries of civilization was the division of society into classes of diverse grades, and the existence of an aristocracy, the only one known, established, and existing; and every State and government then in being was based upon it. How futile then is the idea, that to these New Netherland charters of Freedoms and Exemptions is owing the introducing of all these institutions into what is now the State of New York. Had neither of these charters ever existed the "seeds" of all three of these institutions would have found their way thither because they were simply the universal institutions of the highest human civilization at that era.

The reason why it was possible for the liberal fiefs of New Netherland to be created, was the nature of the investiture required to establish the Patroons in their rights, the seizin or delivery of possession to them established by the charters. This in the old fiefs, and under the feudal system, in Europe generally, was by an act of the lord upon receiving the oath of fealty and the homage of the tenant or vassal, at which time the latter also presented the lord with a fine, that is, a gift of some small article or thing as a token of his fidelity. In the New Netherland fiefs by virtue of the charters this whole matter was changed. The delivery of the grant of the fief by the Governor and Council itself was the livery of seizin, or investiture, of the possession in the Patroon.

[1] Moulton in his Hist. of N. Y., 387–8.

And at that time the latter took the oath of allegiance which was the "fealty," to the Company, and did his "homage," which was simply by holding up his hands in the presence of some other tenant, of the Company or Patroon, verbally acknowledging the Company as the ultimate possessor of the land, or as we should say, the State, requesting the Governor to invest him with the possession, and at the same time, presenting to him the pair of iron gauntlets (the hand armor of a coat of mail), or twenty guilders in money. They were thus under the Dutch law *nova feuda*, new fiefs, as distinguished from the old fiefs described before; and the Company as the ultimate possessor of the land by its Governor's grant could, and did, make the new investiture that has been described. If a Patroon divided his patroonship, the same jurisdiction attached to each part, and the same kind of investiture, had to be made for each part, as was provided for the whole patroonship in the original grant.

The numerous provisions of these charters relating to the trade, and other commercial privileges, granted to the Patroons do not require to be here considered. Neither do a few other provisions of a general nature.

The twenty-sixth article of the charter of 1629 as has been mentioned, provided that every one who "shall settle any colonie out of the limits of Manhatten Island, shall be obliged to satisfy the Indians for the land they shall settle upon," thus absolutely protecting the natives in the possession of their territories.

The twenty-ninth article, in accordance with the political economy of Europe at that day, which taught that colonies should be kept as markets for the productions of the mother countries, prohibited all manufactures in New Netherland on pain of banishment.

The thirtieth article of that of 1629, provided "that the company will use their endeavours to supply the colonists with as many blacks as they conveniently can, on the conditions hereafter to be made; in such manner, however, that they shall not be bound to do it for a longer time than they shall think proper." The charter of 1640, says, "The company shall exert itself to provide the patroons and colonists, on their order, with as many blacks as possible, without however being further or longer obligated thereto than shall be agreeable." These provisions were simply to furnish the cheapest labor then known, and were in accordance with the manner and methods of colonizing at that day, and the views of that era, as to labor. It was a similar provision to those put in contracts in our day and generation, for building railroads, canals, mines, and other enterprises, by syndicates and construction companies, and corporations, by which, so many hundreds, or thousands, of laborers, black, yellow, or white, are to be furnished at such a price for such wages. Were slavery not now abolished everywhere except in the Spanish Colonies, these contracts now would call for slaves as the cheapest kind of labor.

But one other subject of these charters remains to be considered, and that is the religion they established in New Netherland. All the charters were approved and enacted as laws by the West India Company, and the States-General; the sovereign power of the Seven Provinces of the United Netherlands. The twenty-seventh article of the charter of 1629 is in these words,—"The Patroons and Colonists shall in particular and in the speediest manner, endeavour to find out ways and means whereby they may support a minister and school-master, that thus the service of God and Zeal for religion may not grow cool, and be neglected among them; and that they do for the first, procure a comforter of the sick there." The charter of 1640 speaks much more strongly and directly:—"And no other Religion shall be publicly admitted in New Netherland except the Reformed, as it is at present preached and practiced in the United Netherlands; and for this purpose the company shall provide and maintain good and suitable preachers, school-masters and comforters of the sick." By these provisions of the two charters was the Reformed Church of the Netherlands, the national established church of the Dutch Republic, made the established church of New Netherland. And as such it remained until the seizure of the province by the English in 1664. It was re-established at the recapture by the Dutch, nine years later, and only ceased as "the Establishment" on the surrender of the province to Sir Edmund Andros, for the King of England, pursuant to the treaty of Westminister, on the tenth of November 1674. On this occasion the Dutch Governor, Colve, sent certain "articles" to Andros to which he required answers before surrendering, "for the satisfaction of the Dutch Government and for the greater tranquillity, of the good People of this Province." These related mainly to the settlement of debts, the validity of judgments during the Dutch administration, the maintenance of the titles of the owners of landed property to its possession, and the position of the established church. Andros directed Mathias Nicolls, the former secretary under the English, to confer in person with Colve on these subjects. Nicolls satisfied Colve that Andros would give satisfactory answers as soon as he assumed the government, and this assurance was fully carried out. The article relating to the Church is in these words:—"that the inhabitants of the Dutch nation may be allowed to retain their customary Church privileges in Divine Service and Church discipline."[1] This was granted, and with the Province of New Netherland fell forever the "Establishment" of the Dutch Church. But from that day to this, that great and venerable Church has continued in the enjoyment of its creed, privileges, and property, as fully and as freely

[1] II Brod., 270.

as it did, while having the power of the Province Government at its back to enforce its support and prohibit all doctrines it did not approve. And how strong this power was, its dealings with the Lutherans, and with the Quakers in Governor Stuyvesant's time, fully attest.

At the beginning the maintenance of the Church though undertaken by the West India Company, was, under the charter of 1629, devolved by it upon the Patroons and Free Colonists; but under that of 1640, and during the entire Dutch dominion afterward, it was placed upon the Province Government, as the representative, or rather agent, of the West India Company, without however relieving the Patroons and Colonists from their obligations in regard to it. If they were in default, the Company itself was to maintain "the Established Church" through its Provincial Government from its own revenues. Before the charter of 1629 the Company undertook the support of the church. This appears from a letter of the Rev. Jonas Michaelius, the first clergyman of the Dutch Church in New Netherland to a brother clergyman at Amsterdam, the Rev. Adrianus Smoutius, dated August 11, 1628, which was discovered and first printed, only in 1858, in a periodical of Amsterdam by Mr. J. J. Bodel Nijenhuis of that city, and subsequently translated and sent to the late Dr. Edmund B. O'Callaghan then of Albany, the author of the "History of New Netherland," by the late Henry C. Murphy, then United States Minister at the Hague. The second volume of the "Holland Documents" translated and edited for the State by Dr. O'Callaghan, was, when the letter arrived, just printed, but not bound nor published, and in it, as an appendix, that learned editor inserted Mr. Murphy's translation of this letter. Michaelius sailed from Holland, January 24th, 1628, and arrived at the "Island of Manhatas," as he calls it, on the 7th of the succeeding April, and wrote the letter the following August. In it he says, "In my opinion, it is very expedient that the Lords Managers of this place (*the Amsterdam Chamber of the West Indian Company*) should furnish plain and precise instructions to their Governors that they may distinctly know how to regulate themselves in all difficult occurrences and events in public matter; and at the same time that I should have all such Acta Synodalia, as are adopted in the Synods of Holland, both the special ones relating to this region and those which are provincial and national, in relation to ecclesiastical points of difficulty, or at least such of them as in the judgment of the Reverend brothers at Amsterdam would be most likely to present themselves to us here." . . . The promise which the Lords Masters of the Company had made me of some acres or surveyed lands for me to make myself a home, instead of a free table which otherwise belonged to me is wholly of no avail. For their honors well know that their are no horses, cows, or laborers to be obtained here for money. Every one is short in these particulars and wants more."

This letter also proves incidentally, that slavery existed in "the Manhatas" at its date, the year before the enactment of the charter of 1629 which provided for their being furnished by the Company to the Patroons, as stated above, and to which has been so often, and so wrongly ascribed their first introduction in New York. Speaking of his family matters, for his wife had died since his arrival leaving him with "two little daughters," Michaelius writes, "maid-servants are not to be had, at least none whom they advise me to take; and the Angola slaves are thievish, lazy and useless trash." Evidently slaves had been by no means lately introduced in "the Manhatas" in 1628.

The Canon law and the Roman law came into Holland together, and that country was governed by both until the Reformation. Then the former was overthrown, and the law of the Reformed Church of Holland promulgated in 1521, and confirmed in 1612, went into operation, but the Roman civil law remained as before the law of the land. Under the law of the Reformed Church of Holland, matters ecclesiastical come first before the Consistory, then before the Assembly, and finally before the Synod. There being no Synod in New Netherland, the care of the church there was entrusted to the Assembly or classis of Amsterdam, by whom the Dutch clergymen were approved and ordained, at the request, or with the assent, of the West India Company at Amsterdam.[1] Except when as a matter of mere charity on their being driven from New England, the English settlers of the Congregational belief were granted freedom of conscience and to worship in their own way, and to choose their own civil officers,[2] people of other denominations were not allowed to hold office.[3] This was because the Reformed Religion in accordance with the doctrine of the Synod of Dort was the Established Religion of New Netherland, and the magistrates were bound to maintain it against all sectaries, and therefore they must have belonged, or been friendly, to that faith.[4]

Such were the provisions of the charters of Freedoms of Exemptions as to tenure of lands and the rights, powers and privileges of the Patroons, and the Masters or Free Colonists, of New Netherland, and the farm people, or boers, they brought over to cultivate the soil; and as to the Church.

The total number of land grants of all kinds, from a Patroonship, to a single lot in Manhattan Island, issued by the Dutch Provincial Government from

[1] Laws of N. N., v.

[2] See charter of Hempstead granted by Governor Kieft, in 1644. Laws N. N., 42.

[3] Ibid, 479.

[4] On March 17, 1664, Stuyvesant and his council passed an ordinance, that all school-masters should appear with their school-children every Wednesday afternoon in the church, that they might be catechised by the Ministers and Elders. Laws of N. N., 461.

1630 to 1634, as far complete as the Books of Patents and Town records now admit was 638, as shown by the statement of O'Callaghan appended to the second volume of his history. It is not absolutely correct, but is sufficiently so as a very fair approximation. The territories and rights of the original Patroonships on both sides of the Hudson River, with but two exceptions, were subsequently on account of the difficulties of their owners, with the West India Company, and the obstacles they met with in settling their lands, subsequently bought back by the Company. Thus they became again part and parcel of the public domain, and as such were retransported and regranted to various individuals, by the Director and Council. That of New Amstel on the Delaware, was finally conceded to the city of Amsterdam in Holland, as late as 1656, and that city took upon itself the settlement and colonization of that Patroonship.

The two exceptions to the re-purchase of the New York Patroonships, were those of Rensselaers-wyck and Colen-Donck, both of which continued in the possession of their Patroons. Space will not permit of even a brief account of the former, which, changed in 1705 to an English Manor, has continued to our own days, striking and interesting as it is. The latter, the only Patroonship established in Westchester County, will now be described.

6

The Patroonship of Colen-Donck.

(*Yonkers.*)

In that portion of New Netherland which now constitutes the county of Westchester there existed under the Dutch dominion but one Patroonship. It was called Colen-Donck, in English "Donck's Colony," from the name of its Patroon, Adriaen van der Donck, to whom it was granted by Director Kieft and his Council in the year 1646.[1]

It was granted as the sole property of one of the most noted and intelligent of the leading men of New Netherland. Public affairs in which its Patroon was engaged almost immediately after it was granted, and his necessary absence in Holland, retarded its successful development. His death following shortly after his return, and its sale under the power he obtained to dispose of it by will, practically terminated it after an existence of only twenty years.

Adriaen van der Donck, styled by the Director and Council of New Netherland in a summons to the Rev. Everardus Bogardus, dated the second of January, 1646, "the Yoncker"[2] was an educated Dutch gentleman, a native of Breda,[3] a graduate of the University of Leyden, and a doctor of both the civil, and the canon, law, "utriusque juris," as that degree was then expressed in Latin. He came to America in the autumn of 1641, in the service of Kiliaen van Rensselaer, the first Patroon of Rensselaerswyck, having been appointed in the early part of that year by that gentleman Schout-Fiscaal of the Patroonship of that name. This office, which, as shown before, combined the duties of a Sheriff and an Attorney-General, was a most important one, and brought him into close connection with the other officers, and the tenants, of Rensselaerswyck; the rights and interests of all parties being in many particulars subject to his official action. His first instructions from the Patroon were dated July 18, 1641, and his first account, still existing in the books of that colonie, begins on the 9th of September following.[4] The above mention of van der Donck as "the Yoncker" is the earliest mention of that title as applied to him that I have found. As it is used in referring to a matter which occurred in 1645, it is clear that he was so called and known four years only after his arrival in America. The term is simply a corruption of "Jonkheer," son of a gentleman.[5] It is of interest, for, from this title so given to him who became in the succeeding year, 1646, the Patroon of Colen-Donck, is derived the name which that Patroonship, in common parlance, ever afterwards bore, and which is to-day perpetuated in the corporate name of the beautiful city which is embraced within its limits—*Yonkers.*

Van der Donck was the first lawyer in New Netherland, and of course in that part of it now New York. Lubbertus van Dincklagen, who was appointed Schout-Fiscaal and Vice Director of New Netherland, 5th May, 1645, also a doctor of civil and canon law, was the second, and Dirk (*Richard*) van Schelluyne, who was also the first notary, commissioned 8th May, 1650, was the third.

These first lawyers are mentioned here because their names are found appended to so very many of the early deeds, and public and private documents, of the earliest part of the Dutch dominion in New York. Prior to leaving Amsterdam, van der Donck, probably as part of the terms between them, received from Kiliaen von Rensselaer, a lease of the westerly half of the first island on the west side of the Hudson below Albany then called Welysburgh, from van Wely, a relative of the Patroon. Later it was styled, "Castle Island," because upon its southern end was built the first fortified trading house erected by Corstiaensen under the charter of "The United New Netherland Company," of 14th October, 1614, and called Fort Nassau, which three years later, in 1617, was destroyed by a freshet. Subsequently, and till this day, from its proprietors, it was, and still is, known as Rensselaers Island. Here van der Donck erected a house and dwelt. In 1643 difficulties between him and Arendt von Curler, or Corlaer, the Patroon's commissary, occurred, and van der Donck, determining to leave his position, undertook to arrange for the

[1] II. O'Cal., 584; I. Brod., 420.
[2] XIV. Col. Hist., 70.
[3] I. Col. Hist., 477.
[4] I. O'Cal., 327.
[5] I. Brod. 421.

planting of a "Colonie" at "Katskill," of which he himself was to be the Patroon. This was a violation of the sixth and twenty-sixth articles of the charter of Freedoms and Exemptions of 1629, and the Patroon of Rensselaerswyck, on the 10th September, 1643, sent written orders to van Curler, to see that van der Donck desisted at once, being his "sworn officer," and if he did not, that he should "be degraded from his office and left on his bowerie to complete his contracted lease without allowing him to depart." This effectually put an end to the project of the Katskill Colonie, van der Donck continued to perform his duties, and matters grew much easier with van Curler. On the 18th of January, 1646, van der Donck's house burned down, at which very time he was negotiating for a sale of his lease to one Michael Jansen, to which, as the Patroon's Commissary, van Curler had to assent. A new quarrel at once arose, as to whether the loss should fall on the Patroon as van der Donck claimed, or on the latter as van Curler insisted. The matter was finally referred to the Patroon in Holland, van der Donck left the island, and lived in a hut near Fort Orange, till spring, and then came down to New Amsterdam.[1] In the previous year, 1645, he had been of great assistance to Director Kieft in advancing the requisite funds, and settling the terms of peace with the Indians, which closed the wicked war that Kieft had wantonly begun two or three years before, and which proved so disastrous to New Netherland.[2] The Patroon of Rensselaerswyck, died at Amsterdam later in 1646, and with his death the connection of van der Donck with that Patroonship ceased, Nicolas Coorn succeeding him in his office by the appointment of the executors of the late Patroon, Johannes van Wely and Wouter van Twiller.

Van der Donck still desiring to become a Patroon, immediately occupied himself, on returning to New Amsterdam, in looking for a proper location. He finally selected the lower portion of what is now the county of Westchester and northern part of the city of New York, between the rivers Hudson and Harlem, on the west and south, and the Bronx on the east. A choice which eminently proved his good taste and sound judgment. The Indian name for this region was Keskeskick, and the Indian title to it was extinguished by its sale to the West India Company by its Indian owners on the third of August, 1639, in these words, "This day, date as below, appeared before me Cornelis van Tienhoven, Secretary in New Netherland, Tequeemet, Rechgawac, Pachamiens, owners of Keskeskick, who in presence of the undersigned witnesses voluntarily and deliberately declare, that in consideration of a certain lot of merchandise, which they acknowledge to have received and accepted before the passing of this act, they have transferred, ceded, conveyed, and made over, as a true and lawful freehold, as they herewith transfer, cede, convey, and make over, to, and for the benefit of, the General Incorporated West India Company, a piece of land, situate opposite to the flat on the Island of Manhattan, called Keskeskick, stretching lengthwise along the Kil, which runs behind the Island of Manhattan mostly east and west, and beginning at the head of the said Kil and running to opposite of the high hill by the flat, namely by the Great Kil, with all right, titles, &c., &c. Done at Fort Amsterdam, the 3d of August, 1639.

CORNELIS VAN DER HOYLEN,
DAVID PIETERSEN DE VRIES,
as witnesses,

in my presence,

CORNELIS VAN TIENHOVEN,
Secretary.

This instrument is recorded in Book G, G, of Patents page 30, in the Secretary of State's Office in Albany.[3] By it was vested in the West India Company the right of soil and possession of the Indians in the tract described. It will be noticed that it bears no marks of the Indians as signatories, but is only signed by the witnesses and the Secretary of the Province, differing in this respect from the Indian Deeds of much later dates, and especially from those executed under the English rule. This was strictly in accordance with the Dutch Provincial "Ordinance," or law, enacted by the Director and Council of New Netherland the year before the date of this deed, which, as it is not generally known, is in full as follows ;—

"The Free people" (*those not Patroons, nor boers* or *farm laborers*) "having by petition requested Patents of the Lands which they are at present cultivating, the prayer of the Petitioners is granted, on condition that at the expiration of Ten years after entering upon their Plantation, they shall pay yearly to the Company the Tenth of all crops which God the Lord shall grant to the field; also from this time forth, one couple of capons for a house and lot." This ordinance of the Director and Council was passed on the 24th June, 1638.[4]

On the 19th of the following August another ordinance was passed by the same high authority, in which occurs this clause providing that all legal documents, shall be drawn up by the Secretary of the Province ;—"Likewise, that, from now henceforward, no instruments, whether contracts, obligations, leases, or Bills of Sale, or such like writings of what nature soever they be, and concerning which any dispute

[1] I. O'Call, N. N., 333, 338, 345, 346 ; I. Brod., 419, 420.

[2] Von der Donck's New Netherland in I. N.Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2d Series, 127 and 161.

[3] It is also printed in XIII. Col. Hist., 5.

[4] Laws N. N., 16. This law was the origin of the "four fat fowls" clause of the manorial leases in New York.

The "tenths" or tithes were simply a form of rental, the recompense to the Company and the Patroons for their outlay and expense in settling their lands.

may arise, shall be held valid by the Director and Council, unless they shall be written by the Secretary of this place. Let every one take warning and save himself from damage. This done and published in Fort Amsterdam this 19th of August, 1638."[1]

The witnesses to the above instrument were well known men of mark at that day. The name of the first correctly entered should have been Cornelis van der Hoyken, or van der Huyghens, as the name was truly spelled. He was, on July 13th, 1639, just previous to the date of this deed, appointed the Schout-Fiscaal, or Sheriff and Attorney-General, of the Province, served for several years, and was drowned on the voyage to Holland in 1647 with Governor Kieft. David Pietersen de Vries was the famous navigator, the author of the "Journal notes of several voyages in Europe, Africa, Asia and America," one of the earliest and most authentic writers on New Netherland. He was also a Patroon of Swanandael on the Delaware, of another Patroonship upon Staten Island, and in the words of Brodhead, was "frank, honest, religious, and a sincere advocate of the true interests of New Netherland."[2]

Cornelis Tienhoven the Secretary, so long in office under Kieft and Stuyvesant, and often their envoy to the different English Colonies, and active in other public positions in New Amsterdam is so well known as to need no further mention.

Van der Donck began his settlement on the banks of the Neperhaem, or, as more lately termed, the Neperan near its confluence with the Hudson, erecting a saw mill, and other improvements incident to such an enterprise, at that place. From this mill the stream derived its Dutch name of Saeg-Kill, or Saw-Kill, and the English one, by which it continues to be known, the "Saw-Mill River." For his own residence and home plantation, he selected the southern end of the beautiful peninsula, or tide island as it really was, and the meadows immediately about it, which the Indians called Papirinemen, directly opposite the northernmost extremity of Manhattan Island, almost surrounded by the waters of the same name, connecting the Spyt-den-Duyvel Creek, on the west, with the Great Kill, or Harlem River on the east; and upon which afterward was erected the first bridge connecting Manhattan Island with the mainland of Westchester County, then, and to this day called Kingsbridge.[3] He also cultivated the ancient corn grounds of the former Indian owners, now the beautiful flat surrounding the old "Cortlandt House" soon to be the parade-ground of the new "Van Cortlandt Park;" that estate which has continued in the family for nearly two centuries, having now been wisely acquired by the City of New York for a grand suburban park.

Becoming engaged, as a leader, in the disputes between the people of New Amsterdam and Governor Stuyvesant as the representative of the West India Company, he could not give his Patroonship the attention it needed. Three years after the grant to him of Colen-Donck by Governor Kieft, the troubles with Stuyvestant came to a head. The Commonalty of the "Province of New Netherland," drew up by a committee, a Petition to the States-General for a redress of their grievances, dated July 26th, 1649; the draughtsman, and first signer, of which was Adriaen van der Donck. This Petition, with a full explanation in the form of notes, also by van der Donck, and signed by him and the others of the committee was transmitted to Holland.[4] Two days later on the 28th of July, was also signed the famous "Remonstrance," or "Vertoogh" of van der Donck, giving a long, detailed, history of the discovery, productions, settlement, and alleged misgovernment of the New Netherland by the officers of the West India Company.

Van der Donck, Jacob van Couwenhoven, and Jan Everts Bout, were appointed by the Commonalty a delegation to proceed to Holland and lay these documents before the States-General and the West India Company and ask for a redress of what they deemed oppression. On the 12th of the succeeding August, von Dincklagen the Vice-Director under Stuyvesant, but not favored by him, sent a letter to the States-General, in which he says, "whereas the Condition of that most fertile New Netherland is seriously impaired by the war,[5] and the Commonalty hath resolved on a delegation of three of the Nine Selectmen in order that your High Mightinesses may obtain full and thorough information on every point, [and] I have not been able to dissuade them therefrom. I cannot but say they intend what is right. These persons are thoroughly conversant with the situation of the country. I hope your High Mightinesses will be pleased thereby and extend to them a favorable audience, and give them despatch as soon as your High Mightinesses' more weighty affairs will permit, as the people are very anxious."[6]

These papers were received on the 13th of October, 1649, by the States-General from the delegates, and referred to a special committee to examine and report upon them. On the 31st of January, 1650, the committee reported adversely to the Petitioners, answering their documents article by article, and using strong language.[7] The delegates replied by a further short petition on the 7th of February following, which was also referred to a special committee.[8] Other communications were subsequently received and referred. Finally their committee reported to the States-General a long, detailed, and very full "Provisional Order respecting the Government, Preservation and Peo-

[1] Laws N. N., 17.
[2] Vol. I. 381, note.
[3] Van der Donck's Letter. Riker's Harlem, 163.
[4] I. Col. Hist., 259, 270.
[5] Kieft's late war with the Indians is here referred to.
[6] I. Col. Hist., 319.
[7] I Col. Hist., 338, etc.
[8] Ibid., 346.

pling of New Netherland on April 11, 1650." It contained twenty-one sections materially modifying the action of the West India Company,—and one of which instructed Stuyvesant to return to Holland.[1] The Company opposed its adoption, and it was temporarily laid over.[2] A new modification of the Freedoms and Exemptions was also adopted on the 24th May, 1650, which however did not change the principles of those of 1629, and 1640, but referred chiefly to minor details. This was the last legislative action of the States-General relative to the colonization of New Netherland.[3] Van der Donck endeavoured to aid his "Colonie," and New Netherland generally, in the matter of population. On the 11th of March, 1650, he and the other delegates, concluded a contract "to charter a suitable fly boat of two hundred *lasts*, and therein to go to sea on the 1st of June next, and convey to New Netherland the number of two hundred passengers, of which one hundred are to be farmers and farm servants, and the remaining one hundred such as the Amsterdam Chamber is accustomed to send over, conversant with agriculture, and to furnish them with supplies for the voyage," on condition that the contractors should be allowed four thousand guilders from the export duties on New Netherland freights, "to pay present expenses," and the further sum of seven thousand guilders from the peltry duties at New Amsterdam; and in case of failure by the contractors they were to restore the four thousand guilders, and forfeit, besides, two thousand guilders more of their own funds.[4]

Van Couwenhoven and Bout returned to New Netherland with a copy of the "Provisional Order," arriving there on the 28th of June,[5] leaving van der Donck in Holland to complete the business of the delegation, and return when the redress was actually voted. Failing to obtain action, van der Donck, on the 14th January, 1651, presented the States-General, with a further petition "again praying that a speedy and necessary redress may be concluded on, in regard to the affairs of New Netherland."

Stuyvesant declined to obey the "Provisional order," except in some minor matters, and opposed it by strong despatches to the company, while his Secretary van Tienhoven was already in Holland fighting van der Donck strenuously before the authorities there. On the 10th of February, 1652, nothing having been finally determined, still another representation of the contumacy of Stuyvesant, and the continued bad state of New Netherland, and the necessity for an act of redress of their grievances was made by van der Donck. It thus concludes,—"the said delegate of the Commonalty of New Netherland again humbly prays and requests your High Mightinesses to be pleased to dispose favorably of the aforesaid, in order that he, the delegate, may leave by the first ship this spring on his return for New Netherland."[6]

With this paper van der Donck laid before the States-General a voluminous mass of extracts of letters and other documents received chiefly in the year 1651, by him from New Netherland, detailing the difficulties there.[7] After a reference of these papers to the different chambers of the West India Company and considering their various reports thereon, which occupied many months, the States-General adopted and sent the following recall to Stuyvesant, "Honorable &c. We have, in view of the public service considered it necessary to require you, on sight hereof, to repair hither in order to furnish us circumstantial and pertinent information, as to the true and actual condition of the country and affairs; and also of the boundary line between the English and the Dutch there. Done 27th April 1652."[8]

The very day before, on the 26th of April, at his own request pursuant to the charter of Freedoms and Exemptions, the States-General granted to van der Donck, by patent under seal, the "*venia testandi*," or right to dispose by will as Patroon, "of the Colonie Nepperhaem by him called Colem Donck, situate in New Netherland."[9]

He now thought everything was completed and that he should soon be again on the banks of the Hudson. He embarked his goods and everything in the way of supplies for his "Colonie," in a vessel then anchored in the Texel, and on the 13th of May 1652 applied to the States-General for their formal permit to return home, which was requisite by a resolution of that body of the 14th of the preceding March. But he was doomed to disappointment. The Amsterdam chamber supported their officers, and were displeased at van der Donck, and the delegation for laying all their matters before the States-General instead of before themselves, thereby forcing the chamber to bring its own action in New Netherland before the "Lords of Holland," as the States-General were termed. And it had influence enough among them to annoy van der Donck in every way. His request was merely referred to a committee "to examine." But on the 24th of May he sent in a long and sharp, but respectful, memorial, protesting against their inaction. In this, he says, "that proposing to depart by your High Mightinesses consent, with his wife, mother, sister, brother, servants, maids, and in that design had packed and shipped all his implements and goods," but he understood "that the Hon.ble Directors at Amsterdam had forbidden all skippers to receive him, or his, even though exhibiting your High Mightinesses express orders and consent," * * * "by which he must, without any form of procedure, or anything resembling thereto, remain separated from his wife, mother, sis-

[1] I. Col. Hist., 387. [2] Ibid., 393.
[3] Ibid., 401. [4] I. Col. Hist., 379.
[5] I. Colonial Hist., 447.
[6] I. Col. Hist., 438. [7] I. Col. Hist., 444–461.
[8] I. Col. Hist., 472. [9] I. Col. Hist., 470.

ter, brother, servants, maids, family connexions, from two good friends, from his merchandise, his own necessary goods, furniture, and also from his real estate in New Netherland."[1] But this also was merely referred to the various chambers " for their information."[2] Nothing was done, and on the 5th of August, 1652, he again solicited permission to depart.[3] He was again denied, and this, too, in spite of his showing that his affairs were going to ruin, and the cruelty of separating him from his wife and family. The family therefore were obliged to sail without him, and he returned to the Hague.[4]

To this persecution and vindictiveness of his opponents, however, we are indebted for the most valuable account of New Netherland written by any one who had then been a resident there. He seems to have begun this work immediately upon his return to the Hague and it was probably finished in the course of the ensuing winter. In May he applied for a copyright, which after an examination of the book both by the Chamber of Amsterdam, and a Committee of the States-General, was granted by the latter body on the 24th of May, 1753. The correspondence on this subject between these bodies, shows that a copy of this little book was sent by the former to the latter on the 2d of May, and referred to a committee " to inspect, examine, and report thereon."[5] It must therefore have been printed at that time, though no copy of that date is now known to exist. This is the more probable from the fact, that van der Donck was at length permitted to depart, and returned to New Netherland in the summer of 1753.[6] As we know that he intended to write an addition to this work in order to make it complete as a history, and obtained an order from the West India Company, in the shape of a letter from it to Stuyvesant, to permit him to examine the papers and records in the Secretary's office of the Province, for that purpose, it may be, that though printed, it was not published in 1653. Stuyvesant on his return refused him access to the records, and thus defeated his plan, and he then, in all probability, consented to the publication of what had already been printed in Holland. He died in 1655, about two years after his return to America,[7] and in the same year the first edition of his work that we now have, was issued in Amsterdam, with a view of New Amsterdam inserted.[8] A second edition was issued in 1656, also in Amsterdam, without the view, but containing a map of New Netherland. This book was entitled, " Beschryvin I. van Niew Nederlandt," or, "A Description of New Netherland" (such as it now is) Comprehending the nature, character, situation and Fruitfulness of that Country," &c., &c., with an account of the manners and customs of the Indians, and of the natural history of the Beaver." This and the "Vertoogh" or "Remonstrance" referred to before, published in 1650, which was a contemporaneous relation of events in New Netherland, historical, civil, and military, are the two most valuable and authentic accounts of New Netherland and its early history and condition, that exist, and are the sources to which all writers ever since, have gone for information on the early history of what is now New York. The first named work was first published in English, only in 1841, in the first volume of the second series of the Collections of the New York Historical Society, the translation having been made by the late General Jeremiah Johnson of Brooklyn. And in the second volume of the same series, is an admirable translation of the "Vertoogh," from the pen of the Hon. Henry C. Murphy of the same city.

This full sketch of the Patroon of Colen Donck and his career is given, because it shows, that it was owing to what may be called his public life, that he was unable to effect the better settlement of his Westchester Patroonship. His enforced absence for so long a period, was followed by his death two years only after his return to America, too short a time to enable him to carry out any plans he may have formed in regard to it. And also because that career, one of the most striking and remarkable in New Netherland history, was the career of the Patroon of the only Patroonship in Westchester County.

Prior to leaving Rensselaerswyck, and in the year 1645, von der Donck married Mary Doughty, a daughter of the Rev. Francis Doughty, a New England clergyman, who in 1642, three years before, had been driven, with many of his friends, by the persecuting Puritans of Massachusetts from his home in that colony. Having stated publicly, at Cohasset, "that Abraham's children should have been baptized," he was forthwith dragged out of the assembly and otherwise harshly used; and with one Richard Smith and some others who held like views of baptism, was forced to " escape from the insupportable government of New England " to New Netherland.[9] He and his friends were granted in compassion for their sufferings and poverty, a tract, with the privileges of a patroonship for those interested collectively, but without the privilege of milling, or the title of Patroon to any one of them, for 6000 Dutch acres, at Maspeth, on Long Island, dated, March 28th, 1642. But quarrels between the parties themselves, the Indian war, and Doughty's demands for money for himself personally, made the enterprise a failure, and the lands were afterwards, under the law, confiscated to the company by Governor Kieft, and subsequently regranted in parcels, to different individuals.[10]

[1] I. Col. Hist., 476.
[2] I. Col. Hist., 476, 478.
[3] Ibid., 485.
[4] Ibid., 532.
[5] I. Col. Hist., 531, 532.
[6] N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2d Series, vol. ii. 258.
[7] I. Col. Hist., 533; II. O'Call., 551.
It is a small 4to vol. of 104 pages, with an introduction of 8 pages.
[9] N. Y. Col. Hist., 131.
[10] XI. Col. Hist., 413.

This is the only instance on record of a collective transport of a Patroonship, and seems to have been made *ex-gratia* as a matter of charity, to the poor persecuted exiles from Puritan Massachusetts, who brought practically nothing but their own persons to New Netherland. Nothing was paid by them for the land, and all that the grantees had to do, was "to acknowledge the said Lords Directors as their Masters and Patroons, to pay, after the lapse of ten years, the tenth part of the produce of the fields, whether cultivated with the plough, or hoe, or otherwise (orchards and gardens not exceeding one acre, Holland measure excepted)."[1] Doughty afterwards removed to Patuxent, in Maryland, where his daughter resided and where he was living in October, 1659.[2]

When Van der Donck died in 1655, his widow was left, after a married life of ten years, with some small children, but how many, is not now known. As we have seen that he had sought and obtained the *venia testandi*, or the right of disposing of his Patroonship by will, he probably devised Colen-Donck to his widow. She subsequently married Hugh O'Neale of Patuxent, Maryland, and resided with her husband in that province. Eleven years after van der Donck's death, and two after the English seized New Netherland, a new patent dated October 8th, 1666, in the nature of a confirmation was issued by Governor Richard Nicolls to O'Neale and his wife in their joint names, thus vesting the title to the whole Patroonship in them jointly. This Patent styles it "Nepperhaem," and is in these words ;—

"Richard Nicolls, Esq., Governor under his Royal Highness, ye Duke of York, of all his territoryes in America, to all to whom this present writing shall come, sendeth greeting: Whereas there is a certain tract of land within this Government, upon the Main, Bounded to the northwards by a rivulet called by the Indians, Macakassin, so running southward to Nepperhaem, from thence to the Kill Shorakkappock,[3] and then to Paperinemin,[4] which is the southern most bounds, then to go across the country to the eastward by that which is commonly known by the name of Bronck's, his river and land, which said tract hath heretofore been purchased of the Indian proprietors by Adriaen van der Donck, deceased, whose relict, Mary, the wife of Hugh O'Neale, one of the patentees is, and due satisfaction was also given for the same, as hath by some of the said Indians been acknowledged before me; Now for a further confirmation unto them, the said Hugh O'Neale and Mary his wife, relict of the aforesaid Adriaen van der Donck, in their possession and enjoyment of the premises *Know ye*, that by virtue of this our commission and authority, given unto me by his Royal Highness the Duke of York, I have thought fit to give, ratify, confirm, and grant, and by these presents do give, ratify, confirm, and grant, unto the said Hugh O'Neale and Mary his wife, their heirs and assigns, all the afore mentioned tract or parcel of lands called Nepperhaem, together with all woods, marshes, meadows, pastures, waters, lakes, creeks, rivulets fishing, hunting and fowling, and all other profits, commodities and emoluments to the said tract of land belonging, with their, and every of their appurtenances, and of every part and parcel thereof, *to have and to hold* the said tract of land and premises, with all and singular their appurtenances, to the said Hugh O'Neale and Mary his wife, their heirs and assignes to the proper use and behoofe of the said Hugh O'Neale and Mary his wife, their heires and assignes forever, he, she, or they, or any of them, rendering and paying such acknowledgment, and duties, as are, or shall be, constituted and ordayned by his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and his heirs, or such governor, or governors, as shall from time to time be appointed and set over them within this province. That, if at any time hereafter, his Royal Highness, his heirs, successors, or assigns, shall think fit to make use of any timber for shipping, or for erecting or repairing of forts within this government, liberty is reserved for such uses and purposes to cut any sort of timber upon any unplanted grounds, on the said tract of land, to make docks, harbours, wharfes, houses, or any other conveniences relating thereunto, and also to make use of any rivers or rivuletts, and inlets of water, for the purposes aforesaid, as fully and free as if no such patent had been granted.

Given under my hand and seal at Fort James, New York, on the Island of Manhattan, the eighth day of October, in the eighteenth year of the reign of our sovereign Lord, Charles the Second, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, King, defender of the Faith, &c., &c., in the year of our Lord God, 1666."[5]

The acknowledgment by the Indians referred to in the foregoing deed, thus appears under date of September 21st, 1668, in Book of Deeds III., at Albany, page 42:

"This day came Hugh O'Neale and Mary his wife (who in right of her former husband laid claime to a cert^{n} parcele of land upon the Maine not farre from Westchester, commonly called the Younckers land), who bro't severall Indyans before the gov^{r} to acknowledge the purchase of said lands by van der Donck commonly called ye Youncker. The said Indyans declared y^{e} bounds of the sd. lands to be from a place called by them Macackassin at y^{e} north so to run to Neperan and to y^{e} Kill Soro-quappock, then to Muskota and Papperinemain to the south,

[1] The original transport is in Latin, and an English translation is in XIV. Col. Hist., 38 ; I. O'Call, 237 ; and Appendix, 427 and 428.

[2] II. Col. Hist., 93.

[3] The Indian name of Spyt-den-Duyvel Creek.

[4] Now Kingsbridge.

[5] Recorded in Sec. of State's office, Albany

and crosse the country to y^e^ eastward by Bronckx his Ryver and Land. The Indyan Propyetors name who was cheife of them is Tackareeck living at the Nevisans[1] who acknowledged the purchase as before described, and that he had received satisfac^n^ for it.—Claes y^e^ Indyan hav^g^ interest in a part acknowledged to have sould it, and received satisfact^n^ of van der Donck. All the rest of the Indyans present being seven or eight acknowledged to have rec^d^ full satisfaction."

The date of this instrument, 1668, is evidently a clerical error for 1666, as the acknowledgment is recited in Nicoll's patent of confirmation which bears day October 8th, 1666.

From this patent it is clear that no part of the patroonship had been parted with since van der Donck's death in 1655. And from the fact that on the 30th of the same October in the same year in which this patent was granted, only twenty-two days afterward, the first conveyance under it was made by O'Neale and his wife, it seems evident that it was obtained simply as a confirmation of the original title, and an acknowledgment of its validity, by the New English government, in order to make the sale alluded to. This sale of the tract, on October 30th, 1666, was made to Elias Doughty, of Flushing, Long Island, who was the son of the Rev. Francis Doughty, and a brother of van der Donck's widow, the then wife of Hugh O'Neale, and vested the entire Patroonship in him.

Elias Doughty at once began the sale of it in different parcels to different individuals in fee. On the first of March, 1667, four months after he had become its owner Elias Doughty sold to John Arcer, or Archer, as this Dutch name was Anglicised,[2] "four score acres of upland and thirty of meadow betwixt Broncx river & y^e^ watering place at the end of the Island of Manhattans,"[3] which four years later, with some adjoining purchases of lands, was erected in his favor into the Manor of Fordham by Governor Lovelace on the 13th of November, 1771.

On June 7th, 1668, Doughty sold to John Heddy[4] of Westchester a tract of three hundred and twenty acres, now part of the old van Cortlandt estate, recently taken for van Cortlandt Park. The next month, on the 6th of July, 1668, Elias Doughty sold to George Tippitt and William Betts another piece of Colen-Donck, thus described: "A parcell of land & meadow to ye Patent to William Betts and George Tippett who are in possession of a part of the same land formerly owned by old Youncker van der Donck which runs west to Hudson's river & east to Broncks River, with all the upland from Broncks River south to Westchester Path, & so runs due east and north beginning at the boggy swamp with^n^ the liberty of the said Patent, & the southrnmost bound to run by the path that runneth or lyeth by the north end of the aforesaid swamp, & so to run due east to Broncks River, & due west to the meadow which cometh to the wading place."[5]

From this George Tippett, or Tippits, as the name is spelled in his inventory made the 29th of September, 1675,[6] the stream is called Tippetts brook, which forms the van Cortlandt Lake, and, thence flowing southerly in a sinuous course, falls into Spyt-den Duyvel Creek just east of Kingsbridge. Its Indian name is Mosholu.

On the 1st of December, 1670, another part of the Patroonship, on its western side was sold by Doughty to Francis French and Ebenezer Jones of Ann Hooks Neck (now Pelham Neck), and John Westcott, of Jamaica, Long Island. This was the tract on the Bronx then, and now, so well known as Milesquare.[7]

These were all the sales of Doughty in the southern part of the Patroonship. At the mouth of the "Nepperhaem River," he sold on the 18th of August, 1670, to Dame Margaret Philipse, on behalf of her husband, Frederick Philipse, and Thomas Lewis, for £150, the south half of that River with its mill privileges, and also about three hundred acres of land adjoining it. The north half of the river and its mill privileges he sold to one Dirk Smith, reserving the right to repurchase if Smith wished to sell. This right Doughty conveyed to Philipse and Lewis, who subsequently effected the re-purchase.[8]

Two years after, and on September 29th in the year 1672, Frederick Philipse, Thomas Delavall and Thomas Lewis, bought of Elias Doughty all the remainder of Colen-Donck, each taking a third interest, the whole amounting to seven thousand seven hundred and eight acres. Delavall devised his share ten years later, in 1682, to his son John, and he, together with Frederick Philipse and Mrs. Geesie Lewis, the widow of Thomas Lewis, obtained a patent for the whole on the 19th of February, 1684. Frederick Philipse bought out Delavall's share on the 27th of August, 1685, and on the 12th of June, 1686, also acquired by purchase that of Mrs. Lewis and her children. These lands, with all the territory above them on the north, as far as Croton River, and extending from the Hudson eastwardly to the Bronx, subsequently acquired by Philipse and his son from the Indians, were seven years later, on the 12th of June, 1693, erected into that mag-

[1] The Neversink Highlands in New Jersey.

[2] Riker's Harlem, 278.

[3] Deed Book III., 138. Albany.

[4] This name, spelled also "*Headly*," was really, it is believed, "*Hadden*."

[5] Book III. of Deeds, p. 134, Albany.

[6] Lib. I., N. Y. Surv. Off., p. 234. He was a mere farmer and the inventory is but a list of farm stock and common house utensils. It, however, thus describes his farm,—"Item, a tract of land and meadow purchased of Elias Doughty, with the dwelling-house, orchard and barne now standing on the said land,—£100, 0, 0." It also mentions his neighbor, "John Heddy, of Yonkers, carpenter."

[7] Book III. of Deeds, 139.

[8] Book of Deeds, IV. 9.

nificent Manor under the English system, which from his own name, its first lord called "Philipseborough," or, as it was later, and is to this day termed "Philipseburgh."

Thus was divided up, and ended forever, the only Patroonship under the Dutch system of Colonization, which existed within the limits of the County of Westchester. And its termination strictly in accordance with the provisions of the charters of Freedoms and Exemptions, by will under the power of the *venia testandi*, as therein set forth, strikingly illustrates the fact, that the tenure of the Patroonships could never have become dangerous to the rights, and liberties, and laws, of the people of New Netherland.

What became of van der Donck's children is not now known, nor their names, nor in fact how many of them, if any, reached maturity. We know that in 1653 his mother, a brother, and the son of the latter, came out to New Netherland; that the name of the former was Agatha, that of his brother Daniel, and that of the son of the latter, Guisbert. But here all certainty ends. We may hope that the blood of so able and prominent a Hollander still exists, but that is all.

Although but this one Patroonship was established in Westchester County, there were a number of grants of smaller tracts to individuals, made by the Dutch Directors-General, after they had purchased the Indian title for the West India Company, or it had by their permission been bought of the Indians, by the persons, or for the persons, to whom the grants were made. But these require no special mention here.

7.

The Capture of New Netherland from the Dutch, and the Creation of the English 'Province of New York.'

The continued encroachment and pressure of the English of Connecticut, and of the east end of Long Island—then practically a part of Connecticut—upon the Dutch in New Netherland, led the Burgomasters and Schepens of New Amsterdam and the delegates from the adjoining towns, in public meeting, on the 2d of November, 1663, to send a Remonstrance to the Directors of the West India Company asking for assistance and protection. In this document they make this striking statement of their position, and the condition of the Province, at that time, and the consequences that would follow unless relief was afforded, consequences which really happened in less than a year afterward.

"When it is considered that the Remonstrants, on the one side, stand here between barbarous nations, and are bounded on the other by a powerful neighbour who keeps quarreling with this State about the limits. Thus the good people are thereby brought and reduced to a condition like unto that of a flock without a shepherd, a prey to whomsoever will seize his advantage to attack it. And lastly (and what is of the most considerable force), is evident by the aggressions attempted on the part of the English Nation, our neighbours, on divers places into the jurisdiction of this Province; whereof your Honors will, no doubt, have been advised by the Director-General and Council. Which English Nation hath, as your Remonstrants learn, found out a way neglected by your Honors, to provide and arm itself with a coat of mail in the shape of an unlimited patent and commission, which it lately obtained from his Majesty of England.[1] "So that this commission and patent being executed by them according to their interpretation; for experience in State affairs teaches and abundantly exemplifies, that the strongest are commonly in the right, and that the feeble, ordinarily, must succumb; the total loss of this Province is infallibly to be expected and anticipated, such apprehension being indubitably very strong; or, at least, it will be so cramped and clipped, that it will resemble only a useless trunk, shorn of limbs and form, divested of all its internal parts, the head separated from the feet; and therefore the Remonstrants would be, if not at once, wholly oppressed, and reduced to such a state of anxiety, as to be desperately necessitated, to their irreparable ruin, to abandon and quit this Province, and thus become outcasts with their families.

"It being objected and pleaded by the above named English, as a pretext for their designs, that the real right and propriety of this Province and its territories were not duly proved and justified on your Honors parts by proper commission and patent from their High Mightinesses. Whence it appears in consequence of the want of such commission and patent, the obtaining whereof from their High Mightinesses has been so long postponed, as if your Honors have been pleased to place the good inhabitants of this Province, as it were, upon glare ice, and have given them grounds and lands to which you have no real right.[2] And in this way, too, the well intentioned English who have settled under your Honors Government are held in a labyrinth and a maze, without any right assurance how they shall have to demean themselves in observing the oath taken by them. [*of allegiance to the Company and the States-General*].

Wherefore the Remonstrants in these their troubles, afflictions, intricacies, and extreme necessity, are come, in all humility, to throw themselves on your Honors consideration, fervently and heartily praying you to be pleased to enable them exactly to apply the essential means, whereby, they, your Honor's most faithful servants, may be effectually supported and maintained in the real possession of the lands, properties, and what depends thereon, which were given and granted them by the above mentioned ex-

[1] The Connecticut Patent, granted to the New Haven and Hartford settlements on the 23d of April, 1662.

[2] Special patents and charters, like those under English law, were not favored by the Roman Dutch law of Holland.

emptions, and by them possessed at the expense of vast labor, bloody fatigue, and the outpouring of countless drops of sweat." [1]

The formal enactment of the W. I. Company's Charter of Privileges by the States-General, and of the different charters of "Freedoms and Exemptions" were amply sufficient for all purposes under the Law of the United Provinces, to vest perfect titles to all lands granted under them in New Netherland. The English of Hartford and New Haven, only obtained their Charter of Connecticut from Charles II., on the 23d of April, 1662. Not till after they got this document, did they seriously claim that the Dutch had no title by patent from the States-General. The claim was baseless, and only made as a cover for encroachment.

Ten days after the above Remonstrance was drawn up and, later, on the 10th of November, 1663, Director Stuyvesant, in a despatch referring to it, also fully and vigorously warns the Company in Holland, in these words;—

"In regard to the unrighteous, stubborn, impudent, and pertinacious proceedings of the English at Hartford, I can only repeat what has for many years past, and especially these two last, been so frequently stated, set forth, and requested; all which neither time, nor opportunity, permits us to relate and include herein. Your Honors will be able to see from the inclosures, what efforts have been made agreeably to your Honors letters, to conclude, in this country, a settlement of the Boundary with our neighbors. It was first attempted by the Director-General in person at the general meeting of the four English Colonies at Boston; and since on the advice of three of the Colonies,[2] by our Commissioners, viz: Mr. Cornelis van Ruyven, Secretary Oloff Stevens Cortlandt, Burgomaster of this city, and John Laurens (Lawrence), burgher and merchant, made to the General Court, or Legislature, at Hartford.

"On reading over both journals, your Honors will not only perceive the impossibility of effecting anything here, unless all be given up to them, hardly excepting alone what the Dutch Nation justly possessed and settled on Manhatans Island and on the North River.

"By virtue of a patent signed in the year 1626, Boston [*Massachusetts*] claims whatever is north of 42½ degrees, East and West, from one sea to the other. This line includes the whole of the Colonie of Rensselaers-Wyck, the village of Bever-wyck, and all the Mohawk and Seneca country. Again, the General Court at Hartford lay claim to, and demand, in virtue of the newly obtained patent [*that for Connecticut of* 1662], all the country lying South of the aforesaid line of 42½ degrees, and westerly until it touches another Royal Patent, and therein include all of New Netherland, south to the seacoast, and west to a Royal patent; and furthermore declare positively;—

"*First.* Contrary to the advice of the other three colonies, that the treaty concluded at Hartford, An°. 1650, is null and void.

"*Secondly.* That they will dissolve the Union with the other three colonies, [rather] than acquiesce, to the prejudice of their patent, in the advice of the Commissioners at Boston.

"*Thirdly.* They know no New Netherland, nor government of New Netherland, except only the Dutch plantation on the Island of Manhatan.

"*Fourthly.* They will and must take Westchester, and all the English towns on Long Island, under their protection, by virtue of their patent, without being obliged to wait for any further order of the King, since such was their understanding.

"*Fifthly and lastly.* 'Tis evident and clear from their repeated declaration, that were Westchester and the five English towns on Long Island,[3] surrendered by us to the Colony of Hartford, and what we have justly possessed and settled on Long Island left to us, it would not satisfy them, because it would not be possible to bring them sufficiently to any further arrangement with us by commissioners to be chosen on both sides by the mediation of a third party; and as in case of disagreement, they assert in addition, that they may possess and occupy, in virtue of their unlimited patent,[4] the lands lying vacant and unsettled on both sides of the North River and elsewhere, which would certainly always cause and create new pretensions and disputes, even though the Boundary were provisionally settled here." He further says, that if a settlement of all disputes cannot be obtained and effected through their High Mightinesses with "Ambassador Douwning,"[5] and by them both, and their High Mightinesses Resident in England, with his Majesty, "by next spring, one of two things is certainly and assuredly to be apprehended;—bloodshed, and with bloodshed, which they seem only to wish, loss of all we possess, if proper, active, opposition be not offered to the English or their daily encroachments and intrusions; reducing under their obedience now this, and then that, place, and occupying suitable spots, here and there, up the North river, and elsewhere, abundance of which are yet unpeopled and unsettled." [6]

But the clear-headed and patriotic Director-General was greatly mistaken in "Ambassador Douwning," or rather in his expectation that that envoy would aid in bringing matters to a settlement. Sir George Downing was as inimical to the Dutch nation as Governor Winthrop or any other Connecticut Englishman. He had been long in Holland under Cromwell and dis-

[1] II. Col. Hist., 478.

[2] Massachusetts declined to take part in the second conference.

[3] Gravesend, Hempstead, Flushing, Newtown and Jamaica.

[4] Its claim was westward to the sea.

[5] Sir Richard Downing, the English envoy to Holland at that time.

[6] II. Col. Hist.

liked and feared the Dutch. When it was evident that Charles the 2d would be restored, he hastened to make his peace with him, and the Duke of York, before they left the Netherlands. Sharp, unprincipled, and determined to break down Dutch power, and Dutch commercial supremacy, if he could, he was the last man to give any assistance to effect such a solution of the Dutch and English difficulties as Stuyvesant desired. The Duke of York, though he should not have possessed such feelings towards the people who had befriended his brother and himself in their exile, also was personally unfriendly to the Dutch Nation. Certain libels against him though punished by the Dutch courts, had not been punished as thoroughly, or as soon, as he wished. The Dutch West India Company in trading under their charter to the Guinea coast, interfered with the business of the Royal African Company of which he was the Governor. He complained of the Dutch on this account before the English Parliament, and, of his own authority as Lord High Admiral, sent a fleet to harass them on the coast of Africa. Therefore it was as a matter of revenge, as well as hoped for profit, that he obtained from Charles the 2d on the 12th of March, 1664, O. S.,[1] only a year and eleven months after the date of the Connecticut Colony's Patent, a gift by patent of the whole of New Netherland, based on the sailing along its coast by the Cabots, in the reign of Henry VII., without proof of their having seen it, and though no actual possession of it was ever taken by them or anybody else, prior to the discovery, and actual settlement, by the Dutch, a hundred years and a little more afterwards. There was actual peace between the Dutch and English nations at the date of the patent, and at the time of the seizure by the latter, though war broke out soon afterward; a fact which deepened the flagrancy of one of the most striking instances of the rapacity and wickedness of a strong people dealing with a weaker one, in all history.

Borrowing four vessels of the English navy, of which he was Lord High Admiral, the Duke of York sent an expedition under the command of Colonel Richard Nicolls, with Sir Robert Carr, George Cartwright and Samuel Mavericke as co-commissioners with Mathias Nicolls, subsequently Secretary for New York, and a few other English officers, in command of about 450 men, to visit the Plantations in New England, and to "reduce" the Dutch Province of New Netherland "to an entire obedience to our government" as their instructions from the King expressed it.[2] These instructions, and the special communications from Charles 2d to Massachusetts and Connecticut in relation to the commission and its powers were dated the 23d of April, 1664, as well as his "Private Instructions" which were only to be considered by the commissioners between themselves.[3] The Royal Commission to Nicolls and the others, was dated two days later, on the 25th of April, 1664. The latter, strange to say, does not mention, or even refer to, New Netherland.[4] Why this remarkable omission was made is not now known, but such is the fact. On the second of April, 1664, three weeks previously, the Duke of York had given Colonel Richard Nicolls a commission from himself as his Deputy Governor. This document after reciting the King's Patent to himself, and a brief description of the boundaries therein set forth, continues:—"And whereas I have conceived a good opinion of the integrity, prudence, ability, and fitness of Richard Nicolls, Esquire, to be employed as my Deputy there, I have thought fit to constitute and appoint, and I do hereby constitute and appoint him the said *Richard Nicolls*, Esquire, to be my Deputy Governor within the lands, Islands, and places aforesaid, To perform and execute all and every the powers which are by the said Letters Patent granted unto me to be executed by my Deputy Agent or Assign. To Have and to Hold the said place of Deputy-Governor unto the said *Richard Nicolls* Esquire, during my will and pleasure only; Hereby willing, and requiring, all and every the Inhabitants of the said Lands, Islands, and places, to give obedience to him the said Richard Nicolls, in all things according to the tenor of his Majesty's said Letters Pattent."[5]

Under the King's Patent of the 12th March, 1664, and these Instructions and commissions from Charles 2d, and the Duke of York, the forcible seizure and annexation of the Province of New Netherland to the English Kingdom was effected.

The expedition, consisting of the Guinea of 36 guns, Capt. Hugh Hyde, the Elias of 30 guns, Capt. William Hill, the Martin of 16 guns, Capt. Edward Grove, and the William and Nicholas, Capt. Morley, of 10 guns, carrying the commissioners and a body of troops, about 450 in number, sailed from Portsmouth on the 15th of May, 1664. Nicolls the commander-in-chief and Cartwright embarked in the Guinea, and Carr and Mavericke in the Martin. Their orders were to rendezvous in Gardiner's Bay, at the east end of Long Island. The voyage was long, the vessels got separated, and the Martin, and Nicholas and William, were obliged to run into Piscataway (Portsmouth) New Hampshire on the 20th of July, 1664, whence Mavericke the same day wrote the following brief account of the voyage to Capt. Breedon of Boston;—"It hath pleased God (after a tedious voyage of neare ten weeks time) That two of our ships arrived here this afternoon at Pascataway where wee hourly expect our other two; the Guiney comanded by Capt. Hyde wee lost sight of this day se' night, and Capt.

[1] The original, a beautiful MS. is in the State Library at Albany. It is printed in II. Col. Hist. 295; Brod. II. 651.

[2] III. Col. Hist., 52.

[3] Ibid., 51–63.

[4] Ibid., 64.

[5] Book of Patents, Albany, II. 116–118; II. Brod., 153; Leaming and Spicer's Jersey Laws, 665.

Hill with the Elyas on Sunday last. * * * * our stay here being only for a little water and our other shipps, which if they come not in time, we must go to our appointed port in Long Island." Three days later, on the 23d of July, the Guinea and Elias arrived at Boston. Nicolls wrote at once to Thomas Willet at Plymouth, and Gov. Winthrop at Hartford, and applied for assistance. On the 29th of July the vessels from "Pascataway" arrived at Boston. Further letters from Nicolls were sent to Winthrop asking for aid, and to Thomas Willets at Plymouth, and directing them to meet the expedition at the west, instead of the east, end of Long Island. A few days later the ships sailed, and piloted by New Englanders, came direct to New Utrecht, or Nayack, Bay, now called Gravesend Bay, between the west end of Coney Island and the main, the Guinea arriving on the 25th of August, and the other three vessels three days later, on the 28th.

Winthrop with other Connecticut officials, and armed men, from that colony and the east end of Long Island, met them there, as well as Thomas Clarke and John Pynchon, of Boston, with offers of military aid from Massachusetts. On the 8th of the preceding July Thomas Willett had heard, from a young man of the name of Lord, a rumor from Boston, that an expedition had sailed from England to attack New Netherland, and immediately informed Governor Stuyvesant, but subsequently, for some reason, alleged that the troops had disembarked, that Commissioners to settle the boundaries were appointed, and that there was no danger. This put an end to Stuyvesant's anxiety, and he went to Albany to settle a quarrel among the Indians in that neighborhood. He was also lulled into security by the receipt of a despatch from the Directors at Amsterdam that no danger from England need be entertained as the King only wanted to reduce his own colonies to uniformity in church and State.[1] The truth was, that the Directors of the Company, intently engaged in the public affairs of Holland (it was the period of John de Witt's ascendancy and the efforts of the Prince of Orange's party to destroy it) really neglected New Netherland, and their own interests there, giving both such slight attention, as not only disappointed its people, and their own officials, but facilitated, the treacherous action of the English King, and inclined its inhabitants to yield with less resistance and feeling to his military power, than they otherwise would.

Of course no real resistance,[2] greatly as he desired to make it, could be offered, by Director-General Stuyvesant, and his people; and after several days negotiations, Articles of Capitulation were definitely settled by a commission, composed of John De Decker, Nicholas Varleth, Samuel Megapolensis, Cornelis Steenwyck, Jacques Cousseau, and Oloff Stevens van Cortlandt, on the part of Director Stuyvesant, and Robert Carr, George Carteret, John Winthrop, Samuel Willys, John Pynchon, (*the latter three of Connecticut*), and Thomas Clarke (*of Massachusetts*) on the part of Governor Nicolls, and consented to by both. The negotiations took place, and the terms were finally agreed upon, on Saturday, September 6th, 1664, at Gov. Stuyvesant's house in the Bowery. This house, as I have been told by the Hon. Hamilton Fish, now the oldest living descendant of Stuyvesant, stood on what is now the block between 12th and 13th Streets facing the Third Avenue, as that part of the Bowery road is now called, and on the east side of that avenue. The old Stuyvesant pear tree which stood till within a few years at the north east corner of 13th St. and Third Avenue was one the Governor planted in his garden. Nicolls ratified the articles the same day. The next day was Sunday, during which the Director-General and his Council considered them, and early on the morning of the succeeding day, Monday, September 8th, 1664, ratified them. About eleven o'clock of the same morning Stuyvesant marched out of the fort with the honors of war, at the head of the Dutch regulars, about 150 in number, and through Beaver street to the ship "Gideon," in which they were at once embarked for Holland, though she did not sail till some days later. A corporal's guard of the English took possession of the fort as the Dutch marched out. "Col. Nicolls's and Sir Robert Carr's companies one hundred and sixty-eight strong, formed into six columns of about thirty men each, next entered New Amsterdam; whilst Sir George Cartwright occupied with his men the city gates and Town Hall." The volunteers from Connecticut and Long Island, were detained at the ferry at "Brenkelen," "as the citizens dreaded most being plundered by them." Finally the Burgomasters having proclaimed Nicolls Governor, he called Fort Amsterdam "Fort James," and the name of the city and Province he changed to "New York."[3] Thus ended the Dutch dominion in America, and thus forever passed away the great Batavian Province of New Netherland from the Republic of the United Netherlands.

The Articles of Capitulation were twenty-three in number, and never were more favorable terms granted by a superior power. Great prudence on one side was met by great liberality on the other, and Nicolls proved that he was all that his commission as Deputy-Governor described him, honest, prudent, able, and fit. It would be foreign to our purpose to discuss these Articles of Capitulation, or as usually termed "Surrender," at length.[4] Those only which bear upon our subject will be mentioned, viz—the third, eighth, eleventh, twelfth, sixteenth, and twenty-first. They are as follows:—

[1] II. O'Call., 517.

[2] The details of Stuyvesant's action at this crisis are too numerous to be given in an essay of this kind, and are so generally known, at least in their outlines, as not to need further mention.

[3] II. O'Call., 536.

[4] They are to be found in II. Col., Hist., 250; I. Brod., 762, and in many other historical works.

"III. All people shall still continue free denizens, and shall enjoy their lands, houses, goods, wheresoever they are within this country, and dispose of them as they please.

"VIII. The Dutch here shall enjoy the liberty of their consciences in divine worship and church discipline.

"XI. The Dutch here shall enjoy their own customs concerning their inheritances.

"XII. All publique writings and records, which concern the inheritances of any people, or the reglement [*regulation*] of the church, or poor, or orphans shall be carefully kept by those in whose hands now they are, and such writings as particularly concern the States-General may at any time be sent to them.

"XVI. All inferior civil officers and magistrates shall continue as now they are (if they please) till the customary time of new elections, and then new ones to be chosen by themselves, provided that such new chosen magistrates shall take the oath of allegiance to his majesty of England before they enter upon their office.

"XXI. That the town of Manhattans shall choose Deputyes, and those Deputyes shall have free voyces in all publique affaires as much as any other Deputyes."

By the third, eighth, eleventh, and twelfth, all Dutch grants of land under the former laws and ordinances, of the Province, and under the Roman-Dutch law, were acknowledged as valid, and the possession of them confirmed to their owners, as well as their former power of disposing of them by will, and all legal incidents thereto appertaining. This settled the question of the holding of the lands by their owners, at once, and proved that there would be no confiscation, or other interference with them, and no imposing of any English law of inheritance.

The sixteenth article confirmed and continued in their offices all the civil magistrates and officers of every grade in the country, from the highest to the lowest, and provided for the election of their successors, under the existing Dutch laws, conditioned only that the new officers, should take the oath of allegiance to their new English King. No such oath was wisely demanded of the old ones, and the administration of justice, not only in regard to lands, but in all its forms, went on precisely as if no change of government had taken place.

The twenty-first article confirmed to the City of New York, all the civil rights and powers it had under its former organization, and under the Assemblies which had been called, and in which it had been represented, during Stuyvesant's administration. Its lands were preserved to it, and all rights in relation thereto, by the same articles, which preserved the other lands of the province to their respective owners, as well as all the municipal rights, powers, and privileges the city possessed under the Dutch rule.

The Eighth article, in connexion with the twelfth, preserved, maintained, and continued, to the Established Dutch Church all its rights, privileges, and immunities of creed and worship, and guaranteed to it freedom of conscience and church discipline, as well as the continuance of its regulations, as to its own concerns, and to the poor and to orphans, in the same hands, and under the same control, that they had ever been. But these articles did not continue it as the Established Church of the Province, or provide for its maintenance and control as such, by the government, or rather, through the government, as had been the case under the West India Company, and all the Charters of Freedoms and exemptions from the first to the last. They did however continue and guarantee to it everything else. Its lands and all its rights of property were guaranteed and continued to it by the same third, eighth, eleventh and twelfth articles, which guaranteed and maintained all the other landholders of the Province in their rights of possession and property in their realty. In short the Dutch Church was acknowledged in its existence, confirmed in its creed, discipline, and worship, maintained in the possession of its property, and guaranteed in its rights in every respect and in every way. Nothing was altered, nothing abrogated, except its position as the Established Church of New Netherland. That was determined by the fall of the Dutch Province. Both were ended by the surrender to England. The new Province of New York had during its whole existence no connexion officially, with the Dutch Church, or any other church, except "the Church of England as by law established."

When the Province was recaptured by the Dutch on the 8th of August 1673 the Dutch Church was reestablished in all her rights, privileges, and powers, as she originally possessed them. And when the second surrender to the English was made pursuant to the treaty of Westminster in September 1674, all were guaranteed to her again precisely as in 1664, except, of course, her position as an establishment; and she was also permitted to keep up her ecclesiastical connexion with, and subjection to, the ecclesiastical bodies of the Established Church of Holland, a connexion and dependence which continued unimpaired until the close of the American Revolution more than a century later. The position of the Dutch Church as an Established Church, was the reason why it was so particularly guarded, and provided for, in the Articles of Capitulation of 1664, and again in the special articles of surrender formulated by Governor Colve, and carried into effect by the English Governor Andross, in 1674, no other church being mentioned or referred to in either. And to this circumstance is owing the fact, that it was in consequence of these provisions in both sets of articles, that during the entire existence of New York as an English Province, the Dutch Church was ever treated with greater favor than any other church dissenting from the Church of

England; and that between these two churches a cordial relation ever existed, and one which has been maintained down to this day, when both churches are flourishing, each with a name slightly changed, under a new political dominion, to a degree which was impossible under either of the dominions of old.

The change from the Dutch system of government and laws to that of the English, was very gradual indeed. It was no part of the policy of the Duke of York to make changes other than what might be absolutely necessary. All that he insisted upon, at first, was, that he should be acknowledged as Lord Proprietor of the Province under the Patent from his brother King Charles the 2d, of 1652. The prudence, skill and wisdom of Richard Nicolls, his Deputy Governor, after much objection and opposition, which he completely and gently overcame, effected this; and between the 20th and 25th of October, 1664, hardly five weeks after the surrender, all the former Dutch officials, and nearly three hundred of the male inhabitants of New York, including Stuyvesant, van Cortlandt, van Ruyven, van Rensselaer and Beekman, took the oath of allegiance to Charles the 2d and the Duke of York, as the lawful Sovereign, and the lawful Lord Proprietor of New York.

8.

The English System in the Province of New York under the Duke of York as Lord Proprietor.

From the eighth day of September, 1664, when the Surrender of New Netherland to the English took place, the right of soil, the right of domain, the right of jurisdiction, and the source of power, in the Province of New York, was vested, and acknowledged to be vested, in the Duke of York under the Patent to him from King Charles the Second of the 12th of March, 1664. In this Patent, perhaps the strongest, most sweeping, and most comprehensive in its terms, of any granted in America by an English Monarch, the King gave to the Duke the entire territory of New Netherland therein described, (though of course that name was not used) upon this tenure, namely;—"To be holden of us our Heirs and Successors, as of our Manor of East Greenwich and our County of Kent, in free and common soccage and not in Capite, nor by Knight Service, yielding and rendering * * * * of and for the same, yearly and every year, forty beaver skins when they shall be demanded, or within Ninety days after."

The Patent was drawn by Lord Chancellor Clarendon, the Duke's father-in-law, and practically vested in him all the powers of an absolute Sovereign, subject only in the execution of them to the laws of England. But in all matters not covered by those laws, his own rule in person, or by his Deputy-Governor, was supreme. The only power that was reserved to the King was the hearing and determining of Appeals from Judgments and Sentences.

The theory of the Patent was, that the King had resumed control of a territory originally belonging to the Crown by the right of its discovery by the Cabots. That all people therein, Indians excepted, were trespassers without legal right, that the territory was without lawful government, that the Sovereign of Great Britain, of his own right, therefore established therein such government as he saw fit. That he chose to give, and did give, in the exercise of such right, the entire territory, and his own powers and rights therein, and thereover, to his brother the Duke of York, with full authority to establish, and carry them into effect, as he should see fit. The only proviso, as to all "Laws, Orders, Ordinances, Directions and Instruments" that the Duke or his Deputy might make or execute, was, that they should "be not contrary to, but, as near as conveniently may be, agreeable to the Laws, Statutes and Government of this our Realm of England."[1]

The principle the English acted on, was, that as regards the territory of New Netherland, the right of conquest governed, and the King could institute therein such form of government, system of laws and other institutions, as he pleased. This view was not at all satisfactory to the owners and holders of land under Connecticut titles in Suffolk County, Long Island, who were the very earliest to obtain new grants and patents from the Duke of York. The towns there took out patents from the Duke, with extreme reluctance, but they did it, nevertheless. Among these patents were that of Smithtown to Richard Smith of the 3d of March, 1665, that for Gardiner's Island in the same year, and that for Shelter Island to the Sylvesters of June 1st, 1666.

The principle just mentioned was essentially modified in its application by two things. It was limited by the terms of the Articles of Surrender, which bound the conqueror as well as the conquered. And it was also limited by that rule of the law of nations, which provides that the ancient laws of a conquered people remain in force till changed by the conqueror.

Under these instruments and principles the rule of England, and the Lord Proprietorship of the Duke of York had its beginning in the "Province of New York in America." That Proprietorship lasted twenty-one years, (excepting only the fifteen months of the Dutch reconquest), ending on the 6th of February, 1685, on which day, by the death of his brother, King Charles, the Duke became James the Second, King of England. His Proprietary rights merging in those of the Crown on his accession to the throne, New York became thenceforward a Royal Province under a Royal Government, uncontrolled by any charter. From that time till the close of the American Revolution by the Peace of 1783, she so remained, the freest and most flourishing of all the British American Provinces, ruled by her own people, enacting her own laws, supporting her own government

[1] See Patent.

and local institutions by taxation imposed by her own elected Legislature, and by her own parish, town, and county authorities.

The slight interruption, by the Dutch reconquest from the 9th of August, 1673, to the 10th of November, 1674, did not, except for the time being, change the character of the Proprietorship of the Duke of York in point of fact. But as the Province was restored by the Dutch to England as a conquest under a treaty and a formal surrender of it pursuant to such treaty, the crown lawyers in England held that the Dutch reconquest in 1673 terminated the Duke's Proprietorship; and that the renamed Province of New Netherland was vested anew in Charles the Second as King solely by the treaty of Westminster in 1674. Therefore a new Patent was granted by the King to the Duke on the 29th of June, 1674. It was almost in the same words as the first, vesting him again with the same sweeping and absolute rights and powers, but not mentioning the first Patent nor referring to it in any way. The object of this second Patent was to cure the defect in the first, that it was signed, sealed, and delivered, while the Dutch were in actual possession of the territory it described, and therefore it was, by the law of England, void; and was not subsequently confirmed by Charles the Second after the title was really vested in him in 1677, by the treaty of Breda. Had Charles made such a confirmation, no second Patent would have been required.

The new Patent of 1674, on its face was an original grant, but in fact it simply revested the Duke with all the rights, powers, jurisdiction and territory he possessed under the Patent of 1664.

These facts are distinctly stated, because the validity of the confirmations of all Dutch groundbriefs, transports, and other grants, and all subsequent English grants during the Proprietorship of the Duke of York, and the later Royal Government, as well as those originally made by Connecticut authorities on Long Island, and subsequently confirmed by the Duke, rests upon them.

The tenure by which the Duke of York held his Province in New York was allodial in its nature.

In this respect it was the same as that under which, as has previously been shown, the Dutch West India Company held New Netherland under their charter, and the Patroons held their Patroonships under the different "Freedoms and Exemptions." But it was not to follow a good Dutch example, that this tenure was granted by the King and accepted by the Duke, but because the law of England had then been recently changed, and neither King nor Duke could do otherwise, even if they wished, of which there is no evidence. Four years before New York was given by the King to the Duke, and its surrender by the Dutch, the Parliament of England had passed that Great Act, second only to Magna Charta itself,—if it was second,—in its effect on English liberty, and the rights of English subjects, the act abolishing feudal tenures, and all their oppressive incidents forever throughout the realm.

This was the famous "12 Charles II, cap. 24," and its title is, "An Act taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries, and Tenures in Capite, and by Knight Service, and Purveyance, and for settling a Revenue upon his Majesty in lieu thereof." It swept away, at one blow, all the grievous feudal military tenures, their great exactions, and the means possessed by the monarch for enforcing them, as well as all charges payable to the King, or any lord paramount under him, arising therefrom; and prohibited their creation afterward, forever. After the clauses of abolition, the act continues,—"And all tenures of any honours, manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, of any estate of inheritance at the common law, held either of the King, or of any other person, or persons, bodies politic or corporate, are hereby enacted to be turned into free and common socage, . . . any law, custom, or usage to the contrary hereof in any way notwithstanding."[1] The fourth section provided. "That all tenures hereafter to be created by the King's Majesty, his heirs or successors, upon any gifts or grants of any manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, of any estate of inheritance at the common law, shall be in free and common socage only, . . . and not by Knight Service or in Capite."

As this abolition deprived the King of large revenues, and the means of supporting his military, and other governmental expenses, the act granted to him as a recompense duties upon beer, ale, and other articles in common use.[2]

It is thus seen not only that there were no feudal rights nor privileges granted in New York to the Duke of York by his Patents, but that the King had no power whatever to grant any to him, or to anybody else. And none ever were granted by any British Sovereign, or British Governor, in that Province. The rights and privileges contained in the subsequent Manor grants in New York, were simply those appertaining to, and consistent with, the free socage tenure on which they were granted, and under which they were held.

This allodial tenure of land, though it has been formerly referred to under the Roman Dutch legal system of New Netherland, may now be more fully described, as it was also the tenure by which all lands in New York under the English system were held.

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[1] Section 1 of the act.

[2] "Up to the passage of this act, every free land-owner was burdened with military service, which was not considered an incident of tenure, but a duty to the State." Digby's Law of Real Property, 20. Hence, the substitution of taxation in lieu of military service by this act, is the foundation of governmental support by taxation, both in England and America, and of the existing systems of taxation in both countries. The military tenures "were sold, or released to the country in consideration of the hereditary revenue of excise by the Statute, 12 ch. 2, c. 24." Fourth Report of the English Law Commissioners, 110.

The law of land both in Holland and England was of Teutonic origin. In the former country it was modified earlier than in the latter by the conquest by the Romans, and the introduction of the Roman Law, and at a later period in each, by the introduction of the Canon Law. The Teutonic idea of property in land was based on its conquest by a body of men under a leader or chief,—a successful barbaric invasion. The land so won was considered the common property of its captors, not of the leader alone. He, as chief, had the regulation of the distribution of the conquest among the conquerors, and of the cultivation of the land by the distributees who received it. As he was the leader of this community in war so he was its head in time of peace.

The land thus belonging to the community was in both Holland and England considered as what we should now call "public land." Among the Saxons it was called "folcland," that is, land of the folk, or people. As civilization progressed and Christianity was introduced, the band of barbaric invaders, or tribe, adopted, of necessity, a political organization. The leader became a chief of a district or principality, or king of a petty kingdom; his followers became his supporters or subjects; and the land was made the source of revenue, by its being given in separate parcels to individuals in severalty as their private property. Lands so given were granted by a written "book" as it was termed, which was a deed or charter, delivered to the grantee, and it was then said to be "booked" to him, from which it was called "bocland," that is, booked land. This "book," or grant, stated that the grantee was to hold the land free from all burdens and from any services or money payment, except three,—military aid in case of invasion, manual, or money aid in the repairing of fortresses, and in the repairing of bridges, which duties were borne by all landholders indiscriminately, and was termed the *trinoda necessitas*, or threefold obligation. This military aid, was simply the liability to be called on to defend the country in case of attack, and not the tenure by knight service under the feudal system, which tenure was unknown in England till after the Norman conquest. Thus before that event all land in England was either 'folcland" or "bocland."[1]

All land not made 'bocland' remained 'folcland' and was held in common by the community. Later it became vested in the chief, as its head man, and subject to his control. "Nearly, if not quite coextensive with the conception of "bocland," says Digby, "was that of allodial land. The term 'alod,' allodial, did not, however, have any necessary reference to the mode in which the ownership of land had been conferred; it simply meant, land held in absolute ownership, not in dependence upon any other body or person in whom the proprietary rights were supposed to reside, or to whom the possessor of the land was bound to render service."[2] It was another name for 'bocland' and signified that it was devisable by will, and in case of intestacy was divisible among children equally.' It could be freely sold at pleasure by its possessor; or its beneficial enjoyment could be granted by him for a longer or shorter term, at the end of which it reverted to him or his heirs; when this last disposition of it was made it was called "laenland," literally loan land, or in modern parlance leased land.

The success of the Norman Conquest of England changed almost entirely these early allodial tenures. William the Conqueror introduced the military tenure of "Knight-service" or "in chivalry," with all its feudal attributes and exactions, which had come into vogue in the western and southern portions of the European continent. That system with its correlative rights of protection by the King or the lord, and of service as soldiers by the tenants or vassals, carried down through all classes of society from the highest to the lowest, termed the feudal system, thus introduced, became the basis of the English land system and land law. From William of Normandy to Charles the Second, gradually developed in the earliest reigns of the Norman Kings to its fullest extent, its principles governed English land, English law, and English thought, until the enactment of the statute of 1660 in the twelfth year of Charles the Second abolished feudalism forever, practically restored the old Saxon allodial tenures, and turned to freedom the mind of England. "Perhaps," said that most learned chief justice of Massachusetts, James Sullivan, in 1801, then that State's Attorney-General, "the English Nation are more indebted to this one act for the share of liberty they have enjoyed for a century and a half past, and for the democratic principles by that law retained in their government, than to Magna Charta, and all the other instruments of which they boast."[3]

To show how entirely different the "feudal system" was from the systems introduced into New York by the Dutch and English; and how erroneous have been, and are, the views that have been expressed by American, and New England, as well as New York, writers, respecting the latter, it will be well to recur to what "feudalism" really was.

Scarcely any subject of an historical nature has been more fully and thoroughly investigated, studied, and written upon, in late years, by modern historical scholars than this. Germany, France, and England, have each produced writers who have given to the world the results of searches and investigations of the most exhaustive character; von Maurer, Waitz, Eichorn, Roth, and Richter, in the former, Guizot,

[1] Digby's Hist. Law of Real Property, Ch. I. Sect. 1.

[2] The word "alod" (Latinized into allodium, whence the English "allodial") does not occur in Anglo Saxon documents before the eleventh century, when it appears in the Latin of Canute's laws in the Colbertine MS. as the equivalent of "bocland" or "hereditas." Stubbs Cons. Hist. 76, n.

[3] Hist. Land Titles in Mass. 52.

Thierry, Sismondi, Lavelèye in France, and Palgrave, Austin, Freeman, Digby, Maine, and Stubbs in England. The latter, the latest writer on this subject, has treated it so fully, that a short statement almost in his own words will make the matter clear.

Feudalism was of distinctly Frank growth. The principle which underlies it may be universal, but its historic development may be traced step by step under Frank influence, from its first appearance on the conquered soil of Roman Gaul to its full development in the jurisprudence of the Middle Ages. As it existed in England, it was brought full grown from France at the Norman Conquest;[1] and "it may be described as a complete organization of society through the medium of land tenure, in which from the King down to the lowest land owner all are bound together by obligation of service and defence: the lord to protect his vassal, the vassal to do service to his lord; the defence and service being based on, and regulated by, the nature and extent of the land held by the one or the other. As it developed territorially, the rights of defence and service were supplemented by the right of jurisdiction. The lord judges, as well as defends, his vassal; the vassal does suit as well as service to his lord. In States in which feudal government has reached its utmost growth, the political, financial, judicial, every branch of public administration, is regulated by the same conditions. The central authority is a mere shadow of a name.[2]

It grew up from two sources, the beneficiary system and the practice of commendation. "The system testifies to the country and causes of its birth. The beneficium is partly of Roman and partly of German origin.[3] In the Roman system the usufruct, the occupation of land belonging to another person, involved no diminution of the status (the condition) of the occupier; in the Germanic system he who tilled land that was not his own was imperfectly free. Commendation on the other hand may have had a Gallic or Celtic origin, and an analogy only with the Roman clientship."[4]

"The beneficiary system originated partly in gifts of land made by the kings out of their own estates to their kinsmen and servants with a special undertaking to be faithful, partly in the surrender by the landowners of their estates to churches or powerful men to be received back again and held by them as tenants for rent or service. By the latter arrangement the weaker man obtained the protection of the stronger, and he who felt himself insecure placed his title under the defence of the church. By the practice of commendation, on the other hand, the inferior put himself under the personal care of a lord [*that is, commended himself to him, hence the term*] but without altering his title, or divesting himself of his right to his estate; he became a vassal and did homage. The placing of his hands between those of his lord was the typical act by which the connexion was formed. And the oath of fealty [*faithfulness*] was taken at the same time. The union of the beneficiary tie with that of commendation completed the idea of feudal obligation; the twofold tie on the land, that of the lord and that of the vassal, was supplemented by the twofold engagement, that of the lord to defend, and that of the vassal to be faithful."[5] This oath of 'fealty' and wherein it differed from 'homage' may be explained best in the words ot Littleton, "Fealty is the same that fidelitas is in Latine. And when a freeholder doth fealty to his lord he shall hold his right hand upon a booke (a Bible) and shall say thus: Know ye this my lord, that I shall be faithfull and true unto you, and faith to you shall beare forthe lands which I claime to hold of you, and that I shall lawfully doe to you the customs and services which I ought to doe, at the termes assigned, so help me God and his Saints; and he shall kisse the booke. But he shall not kneel when he maketh his fealty, nor shall make such humble reverence as is aforesaid in homage.[6]

The practice of commendation became so very general, that in the words of Sir Henry Maine, it "went on all over Europe with singular universality of operation, and singular uniformity of result, and it helped to transform the ancient structure of Teutonic society no less than the institutions of the Roman Provincials."[7] It was one of the leading causes of the universality of feudalism in Europe.

Well writes one of the most distinguished living jurists of New York, on this subject,—

"Feudalism is compounded of barbaric usage and Roman law. While it resembled in some respects a Hindoo village community, it is in other respects quite different. The Hindoo communities gathered together by instinct, and new comers were introduced by fiction. The feudal obligation was created by contract. The feudal communities were, for this reason, more durable and varied in character than the ancient societies. Some would hold that the variety of Modern Civilization is due to the exuberant and erratic genius of Germanic races. In opposition to this error, it may be asserted that the Roman Empire bequeathed to society the legal conception to which all this variety is attributable. The one striking and

[1] Freeman in his fifth volume denies this in his usual self-sufficient manner, and attacks "lawyers" for saying so, very fiercely. But before he ends that chapter he confines his words to *governmental matters*, and really admits that "the lawyers" were right after all as to the *tenures*.

[2] I. Stubbs' Cons. Hist., 252.

[3] The beneficia, or benefices, were "grants of Roman provincial land by the chieftains of the tribes which overran the Roman Empire; such grants being conferred on their associates upon certain conditions, of which the commonest was military service." Maine's Village Communities, 132. The same writer also says, "that in the ineradicable tendencies of the Teutonic race, to the hereditary principle, the benefices became descendible from father to son."

[4] I. Stubbs' Cons. Hist. 254.

[5] I. Stubbs, 252.

[6] Co. Litt., chap. II. sect. 91.

[7] Hist. of Institutions, 155

characteristic fact in the customs and institutions of barbaric races is their extreme uniformity."[1]

The effect of feudalism on the society of the era in which it existed, was two fold. It repressed and harshly kept down the personal rights and freedom of what in our day we now term "the masses," but it also gave rise to, maintained, and established in those who then ruled the masses of that day, those feelings, rules of conduct, and principles of action, to which are really due the vastly higher general civilization of both classes of people at this era. If we investigate feudalism in its social aspects, in the words of the late chief justice of Ceylon, "we shall find ample cause for the inextinguishable hatred with which, as Guizot truly states in History of Civilization in Europe, it has ever been regarded by the common people. But this ought not to make us blind to its brighter features. There was much in feudalism, especially as developed in the institutions of chivalry, that was pure and graceful and generous. It ever acknowledged the high social position of woman, it zealously protected her honour. It favoured the growth of domestic attachments, and the influence of family associations. It fostered literature and science. It kept up a feeling of independence, and a spirit of adventurous energy. Above all, it paid homage to the virtues of Courage and Truth in man, and of Affection and Constancy in woman."[2]

Such was the feudal system in reality, its origin and principles. As a system of land tenure, or of government, it not only never existed in the Province of New York, but it was absolutely the opposite of the systems of both which were there established. No lord paramount, either as Duke of York, or as a Lord of a Manor, was ever known within this State while an English Province. The former was a Proprietor only, as William Penn and Lord Baltimore were, in Pennsylvania and in Maryland. The latter was an owner in fee with no powers, rights or privileges, but those appurtenant to, and consistent with, the freest allodial tenure. Moreover, it not only never existed, but it could not possibly have existed in New York. For it was prohibited by the statute law within the realm of England four years before New York became an integral part of the dominions of that realm.

What then was the tenure described, "as of our mannor of East Greenwich and our County of Kent in free and common soccage and not in capite or by Knight service, upon which the Province of New York was holden under his grant from the King of England by the Duke of York as Lord Proprietor?"

Socage[3] tenure was a holding of lands by a *certain* service or rent. Certainty as opposed to the uncertainty of tenure by Knight service, or as sometimes styled, "in chivalry," was for its essence. It made no matter what the service, or rent, was, so long as it was absolutely certain. It might be by ploughing lands for a fixed number of days at a time fixed, or it might be for a fixed annual rent, payable either in cattle, produce or in money, or it might be by homage, fealty, and a fixed money rent, in lieu of all manner of services, or by fealty only in lieu of every other service.[4] This inherent element of certainty was what gave this tenure its power, and has made it the only tenure by which, in different forms and under different modifications, and under systems based upon its principles, lands are now held in the English-speaking nations of the world.

Property in land has a double origin. "It has arisen," in the words of Maine, "partly from the disentanglement of the individual rights of the kindred or tribesmen, from the collective rights of the Family or Tribe, and partly from the growth and transmutation of the Sovereignty of the Tribal Chief. . . . Both the sovereignty of the Chief and the ownership of land by the Family or Tribe were in most of Western Europe passed through the crucible of feudalism; but the first re-appeared in some well-marked characteristics of military or Knightly tenures, and the last in the principle rules of non-noble holdings, and among them of Socage, the distinctive tenure of the free farmer."[5] Its essential character was "its liability to rents and services due, not to the State, but to the grantor, who in most cases was the lord of the manor, holding under a charter (*meaning a grant or patent*) given or confirmed by the crown."[6] The word socage is generally believed to have been derived from "soca" a plough. It was "originally applied only to husbandmen who owed fixed services for husbandry. Where these rustic services had not been commuted for a money rent the tenure was called 'villein socage,'[7] as distinguished from 'free and common socage.'[8] In Knight-service tenure, and in the spiritual tenure of Francalmoigne or Free Alms, that is freedom from all earthly services [on which churches, abbeys, and cathedrals, in England held and still hold so many of their lands], and in all the military tenures the services were uncertain: from all other free tenants of lands a fixed amount of service, or rent, was due, and their tenures were included in the general name of socage[9]

It was a free tenure, the land a freehold, and the

[1] Dwight's Introduction to the American edition of Maine's Ancient Law, LXIV.

[2] Sir E. Creary's Rise of the British Constitution, 83.

[3] The word is now spelled with one "c" only.

[4] Litt. ch. 5, Sect. 117, 85a; Reeve's Hist. 3d vol. ch. xxi. 495; I. Francis Sullivan's Lectures on the Laws of England, 157; Christian's Blackstone, ii. 81, n 1; Sullivan's Mass. Land Titles, 34; Maine's Hist. Inst., 120; Stubbs' Cons. Hist., 549.

[5] Maine's Hist. Inst'ns., 120.

[6] Elton's Tenures of Kent, 29.

[7] A villein was an inhabitant of a villa, the ancient name of a farm, and in the earliest times was attached to it permanently. And as many villas were included in a manor, it had often many villeins. These villeins gradually came to be allowed to hold parcels of land, on condition of manuring, or ploughing the lord's demesne lands, or on base or rustic services. Hence arose the tenure termed villein-socage.

[8] Elton's Law of Copyholds, 3, note b.

[9] Ib. 3.

holder a freeman, because he, as well as the land, was entirely free from all exactions, and from all rents and services except those specified in his grant. So long as these last were paid or performed, no lord or other power could deprive him of his land, and he could devise it by will, and in case of his death, intestate, it could be divided among his sons equally.[1]

At a later period, after the Norman conquest, this latter quality of the tenure became changed by the introduction of the principle of primogeniture in all parts of England; a principle of Teutonic origin, and one necessary to the maintenance of the feudal system as a military system. One of the parts of England which, at the time of its conquest, first submitted peaceably to William of Normandy, was the Saxon Kingdom of Kent, afterward, and now, the County of Kent, the southeastern extremity of England. In consequence of this action the Norman king confirmed its inhabitants in all their ancient laws and liberties. "Kent was firmly attached to the Conqueror by the treaty, which he never broke, that the law of Kent should not be changed.[2]

One of the provisions of the law of Kent was the custom or tenure of 'Gafolcund' or 'Gavelkind,' one of the most ancient of the free socage tenures, by which the greater portion of that county was then, and is now held.

According to this ancient relic of the early Saxon law, the land descended to all the sons equally, was usually devisable by will, did not escheat in case of attainder and execution for felony, and could be aliened by the tenant at the age of fifteen.[3] It was a freeman's tenure, and so general, though not universal, in the county, that it was considered by the common law of England, and judicially taken notice of by the King's Courts as the "common law of Kent." The only instance in all England of a county having a different common law from the rest of the Kingdom. And it so continues to this day. Much of its area originally gavelkind has been changed by special acts of parliament, or, as it was termed, 'disgaveled,' and thus made knight service land and subject to the law of primogeniture.[4] The name is derived from the Saxon word 'gafol,' or 'gavel,' [*the pronunciation of the words being similar in sound*] which was the Saxon word for rent, "including in that term money, labor, and provisions."[5] Gavelkind land therefore means primarily rented land with the privileges above stated.

One of the Manors of the Crown of England was that of East Greenwich in this favored County of Kent which had never been reduced to the new military tenures brought in by the Norman Conqueror, and owed no claim for suit or services or other obligation than that of fealty and allegiance.[6] Hence it was that when the tenure of the British grants in America came to be settled, it was described as of our Manor of East Greenwich in the County of Kent, that manor being held only "in free and common soccage." The object being to give to the new possessions in America the most favorable tenure then known to English law.

The fixed "service" or "rent" on which New York was held in socage by the Duke of York was the yearly payment of "forty beaver skins when they shall be demanded or in ninety days after." When the Duke became King in 1685, this nominal rent ceased and he held the Province from that date as Sovereign of England. And under him and his successors, from that year until the peace of 1783, by virtue of this fact New York continued to be a Royal Province, under Royal Governors commissioned by its English monarchs under their signs manual.

As such representatives of their Sovereigns were all grants, of Manors, and other great, and small, tracts of land, made by the Governors of New York as long as New York continued to be a British Province. The tenure of all was the same as that in the Patents from Charles II. to the Duke of York, "in free and common socage as of our manor of East Greenwich in County of Kent." The fixed services or rents varied, but were merely nominal in all cases. In some of the minor incidents of the grants of manors, and of lands not manors, they also varied, but the important thing, the tenure itself, was the same in all. When William and Mary directed their Governor to call General Assemblies, with the advice and consent of the Council, and the first Assembly held in New York, under those sovereigns, met in April, 1691, that Assembly, in the second act it passed, declaring the rights and privileges of their Majesties' subjects to their Province of New York, enacted "That all the Lands within the Province, shall be esteemed and accounted Land of Freehold and Inheritance, in free and common Soccage, according to the tenor of *East Greenwich* in their Majesties' Realm of England."[7] And it is owing to these facts that this subject has been so fully dwelt upon, dry as it must necessarily be to the general reader.

The confirmations by the English Governors of the Dutch groundbriefs, transports, and other grants, were rendered necessary, by the change of the Sovereign Power. The Dutch instruments, under the Dutch law, it will be remembered, required their grantees to take the oaths of allegiance to the West India Company and to the States-General of the United Provinces. Of course when the country became a British possession, and the Duke of York became its Lord Proprietor, the terms on which the Dutch grantees held their lands required to be changed in this respect, so as to

[1] Digby, 72. [2] Elton's Tenures of Kent, 72.
[3] Digby's Hist. Real Property, 38, n. 2.
[4] Elton's Tenures of Kent *passim*. [5] Ibid 29.
[6] Sullivan's Mass. Land Titles, 69.
[7] II. Bradford's Laws, N. Y., ed. 1710, p. 4.

conform to the actual change of the owners of the ulterior sovereign right of eminent domain.

This was provided for in that very ably drawn, liberal, and just "Code of Laws," enacted and promulgated at the first meeting of delegates of the people of the Towns of the Province of New York under the English rule, held at Hempstead, in Queens County, on June 24th, 1665, nine months only after the Dutch surrender, known as "The Duke's Laws." This code, the earliest of the codes of New York, full, clear, and complete, is well arranged in an alphabetical division of its subjects. Under the heading "Lands," is this provision, "To the end all former Purchases may be ascertained to the present possessor or right owner, They shall bring in their former Grants, and take out new Pattents for the same from the present Governoure in the behalf of his Royall Highness the Duke of Yorke;" then after directing the making and filing of a survey and map within a year from the date of a purchase, the law continues, "Every Purchaser in acknowledgment of the propriety of such Lands belonging to his Royal Highness James Duke of York, shall upon the sealing of the Pattent Pay unto the Governoure so much as they shall agree upon; not exceeding hundred acres." Some amendments and alterations were made to this code pursuant to its own provisions at a meeting of the Court of General Assizes[1] held in the City of New York at the close of September, 1665, three months later, one of which re-enacts the last cited clause in these more definite words,—"To the end all former Purchases &c, all persons whatsoever who have any Grants or Patents of Towneshipps, Lands, or Houses, within this Government, shall bring in the said Grants or Patents to the Governoure and shall have them Revewed by Authority from his Royall Highness the Duke of Yorke, before the beginninge of the next Court of Assizes.[2] That every purchaser &c. shall pay for every hundred acres as an acknowledgment two Shillings and six pence.[3]

This law and this sum marked the beginning of the Quit-rents and their amount or rate paid ever after to the King, and subsequently to the American Revolution to the State, and which only terminated under the State Quit-rent statute of 1815, which commuted them all for gross sums of money, as will be fully explained hereafter.

Governor Lovelace sent a report to the Duke of York on the state of the Province, undated, but which is believed to have been made early in 1669, the year after his arrival in New York. In this he says: "The Tenure of Lands is derived from his Royall Highness who gives and grants Lands to Planters as their freehold forever, they paying the customary rents and duties with others toward the Defraying of the Publique Charges. The highest Rent, or acknowledgment of his R. H., will be one penny per acre for Lands purchased by his R. H., the least two shillings six pence for each hundred acres, whereof the Planters themselves are purchasers from the Indyans."[4]

In the year 1666 the "General Court of Assizes" made an order, that all persons who had old patents should bring them in to be renewed, and they that had none should be supplied therewith by a certain time therein limited. A proclamation of the Governor dated at Fort James the 1st of July, 1669, to "the Inhabitants about Delaware" shows us very clearly what this order meant. After quoting the order, it continues in these words: "Which said order did extend itself to Albany, Esopus, and all other places of the Governm^{t}, as well as this City and more particularly to all those who had beene under the Dutch, and are now reduced to his Majesties obedience.' These presents doe declare and make Knowne that the Inhabitants in and about Delaware being under this Governm^{t} are likewise concerned as well as the rest; So that all persons there who hould their lands by Patent or ground briefs of y^{e} Dutch Tenure are to have their Patents renewed. And those who have none are with all conveniente speed to bee supplyede therewith, otherwise they are liable to incurre the penaltye in the Law set forth."[5]

The terms on which the new Patents of Confirmation were granted were very liberal. So much so as to explode the idea indulged in by many writers that the sole object was to extort fees. The evidence is conclusive. The mayor and aldermen of New York presented a petition of inquiry to the Court of Assizes on this subject. In this Court it will be remembered the Governor presided. In the proceedings of the Court in the Assize Book, under date of March 25, 1667, two years prior to the proclamation just cited, is Governor Nicolls' reply to this petition in the form of six specific entries. They are as follows, (the contractions in the original being plainly written out).

"1. The reason for renewing all former groundbriefs was, and is, to abolish the express conditions contained in every one of them, to hold their lands and houses from and under the States of Holland and the West India Company in Amsterdam as their Lords and Masters.

"2. Whoever shall bring a certificate from the mayor, or deputy mayor, or two aldermen of his incapacity shall pay nothing for renewing an old or granting a new patent.

"3. No man shall pay more than a beaver for a new patent and all the transports depending thereupon. If any person shall desire his own transport to be converted into a patent, it shall be done for 3 guilders in beaver.

[1] This court combined judicial and legislative powers, and was created by the code itself.

[2] This court sat annually in September.

[3] The Duke's Laws, I. N. Y. H. Coll., 359 and 410.

[4] III. Col. Hist. N. Y. 188.

[5] XII. Col. Hist. 463.

"4. Where the original groundbrief of several transports cannot be found each transport shall be confirmed for 3 guilders.[1]

"5. If any man have 2, 3, or more ground briefs of small parcels of land they shall be comprised in one confirmation at the half price allowed by the Court.

"6. The Mayor and Alderman to draw up a list of houses and lots belonging to persons now in Holland or else where not in amity; nor under allegiance to his Majesty of Great Britain who are deprived of the benefit hereof.

As the time allowed for bringing in the said ground briefs is almost expired the Governor suspends the penalty for not bringing them in at or before the 1st April next until the 1st May this present year, 1667."

Surely more favorable or easier terms could not have been promulgated.

Such, in brief, was the nature of the tenure of land established in New York when the Province came under English rule. It was fortunate that that event was almost simultaneous with the greatest change in the law of England since the days of King John. That change really gave to New York the freehold, partible, and perfectly alienable, land system, which, with slight modifications, has existed from that day to this, and under which her population has increased from the 10,000 souls in the last year of Director Stuyvesant to the 5,000,000 people over whom Governor Hill now rules in this year of grace 1886.

9.

The Manors in New York, what they were not, and what they were.

What were the Manors which existed in New York? What were those in the County of Westchester? To answer these questions, the origin and nature of Manors, especially those of England, all of which were created prior to the 18th year of the reign of Edward I. (Anno 1290), must be considered. The statute of Edward, called "*of Westminster*," or "*Quia emptores*" from its first two words, "in the year 1290 put an end forever to New Manors in England."[2] Those Manors were feudal Manors, of the kind already alluded to, those erected in New York, four hundred years later were freehold Manors. Their difference, and why Manors could be erected in New York, and not in England will be shown.

"It has often been noticed," says Sir Henry Maine, "that a Feudal Monarchy was an exact counterpart of a Feudal Manor,[3] but the reason of the correspondence is only now beginning to dawn upon us, which is, that both of them were in their origin bodies of assumed kinsmen settled on land and undergoing the same transmutation of ideas through the fact of settlement. The history of the larger groups ends in the Modern Notions of Country and Sovereignty; the history of the smaller in the Modern Notions of Landed Property. The two courses of historical development were for a long while strictly parallel, though they have ceased to be so now."[4] It is not possible in the limits of this essay to describe, except in outline, the various steps and changes by which the barbarian Teutonic leader and his followers, developed into the family or tribal ruler and his kindred by blood or by tribe settled upon the land which they had seized, and which they retained as their own. How strong, how natural, and how general, was this principle of a specific land-settlement on the basis of kinship by blood or by tribe, is proven by the examples which now exist in three continents at this day. The more prominent of which are, the clans of Scotland, the Septs of Ireland, the Slav tribes of the Balkan regions, in Europe, the Hindoo Joint-Families of British Asia, and the native Indian tribes of North America.

Out of the tribal settlement on a fixed district of land came the Teutonic village or town. This was "an organized, self acting group of Teutonic families exercising a common proprietorship over a definite tract of land,—its Mark,—cultivating its domain on a common system, and sustaining itself by the produce."[5] It had its separate households, each governed by the father of a family, and each entirely free from any interference by anybody else. Its master was supreme, and from this feature, continually preserved and maintained to this day, comes the familiar principle of English and American law, that "every man's house is his castle." These groups of families, or societies, with their Leader, or Headman, were often involved in disputes, with neighboring societies and their families and Headmen. And to this fact of native Teutonic quarrelsomeness the German investigators and writers ascribe the change (which took place gradually) that evolved the manor from the Mark. "One community conquers another and the spoil of war is either the common Mark (*the part of the district cultivated in common*), or the waste (*the uncultivated part*), of the worsted community. Either the conquerors appropriate and colonize the part of the waste so taken, or they take the whole domain and restore it to be held in dependence on the victor society."[6] This was the origin of the idea of suzerainty or lordship. Another cause of the change from this Mark system to the manorial system, the German writers say, was the fact, that these Teutonic village societies, "though their organization can only be described as democratic, appear, nevertheless, to have

[1] It will be remembered that under the Dutch system, the "groundbrief" was the license to buy of the Indians, and the "transport" the deed of the Director and Council for the land after the purchase of the natives had been made.

[2] Gneist's Const. History of England, 148.

[3] A similar statement is found in West's Manner of Creating Peers, p. 10. Cruise on Dignities, p. 13.

[4] Hist. Inst. 77.

[5] Von Maurer cited by Maine, Vill. Com. 10, with approval.

[6] Maine's Vill. Com. 143.

generally had an abiding tradition that in some one family, or in some families, the blood which ran in the veins of all the freemen was purest; probably because the direct descent of such family, or families, from a common ancestor was remembered or believed in.

From the members of these families the leader for a military expedition would, as a rule, be chosen, and the power he would thus acquire "would be a combination of political, military, and judicial, power." This leader, "thus taken from the privileged family would have the largest share of the lands appropriated from the conquered village societies; and there is ground for supposing that he was sometimes rewarded by an exceptionally large share of the common land belonging to the society which he headed." Another privilege which the leading family and its chief obtained, was the power "to sever his own plot of land from the rest, and, if he thought fit, to enclose it; and thus break up or enfeeble that system of common cultivation under rules of obligatory custom which depended mainly on the concurrence of all the villagers."[1] Add to this the inherent tendency of the Teutonic mind to the principle of primogeniture, and we have the basis of what is known as the manorial system. Transplanted into England by its early German invaders this inchoate manorial system took root and existed under the Saxon domination till the days of Harold. At the Norman conquest, which, as we have seen, brought full-grown to England the Feudal System, William of Normandy had little difficulty in engrafting it upon the existing Saxon system, or rather in transforming that system into Norman Feudalism, which was that of France and Continental Europe.

Such is the view, of the latest historians, and most learned writers, on this subject. A view most tersely summed up by Sir Henry Maine, "our modern English conception of absolute property in land is really descended from the special proprietorship enjoyed by the Lord, and more anciently by the tribal chief, in his own Domain."[2] "Manors," Sir William Blackstone, tells us "are in substance as ancient as the Saxon Constitution, though perhaps differing a little in some immaterial circumstances from those which exist at this day; just as we observed of feuds, that they were partly known to our ancestors, even before the Norman Conquest."[3]

Originating before the feudal system itself, that system when it became fully developed and consolidated in England under its Norman Kings, gave its own coloring and imparted its own features to the manor land-system of the England of the Saxons.

The impression is very common, especially in America, that the Manor system is purely of feudal origin. Writers who have referred to the New York manors, as a rule, describe them as the same as the feudal manors of England. Not aware that manors have not been created in England since 1290, not aware that the law of England at the time of the wresting of New Netherland from the Dutch, *prohibited the existence in the New Province of New York of feudal Manors*, they have indulged, and do indulge, in a great deal of fine, and sometimes indignant, writing on this subject, which had, and has, no real basis whatever.

The word '*Manor*' is an English corruption of the French word, '*Manoir*,' a habitation, or mansion, in which the owner of land dwelt permanently; and that is derived from the Latin verb 'Maneo,' to remain, to abide in a place, to dwell there. In Latin a Manor was termed '*Manerium*' which signifies the same as the French 'Manoir.' It has, however, been stated to be a synonym of '*Manurium*,' because it was labored by handy work,[4] '*Manus*' being the Latin for 'hand;' but this signification is very doubtful. Ellis in his introduction to Domesday Book, the Great Survey of the Lands of England made by order of William the Conqueror,[5] says, that the earliest appearance of the word Manor in England was in the reign of Edward the Confessor who was fond of introducing Norman language and customs.

In that famous survey the words 'mansio,' 'villa,' and 'manerium,' are synonymous. "The conquest," Mr. Digby states, probably wrought but little change in the relation of Saxon supreme land owners, or lords of districts, and the tenants holding small parcels of land under them. "A Norman lord might be substituted for a Saxon, but the dues and services would substantially continue the same. . . . After the Conquest, England is [found] parcelled out into manors varying greatly in size, having, as a rule, fixed boundaries, often coinciding, as is still the case at the present day, with the boundaries of the parish. In some cases manors were diminished or added to, and new ones created. Probably however there was no great addition after the Conquest to the number of Manors."[6] In the reigns of the later Saxon Kings, those subsequent to Alfred, the English Commissioners on the Law of Real Property tell us, "that portions of the royal domains, with jurisdiction were granted, and afterwards jurisdiction was granted although the land might never have belonged to the King. The objects of these grants were lay favorites or monastic houses, and the operation of them was to invest the grantees with the power of judging the people dwelling in their territory. The courts for this purpose were framed after the ordinary model. The lord or a deputy presided, and the tenants and suitors formed the jury. They were commonly held in the hall of the lord's house, and were thence called Hallmotes." The words which granted this jurisdiction "were *saca*, *soca*, and *theime*, of which one of the

[1] Maine Vill. Com. 1215, and 146. [2] Hist. Ins. 126.
[3] II. Christian's Blackstone, 90.
[4] Tomlins, 518. Tower's Law Dict. "Manors."
[5] P. 2.5. [6] Digby 34,35.

laws supplies us with the interpretation. Saca, meant the privilege of administering justice locally; soca, the territory or franchise in which the privilege was to be exercised; theime,[1] the seignorial jurisdiction." "It will be obvious to every one's mind that this species of local and private jurisdiction is what we now call a Manor. The substance of a manor is therefore justly said by Mr. Ellis to be as ancient as the Saxon constitution; and the lord having soc and sac over his own men, and the baron holding his own court for his own men, were the same characters as were afterwards termed lords of Manors. The word manor was not however applied in pure Saxon times; nor perhaps were all the laws and usages such as we now have them."[2]

The ancient manor as it became consolidated in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is thus defined and described by that "reverend Judge eminently knowing in the common and statute law, William Rastall"[3] in his famous book on the Terms of the Law:—"Mannor is compounded of divers things; as of a House, Arable Land, Pasture, Meadow, Wood, Rent, Advowson, Court's Baron, and such like which make a Mannor. And this ought to be by long continuance of time, the contrary whereof man's memory cannot discern; for at this day a Mannor cannot be made because a Court-Baron cannot be made, and a Mannor cannot be without a Court-Baron and Suitors and Freeholders, two at the least; for if all the Freeholds except one escheat to the Lord, or if he purchase all except one, there his Mannor is gone, for that it cannot be a Mannor without a Court Baron (as is aforesaid) and a Court-Baron cannot be holden but before Suitors, and not before one Suitor; and therefore where but one Freehold or Freeholder is, there cannot be a Mannor properly, although in common speech it may be so called.

Mansion (Mansio) is most commonly taken for the Chief Messuage or habitation of the Lord of a Mannor, the Mannor-House where he doth most reside, his Capital Messuage as it is called; of which the wife by the Statute of Magna Charta, chapter 7. shall have her Quarantine."[4]

It will be noticed that in this description the Court-Leet is not mentioned. This is because, though it existed in every Manor, it was not of its essence as the Court-Baron was. The Court-Leet was a Sheriff's court and had cognizance only of offences against the King, or the King's peace, below the degree of high treason.

The Manors of New York, in consequence of their having been erected after the statute of Charles II. (12 Charles II., ch. 24, Anno 1660) abolishing the military tenures and turning them into free and common soccage, never possessed, nor were their lords ever invested with, the powers, privileges, rights, duties, and burdens of the old feudal manors of England as thus described. It is owing to ignorance of this fact, or the concealment of it, as the case may be, that so much misconception has been generated in the popular mind, by some writers, and also by some lawyers and men in public life, who in the recent past sought political preferment, or private gain, in relation to the manors of New York, their tenants, and their owners. As to the latter, a curious error has obtained credence. We often, at this day, see them written of, and hear them spoken of, as Nobles. "Lord Philipse" and "Lord Pell" are familiar examples of this ridiculous blunder in Westchester County. No grant of a feudal manor in England at any time from their first introduction ever carried with it a title,[5] and much less did any grant of a New York freehold manor ever do so. Both related to land only. The term Lord of a Manor is a technical one, and means simply the owner,—the possessor,—of a manor, nothing more. Its use as a title is simply a work of intense, or ignorant, republican provincialism. "Lord" as a prefix to a manor owner's name was never used in England, nor in the Province of New York.[6]

The origin, nature, existence and continuance of the Manors of New York, and the reason why they could be erected by the English Sovereigns here, when those Sovereigns could not do so in England since 1690, was so fully, thoroughly and learnedly set forth, more than thirty years ago, in an opinion by one of the greatest chief justices who ever graced the State of New York, that no apology is necessary for giving it in his own language: "The grantees are authorized in terms to hold a court-leet and a court-baron, to award fines, have the customary writs, etc., to have the waifs and estrays, deodands, etc., and the patronage of any churches to be erected on the tract; and the freeholders of the manor are empowered to elect a representative to sit in the General Assembly in the Province of New York. [*This "privilege" was granted only to the three manors of Cortlandt, Livingston and Rensselaerswyck, and the Borough towns of West Chester and Schenectady*]. There is nothing in the patent which in terms empowers the patentees to grant lands to be holden of themselves, [*and all the manors were alike in this respect*], but it is argued that the erection of a manor and the authority to hold the courts mentioned, which, according to English law, are manor courts, necessarily implies the power to create suitors, who must of necessity be tenants, holding of the proprietor of the manor, owing him suit

[1] This word is so spelled in the Report, but it is spelled 'Theam' or 'Team,' by Sir Henry Ellis in the "Introduction to Domesday," vol. i. p. 275.

[2] Fourth Report of Commissioners, Appendix, p. 106.

[3] Coke's preface to his 10th report.

[4] Terms of the Law 490, ed. of 1685.

[5] In France this was different. Many seignories there did carry with them the right to a title, but it was not the case with all.

[6] The Sovereign alone is the "source of honor" in England, and the sole power that can, or ever could, grant a title, or confer nobility, under English law.

and service. This, it is said, is a violation of the statute called *quia emptores terrarum*, passed in the eighteenth year of Edward the First, (*Anno* 1290). This statute, after reciting that the feudal tenants have sold their lands to be holden in fee of themselves, instead of the chief lord of the fee, whereby those lords have lost their escheats and other feudal perquisites to their "manifest disinheritance," enacts that "forever hereafter it shall be lawful to every freeman to sell at his own pleasure his lands or tenements, or part thereof, so neverthless that the feoffee [*the grantee*], shall hold the same lands or tenements of the same chief lord of the fee and by the same services or customs as his feoffor [*grantor*], held them before. A second chapter provides for an apportionment of the services in case of a sale of a part of the land out of which they issued. (Coke, 2 Inst. 500.)

"The freedom of alienation thus conferred upon the military tenants, was undoubtedly a very material amelioration of the feudal system, but at the same time the main object of the statute would seem to have been to secure to the great barons their profits arising out of these tenures. It is stated in the statute itself that it was ordained "at the instance of the great men of the realm," and it was clearly for their protection, though incidentally, and probably by its unforeseen operation, proved a relief to the inferior tenants. The evil was that the chief lords were defrauded of the fruits of their tenures, and the remedy provided was, that every tenant, however remote, should remain the debtor of the chief lord instead of his immediate feoffor [*grantor*] for the services incident to the tenure. But as one may generally waive an advantage secured to himself, so it was held that the chief lord might forego the benefit of the statute by authorizing his tenant to make a subinfeudation, that is, grant lands to be holden of himself; but this could not be done by a mesne (*middle*) lord on account of the interest of his superiors.

. . . As the King is lord paramount in all feudal tenures, no subject, since the statute, can, by his own authority, create a manor; and as in England, all the land was granted at, or soon after the Conquest, it follows that English Manors must have their origin prior to (this statute) the eighteenth of Edward first (Anno 1290). But as the King does not hold of any superior, he may grant land to be holden of himself, "for," says Coke, "hereby no man is restrained, but he which holds over of some lord, and the King holds of none" (2 *Inst.* 67). Therefore, if there are crown lands in England at this day which have never been granted to a subject, they may, without doubt, be erected into royal manors. And cannot the King grant to his immediate tenant the right to make grants to be held of himself, the tenant, since thus there would be the assent of all the lords, mediate and immediate. The King's tenants *in capite* could not make such grants before the statute *quia emptores* without his consent. This was by force of the King's prerogative, and was an exception to the general rule, which permitted subinfeudations by all lords except the tenants *in capite*. But I think that as well since, as before, the statute, the King could license his immediate tenant to alien to hold of himself the tenant."

After citing and quoting several authorities to this effect he continues, "Assuming the law to be as in these authorities stated, and assuming further that the grant of a manor and the right to hold manor courts *ex vi termini* implied an authority in the patentees to create manor tenants by means of grants reserving services to themselves, it still seems clear that the patents (*the manor grants*) were no violation of the statute referred to. The patent so construed was itself a license to the patentee to make grants to hold of himself. On the making of such grants the patentees became the mesne lords, holding of the King, and the grantees of the patentees were the tenants paravail (*so called because they have the avails or profits of the land*), holding by license from the King as lord paramount, of their immediate lords the patentees. The statute would prevent any further subinfeudations, by the freeholders holding under the patentees, unless, indeed, the King and patentees should both consent.

"That this was the understanding of the crown lawyers who prepared the patents for lands in the Colonies, is evident from the terms of several Colonial grants. The charter of Pennsylvania empowered Penn, the patentee, to erect manors and to alien and grant parts of the lands to such purchasers as might wish to purchase, "their heirs and assigns, *to be held of the said William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, by such services, customs and rents as should seem fit to the said William Penn, etc.. and *not immediately* of the *said King Charles, his heirs or successors*," notwithstanding the statute of *quia emptores* (I. Wheaton 348; 9 Wheaton 256). . . .

"The records of some ten or twelve patents exist in the office of the Secretary of State, issued respectively in the reigns of James II., William and Mary, Anne, and George I., and the earlier government of the Duke of York [*among which are those of Scarsdale, Philipsburgh, Fordham, Pelham, Cortlandt, and Morrisania, in Westchester County*], with powers respecting a manor and Manor Courts similar to those under consideration [*the English manor grants of Rensselaerswyck*]; and the proprietary charters of several of the Colonies authorize grants to be made to hold of the proprietaries. If the statute against subinfeudations was in force in the colonies, these proprietary grants were as much violations of its provisions as the grants in question or any other grants from the King. The practice of making such grants for a long course of years is pretty strong evidence that the statute was never understood to apply to the King. . . . The general expressions of writers and judges to the effect that manors cannot have a commencement since the statute of Edward [in the year

1290] is quite correct, if we add the reason, which is always understood, viz., that all the lands in England are already in tenure, and subinfeudations are forbidden by the statute. The remark was never applicable to the ungranted crown lands in the Colonies, upon which the statute, I think, never had any, or only a qualified, bearing.[1] I have considered this question as though the statute was in force, and controlled the tenures in this Colony (New York) in any case to which in England it might be applicable; and I do not think it material to deny the proposition, though it has been questioned by respectable authority. Whether it was generally in force or not, it did not, in my opinion, apply to the ungranted crown lands; and in respect to these, the King, I think, was competent to authorize his immediate grantees to create tenants of a freehold manor by granting lands to be held of themselves.

"It will not be supposed that all the vexatious incidents of the feudal tenures were engrafted upon these Manor lands (*in New York*). If the feudal system ever prevailed in the American Colonies, it had been shorn of its most severe features before either of the grants in question [*or any other of the Manor grants in New York*] was made, by the Statute 12 Charles II., ch. 24 (*Anno* 1660), which abolished the peculiar incidents of the military tenures, and changed them whether holden of the King or others, into free and common socage; and which was re-enacted in this State soon after the Revolution with a retrospect to the time of the passage of the English statute I. Greenleaf, 359, p. 2."

The case in which the foregoing opinion was delivered was the famous one of the People against Van Rensselaer instituted by the Attorney-General of this State expressly to test the validity of manorial grants and privileges in the former province of New York, reported in 5 Selden 291. It was decided by the Court of Appeals *unanimously* in favor of the defendant Mr. Van Rensselaer, in 1853, the decision being, that "Royal letters patent granting lands in the province of New York are not void by reason of their conferring manorial privileges and franchises upon the patentees."

These "privileges and franchises" are set forth at length in every Manor Grant, being such incidents of the Grant as the Crown chose to express in the instrument itself, and saw fit to bestow upon the grantee therein named.

These privileges and franchises of "the Freehold Manors of New York" as Chief Justice Denio styles them, were, in his words," "free from the vexatious incidents of the feudal tenures. And he further says "the feudal system, which if it ever prevailed in the American colonies, had been shorn of its most severe feature before either of the grants in question, [*or any other of the Manor grants in New York*] was made, by the statute of Charles II. ch. 24, which [in 1660] abolished the Military tenures and changed them into free and common socage." This tenure as we have seen is purely allodial, save only in the fealty due the King as the ultimate lord of all the land of the realm. It was formally, as has previously been stated, declared by the Provincial Act of 1691 to be the tenure of lands in the Province of New York. No change was made or effected by the American Revolution, except that the Independent Sovereign State of New York succeeded to the position of the King as ultimately entitled to all the land within its borders. On the 20th of February 1787, before the United States had an existence, before the Convention of Independent States out of which this Union proceeded, had been chosen, and two years and twelve days before the Constitution of the United States formed by that convention went into effect, the Legislature of the State of New York, passed an "Act concerning Tenures" of a remarkable character. It would take too long to give its genesis here, interesting as it would be. It was passed ten years after the formation of the Constitution of the State. Its first section (there are six altogether) establishes and admits Manor grants, but calls the Lord of a Manor "the Chief Lord." It is as follows: "*Be it Enacted by the People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly*, and it is hereby *Enacted by Authority of the same*, That it shall forever hereafter be lawful for every Freeholder to give, sell, or alien the Lands and Tenements whereof he or she is, or at any time hereafter shall be seized in Fee Simple, or any Part thereof, at his or her Pleasure, so always that the Purchaser shall hold the Lands or Tenements, so given, sold or aliened, of the Chief Lord, if there be any, of the same Fee, by the Same Services and Customs by which the Person or Persons, making such Gift, Sale or Alienation, before held the same Lands or Tenements.

And if such Freeholder give, sell or alien only a Part of such Lands or Tenements to any, the Feoffee or Alienee shall immediately hold such Part of the Chief Lord, and shall be forthwith charged with the Services for so much as pertaineth, or ought to pertain, to the said Chief Lord, for the same Parcel, according to the Quantity of Land or Tenement given, sold or aliened, for the Parcel of the Service so due." The second, third, fourth and fifth sections practically re-enact the statute of Charles II. abolishing military tenures, the fifth being in these words, "*Provided always, and be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid*, That this Act, or any Thing herein contained, shall not take away, nor be construed to take away or discharge, any Rents certain, or other Services incident or belonging to Tenure in common Soccage, due or to grow due to the People of this State, or any mesne [middle] Lord, or other Private Person, or the Fealty or Distresses incident thereto." The Sixth and final

[1] Chief Justice Ambrose Spencer, said from the bench that the statute in question never applied to the American Colonies. 18 Johnson p. 180.

section enacts "That the Tenure upon all Gifts, Grants, and Conveyances heretofore made, or hereafter to be made, of any Manors, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, of any Estate of Inheritance, by any Letters Patent under the Great Seal of this State, or in any other Manner, by the People of this State, or by the Commissioners of Forfeitures, shall be and remain *Allodial*, and not *Feudal*, and shall forever hereafter be taken and adjudged to be, and to continue in free and pure *Allodium* only."

The Statute of Charles seems to have been re-enacted, out of pure caution only, for its provisions had been the law of the Province and the State from the Dutch surrender to the time this statute was passed. It was pure surplusage. But why the first section was enacted is by no means clear. The act certainly confirms the free socage tenure of all lands in New York, does away with every other tenure and its incidents, except the fealty to the State and to "the Chief Lord" in the first section stated. While the last section declares the Socage tenure purely allodial in so many words. It thus actually re-enacted the entire English Provincial system of land tenure, including the manor system as the State land system of New York.

Under this act the State law as to tenures remained without change from its enactment in 1787 to the year 1830, when the Revised Statutes went into effect which declare that all lands since that date are allodial and abolish all incidents of the socage tenure, and, the tenure itself, using the word 'feudal' to express it, preserving, however, all rights under the same as they had previously existed. The "Tenure of Real Property" is thus stated.

§ 1. The People of this State, in their right of sovereignty, are deemed to possess the original and absolute property in and to all lands within the jurisdiction of this State; and all lands, the title to which shall fail from a defect of heirs, shall revert or escheat to the people.

§ 3. All lands within this State are declared to be allodial, so that subject only to the liability to escheat, the entire and absolute property is vested in the owners, according to the nature of their respective estates; and all feudal tenures of every description, with all their incidents, are abolished.

§ 4. The abolition of tenures shall not take away or discharge any rents or services certain, which at any time heretofore have been, or may hereafter be, created or reserved; nor shall it be construed to affect to change the powers or jurisdiction of any Court of Justice in this State.[1]

From and after 1830, therefore, the land tenure of New York has been and continues to be purely allodial. The vested rights and incidents of the former socage tenures were preserved, but the erection of any other tenure than a pure allodial one is forbidden.

[1] II. R. S,, Part II. Title I, p. 718, first ed.

The state has thus after the lapse of centuries returned to the free and just 'alod' of the earliest Saxon days of England.

The nature of the old Feudal Manors, and the difference from them of the Freehold Manors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in New York having been shown, the incidents, franchises and privileges of the latter next demand attention.

10.

The Franchises, Privileges, and Incidents, of Manors in the Province of New York, and in the County of Westchester, and the Parishes in the latter.

The erection of 'Manors' by the English in New York, like the previous creation of 'Patroonships,' by the Dutch in the same Province, was simply the establishment and carrying out, of what they deemed the best method of promoting the growth and development of their new possession under their own laws and customs. To the same idea is due the granting therein of similar large tracts of land which were *not* manors. The latter, the 'Great Patents,' as they were called, were usually granted to several grantees. The Manors were necessarily granted to one only. The franchises, privileges, and other valuable incidents, which the Manors possessed, and which the Great Patents did not possess, were much fewer than is generally supposed. The term 'feudal,' popularly applied to the former, has caused much misconception. The tenure of both classes of these crown grants was precisely the same, being "in free and common socage as of the Manor of East Greenwich in the county of Kent," which has been already explained. The greatest difference between them lay in the peculiar public incidents, as they may be called, which constituted a Manor, incidents essential to its existence, and which related more to the government and good order of the territory of the Manor and the protection of the inhabitants, and their rights as Englishmen, than to the power and profit of the Lord. Tenants could, and did, take up lands under the grantees of the Great Patents, as well as under the Lords of the Manors. The former could, and did, settle people upon their Patents under leases, as well as deeds in fee, just as the latter did upon their Manors. Both classes of Proprietors sold in fee, or granted on leases of different kinds, just as their interests or wishes dictated. The Great Patents, their grantees, and the inhabitants upon them, were subject, in general and local matters, to whatever public territorial divisions of the Province embraced them, and the laws in force therein. The Manors, their Lords, and their inhabitants, whether tenants, or holders in fee simple of manor lands by purchase from the Lords, were subject only to the jurisdiction and courts of the Manors in local matters. Both, in all matters not local, were governed by the laws, courts, and the civil and military authorities, of the county and of the Province.

There were in the county of Westchester Six Manors, which together comprised by far the largest part of its area. The Great Patents were much more numerous, but together not so extensive in area. These latter and the Borough-Town of Westchester, with a few small original grants, formed the rest of the county as it was originally. The lower part of the "Equivalent lands" or "The Oblong," received in settlement of a boundary dispute from the colony of Connecticut was not added to the county till the year 1731, and this too, was then embraced in a single Great Patent.

The Manors were those of "*Cortlandt*," "*Scarsdale*," "*Pelham*," "*Morrisania*," "*Fordham*," and "*Philipseborough*," or as it was, and is, usually written and pronounced "Philipsburgh." Of these, Cortlandt, and Philipsburgh, were much the largest. It will give a correct idea of the great extent and thoroughness of the manorial settlement of Westchester county, as well as the satisfactory nature of that method of settlement to its inhabitants, although a surprise, probably, to many readers, when it is stated that in the year 1769, one-third of the population of the county lived on the two Manors of Cortlandt and Philipsburgh alone. The Manors of Fordham, Morrisania, Pelham and Scarsdale, lying nearer to the city of New York, than these two, and more accessible than either, save only the lower end of Philipsburgh, were, if any thing, much more settled. It is safe to say that upwards of five-eighths of the people of Westchester County in 1769 were inhabitants of the six manors that have been named. As the people upon the manors were free of general jury duty the fact threw upon the rest of the county an increased burden. The 'Burgess' (or Representative) of the "Borough of Westchester" in the Assembly in 1769, was John de Lancey of Rosehill, Westfarms, of the second, or Westfarms, branch of that family, being the second son of Peter de Lancey of Rosehill, Westfarms, and his wife Elizabeth, the daughter of Governor Cadwallader Colden. He attempted the relief of the non-manorial inhabitants of the county and brought this matter before the Assembly in this speech, from which we learn the fact above-mentioned,—

"Mr. Speaker,—As the qualification required by the act for returning able and sufficient jurors in the several counties of this colony, entirely disqualifies all the tenants settled upon the Manor of Philipsburgh, and great part of those settled upon the Manor of Cortlandt, in the county of Westchester, from serving upon juries; which makes that service extremely hard upon the other parts of the county (the Manors of Philipsburgh and Cortlandt, containing at least one-third of all the inhabitants of the said county); I therefore move for leave to bring in a bill, to enable and qualify the tenants holding lands improved of the value of sixty pounds (£150), either for years, or at will, within the Manors aforesaid to serve upon juries within the said county of Westchester." Leave was given, and the next day Mr. de Lancey introduced the bill. [1]The jury act referred to required all jurors to be possessed either in their own rights and names, or that of Trustees, or in that of their wives, of "a freehold in lands, messuages, or tenements, or rents, in fee, feetail, or for life, of the value of sixty pounds New York currency (£150) free of all incumbrances." In the City of New York alone personalty of sixty pounds value was permitted as a qualification. The object of Mr. de Lancey's bill was to make the tenants in the Manors, who were not freeholders, subject to jury duty. This legislative action proves that none of the leases in the manor of Philipsburgh were "fee-farm" leases, that is leases in perpetuity, for such leases were "freeholds," and the "tenants freeholders," by law; and that the same thing was true of a "great part" of the leases in the Manor of Cortlandt. Mr. de Lancey's attempt to aid his constituents was not successful. His bill failed to pass, but why, the journals of the House do not show. Probably the tenants of the Manors were in a majority sufficient to control their members in the House. The two members for the County had the tenants of Philipsburgh, and of the four smaller manors of Scarsdale, Pelham, Morrisania and Fordham among their constituents, and "The Manor of Cortlandt" had its own representative. One of the county members was Frederick Philipse, the third, and the then, Lord of Philipseburgh (the other being John Thomas of Harrison), and the member for the Manor of Cortlandt, was Pierre van Cortlandt, of Croton, of the second branch of that family, and subsequently the first Lieutenant-Governor of the *State* of New York. Both the county members had a majority of Manor tenants in their constituency.

The next year, 1770, Mr. Thomas, one of the County members, tried a little different measure, apparently punitive. He introduced a bill relating to the Manor of Philipsburgh alone, entitled "a bill to enable and qualify tenants holding lands improved to the value of sixty pounds, either for years, or at will, within the Manor of Philipsburgh, in the County of Westchester, to serve as jurors in the justices courts held in said Manor, where the parties concerned in the cause to be tried, are tenants as aforesaid."[2] This was practically to invest Justices' courts in the Manor, with the jurisdiction of the Courts-baron of the manor, only with a justice instead of the Lord or his Steward as its presiding head, and thus imposed double jury duty on the tenants. This measure also failed to pass. These facts, and the proposed legislative action, first mentioned, occurring as it did, only five years before the beginning of the American Revolution, show how widely-extended was the manorial system of New York, in Westchester County, how numerous and

[1] Assembly Journals. Session from 1st November, 1769, to 27th January, 1770, pp. 6 and 7.

[2] Assembly Journals. Session from 21st Nov. 1769 to 27th Jan. 1770, p. 80.

politically powerful were the tenants of the manors there, and how well they were satisfied with their position. The objection coming from those only who were not manorial tenants.

The peculiar incidents of an old English Manor have not been described, although they have been referred to. The definition of a Manor already given, shows that it had two Courts, a Court-Baron, and a Court-Leet. The scope and duties of the former of these, that in which the Lord exercised jurisdiction, we learn from Coke. "If," says he, "we labour to search out the antiquity of these courts-baron, we shall find them as ancient as manors themselves. For when the ancient kings of this realm, who had all England in demesne, did confer great quantities of lands upon some great personages with liberty to parcel the lands out to other inferior tenants, reserving such duties and services as they thought convenient; and to keep courts where they might redress misdemeanors within their precincts, punish offences committed by their tenants, and decide and debate controversies arising within their jurisdiction; these courts were termed courts baron."[1]

This jurisdiction was the very essence, so to speak, of a Manor, for the same great authority also says, that, "A Manor in these days [the age of Elizabeth, in which Coke wrote] signifieth the jurisdiction and royalty incorporate rather than the land or scite."[2]

An old English Manor may be said to have consisted of:—

1. Demesne lands, which were the Lords personal demesne. These were of two kinds, first, the Manor-House and the land immediately about, or adjacent to, it, which the Lord himself cultivated for his own maintenance, or demised to others to be cultivated for that purpose, on terms of years, or for the life of the tenants; and secondly, the uncultivated lands of the manor including those allowed as common lands for pasturage, &c., to the freehold tenants generally, which were termed the "wasted lands," or more usually the "Lords waste," not because they were worth nothing, but because they were untilled.

2. The services, rents, and duties, reserved to the Lord upon the original freehold leases to the freehold tenants of the manor.

3. The reversion of those parts of the demesne lands granted for lives or terms of years, and of those escheated to the Lord in the case of freehold tenants dying intestate and without heirs.

4. Jurisdiction in a Court-Baron, and the rents and services of the freehold tenants liable to escheat and owing attendance as suitors at the Court. This Court was a necessary incident of a manor, and without it, and at least two suitors, no manor could exist. The Lord, or his Steward always presided, no one else could hold it. The freehold tenants were the judges of fact, just as jurors are in ordinary Courts; thus no man could be tried except by his peers. It was an absolute necessity that it should be held within the Manor limits, for if held outside, its proceedings were null and void. Hence it was usually held in or near the Manor House.

5. The right to hold a Court-Leet. This Court was not necessary to the existence of a manor as a Court-Baron was. It was simply one of the general franchises given in and by a Manor Grant. It was not given to all manors, but in those in New York it was usually one of the franchises granted. All the manors in Westchester County possessed this franchise. The Court-Leet was a Court of Record having a similar jurisdiction to the old Sheriff's "Tourns" or migratory courts held by the Sheriff in the different districts, or 'hundreds' of his County, for the punishment of minor offences and the preservation of the peace, but had more extended powers. It was a criminal Court only and took cognizance of all crimes from the smallest misdemeanors, up to, but excluding, treason. It was granted to lords of manors "in order that they might administer justice to their tenants at home."[3] All the people in the district of the Court-Leet were bound to attend under penalty of a small fine. The Steward of the Manor was the judge, and the people of the manor alone could be the jurors. "Anciently," said Lord Mansfield, "the Tourn and the Leet (derived out of it) were the principal Courts of Criminal Jurisdiction; coeval with the establishment of the Saxons here. There were no traces of them either among the Romans or Britons; but the activity of these Courts is marked very visibly both among the Saxons and the Danes."[4]

6. The Franchises annexed or appendant to a Manor. These were privileges specifically given by the Crown in the Grants of manors, or of lands not manors. "A franchise," says Cruise, "is a royal privilege or branch of the King's prerogative subsisting in a subject by a grant from the Crown."[5] When so granted they were said to be appendant to the manor, or other grant in which they are set forth. There was nothing whatever which was "feudal" in their nature. They were simply favors extended by the crown to the grantees of lands whether manorial, or non-manorial, to increase the value and enjoyment of their properties. They varied much, some manors having more, some less. Most of these franchises were common to both manorial, and non-manorial, lands. Some, however, were only granted to Manors, and were held by their Lords in addition to those common to both these classes of Crown-granted lands. Among those of the non-manorial lands were Hunting, Hawking, Fowling, Fishing, &c., among the latter, those of Courts-Baron, Courts-Leet, Waifs, Estrays, Advowsons, Deodands, &c. In the case of Manors

[1] Cited in Cruise on Dignities, 24. [2] Ibid.

[3] Coke 2 Inst. 70.

[4] 3 Burrow's Rep. 1860. See as to the jurisdiction of these Courts Hallam's "Middle Ages," 347.

[5] Digest, Title, xxvii. § 1.

there were often special franchises granted, growing out of the geographical situation of the land itself, or other special circumstances of a local nature, such as franchises to establish ferries, bridges, fairs and markets; and for the tenants to meet and choose assessors and other local officers, and elect representatives of the Manor in the General Assembly. The latter, a very high franchise, was conferred upon three only out of the great number of Manors in New York. These were the Manors of Cortlandt, Livingston, and Rensselaerswyck, of which the former, the first in which the franchise was granted, was the only one in Westchester County. All three of them bordered upon the Hudson River, and eventually embraced within their territorial limits large numbers of inhabitants.

All these franchises were what the law terms "incorporeal hereditaments," which are rights and profits arising from, or annexed to, land. Among them was that of advowson and church patronage. An advowson is a right of presentation to a church, or any ecclesiastical benefice. It existed in New York, during the Colonial period. The word is derived from the Latin *advocatio*, which means receiving in clientship, because in England originally the one possessing this right was termed *advocatus ecclesiæ*, as he was bound to defend and protect, both the rights of the church, and the clergyman in charge, from oppression and violence. Hence the right of presentation to a church acquired the name of advowson, and he who possessed the right was called the patron of the church. The origin of the right was this:—In the early days of Christianity the nomination of all ecclesiastical benefices belonged to the Church. When the piety of some rich and prominent men, or great lords, induced them to build churches, near, or upon, their own estates, and endow them with land called a glebe, or to appropriate the rent or tithes from neighbouring lands of their own, to their support, the bishops, (non-episcopal church organizations did not then exist) desiring to encourage such pious undertakings, permitted these rich men to appoint what person they pleased to officiate in such churches, and receive the emoluments annexed to them; reserving to themselves only the power to examine, judge of, and pass upon, the qualifications of the persons so nominated. Originally a mere indulgence, this practice in process of time became a right. And those who had either founded or endowed a church naturally claimed and exercised the right of presenting a clergyman to the bishop for institution whenever the Church became vacant. This right of presentation originally allowed to the person who built or endowed a church, became by degrees annexed to the estate or Manor in which it was erected; for the endowment, whether land, or tithes of its produce, was taken as part of the Manor and held of it; hence the right of presentation passed with the Estate or Manor to which it was appendant by grant, and thus became a species of property.

'Presentation' is the offering of a clergyman by the patron, or owner, of an advowson to the Bishop or ordinary, by a kind of letter in writing, requesting him to admit the clergyman named in it to the Church. When the Bishop, or Ordinary, after due examination, certified in writing that the clergyman was a fit person to serve the church, the latter was said to be "admitted." The Bishop, or Ordinary then "instituted" the clergyman, by the formal commitment to him of the cure of souls. This was done by the clergyman kneeling before the bishop and reading his promise of faithful duty from a written instrument prepared beforehand with the episcopal seal attached, which he held in his hands, and afterwards retained. This gave him the right to the temporalities of the Church. After the completion of the "Institution" the Bishop, or Ordinary, issued a "Mandate of Induction" in writing, directed to him who had the power to induct of common right, or, in case of there being no person possessing this power, to any other proper person whom he saw fit to name, to perform the office. The Actual Induction was made by the authorized person taking the clergyman and putting his hand on the door, wall, or other part of the church edifice, and saying to this effect—"By virtue of this mandate to me directed I do induct you into the real, actual, and corporeal possession of the Church of ——— (naming it) with all the rights, profits, and appurtenances thereunto belonging," or similar words to that effect. He then opened the door, and led the new clergyman into the church, who usually tolled the bell, if there was any, for a few moments, to make known his induction to his parishioners and the public. This course was followed in New York, and the other British-American colonies in which the church of England existed. But as there was no Bishop at that time in this country, the Ordinary was either the Governor, by virtue of his Commission, or the Bishop of London's Commissary, who was a clergyman appointed by the Bishop to perform certain administrative duties here, and one or the other acted in the Bishop's place. The Governor of the Province usually issued the mandate of, and appointed a proper person to perform the ceremony of, Induction.

This right of advowson and church patronage was specifically granted in express terms to four out of the six manors in Westchester County, and is set forth specifically in the Manor Grants of 'Cortlandt,' 'Philipseburgh,' 'Pelham,' and 'Morrisania.' In that of Scarsdale it is not granted, nor in that of Fordham, a proof of the statement made above that Manor franchises varied in different Manor Grants.

At the beginning, the instruments of Presentation and Induction in New York were in Latin, and many of them are recorded in the public offices of the older Counties, in that tongue. Later they were in English. The following is a complete sequence of these curious and instructive documents showing the Collation and Induction into the "Parish of Rye,

Mamaroneck, and Bedford," of the Rev. Ebenezer Punderson, as its incumbent in the year 1763, the whole being in English. The originals are in the possession of John C. Jay, M.D., of Rye. They are printed in Bolton's History of the Church in the County of Westchester, page 300, etc. The headings do not appear in the originals. In this case the right of Patronage was vested in the Wardens and Vestry of the Parish itself, as was often the case.

THE PRESENTATION TO THE PARISH OF RYE OF MR. EBENEZER PUNDERSON.

"To the Honorable Cadwallader Colden, Esq., his Majesty's Lieutenant Governour, and Commander in Chief of the Province of New York, and the Territories depending thereon, in America :

The Churchwardens and Vestrymen of the Parish of Rye, including the districts or precincts of Rye, Mamaroneck, and Bedford, in the County of Westchester, in the Province of New-York, the true and undoubted patrons of the said Parish, within your Honour's government, in all reverence and obedience to your Honour, due and suitable, send greeting, in our Lord God everlasting, and certifye that to the said Parish of Rye, including the districts or precincts of Rye, Mamaroneck, and Bedford, now being vacant by the natural death of James Wetmore, the last incumbent of the same, and to our presentation of full right belonging, we have called our beloved in Christ, Ebenezer Punderson, Clerk, to officiate in the said Parish church of Rye, called Grace Church ; and him, the said Ebenezer Punderson, sends by these presents to your Honour, present, humbly praying that you would vouchsafe him to the said church and Parish of Rye, including the districts or precincts aforesaid, to admit, institute, and cause to be inducted, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances, and that you will, with favour and effect, do and fulfill all and singular, other things which in this behalf are proper and fitting for your honour to do.

In testimony whereof, we, the Churchwardens and vestrymen aforesaid, have to these presents put our hands and seals, this day of November, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three.

EBENEZER KNIFFEN, } *Churchwardens,*
ANDREW MERRIT. }

and seven Vestrymen."

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOUR COLDEN'S ADMISSION OF MR. PUNDERSON TO THE PARISH OF RYE.

"I, CADWALLADER COLDEN, Esquire, his Majesty's Lieutenant Governour, and Commander in Chief of the province of New-York, and the Territories depending thereon in America, do admit you, Ebenezer Punderson, Clerk, to be Rector of the Parish Church of Rye, commonly called Grace Church, and of the Parish of Rye, including the several districts or precincts of Rye, Mamaroneck, and Bedford, in the County of Westchester, within the said Province.

Given under my hand and the prerogative seal of the Province of New-York, at Fort George, in the City of New-York, the seventeenth day of November, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three.

CADWALLADER COLDEN."

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOUR COLDEN'S INSTITUTION OF MR. PUNDERSON AS RECTOR OF THE PARISH OF RYE.

"I, CADWALLADER COLDEN, Esquire, his Majesty's Lieutenant Governour and Commander in Chief of the Province of New-York, and the Territories depending thereon, in America, do institute you, Ebenezer Punderson, Clerk, Rector of the Parish Church, of Rye commonly called Grace Church, and of the Parish of Rye, including the several districts or precincts of Rye, Mamaroneck, and Bedford, in the County of Westchester, in the said Province to have the cure of the souls of the parishioners of the said Parish ; and take your cure and mine.

Given under my hand and the prerogative seal of the Province of New-York, at Fort George, in the City of New-York, the seventeenth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three.

CADWALLADER COLDEN."

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOUR COLDEN'S MANDATE TO INDUCT MR. PUNDERSON INTO THE PARISH OF RYE.

"The Honorable Cadwallader Colden, Esquire, his Majesty's Lieutenant Governour and Commander in Chief of the Province of New-York, and the Territories depending thereon in America. To all and singular Rectors and Parish Ministers whatsoever, in the Province of New-York, or to Andrew Merrit and Ebenezer Kniffen, the present Churchwardens of the Parish of Rye, in the County of Westchester, and to the Vestrymen of the said Parish, and to each and every of you, greeting :—Whereas, I have admitted our beloved in Christ, Ebenezer Punderson, Clerk, to the Rectory of the Parish Church at Rye, commonly called Grace Church, and of the Parish of Rye, including the several districts or precincts of Rye, Mamaroneck, and Bedford, in the County of Westchester, within this government, to which the said Ebenezer Punderson was presented unto me by the Churchwardens and Vestrymen of the said Parish, the true and undoubted patrons of the said Parish, vacant, as is say'd by the natural death of James Wetmore, the last incumbent there, on or about the nineteenth day of May, one thousand seven hundred and sixty ; and him, the said Ebenezer Punderson, I have instituted into the Rectory of the said Parish Church and Parish, with all their rights, members, and appurtenances, observing the laws and canons of right, in that behalf required and to be observed. To you therefore, jointly and severally, I do commit, and firmly injoining. do command each and every of you, that in due manner, him, the said Ebenezer Punderson, or his lawfull Proctor, in his name, and for him into the real actual, and corporal possession of the Rectory of the said Parish Church and Parish, including the districts and precincts aforesaid, and all of their rights and appurtenances, whatsoever, you induct, or cause to be inducted, and him so inducted you do defend : and of what you shall have done in the premises thereof, you do duely certify unto me or other competent judge, in that behalf, when there unto you shall be duely required.

Given under my hand and the prerogative seal of the Province of New-York, at Fort George, in the City of New-York, the seventeenth day of November, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three."

CADWALLADER COLDEN."

CERTIFICATE OF MR. PUNDERSON'S INDUCTION INTO THE RECTORSHIP OF THE PARISH OF RYE.

"I, John Milner, Rector of the Parish of Westchester, in the County of Westchester and Province of New-York, do hereby certifye, that by virtue of a warrant hereunto annexed, from the Honourable Cadwallader Colden, Esquire, his Majesty's Lieutenant Governour and Commander in Chief of the Province of New-York, aforesaid, and the Territories depending thereon, in America ; I have this day inducted the Rev. Ebenezer Punderson, into the real, actual and corporal possession of the Rectory of the Parish Church of Rye, commonly called Grace Church and of the Parish of Rye, including the several districts or precincts of Rye, Mamaroneck, and Bedford, in the County of Westchester aforesaid, with all their rights, members, and appurtenances, the 21st day of November, Anno Domini, 1763. The induction of the Rev. Ebenezer Punderson being executed, the above certificate was signed, in consequence thereof, by the Rev. John Milner, in the presence of us, who subscribe our names as witness thereunto.

JOHN MILNER, *Rector of St. Peter's Church Westchester,*
and twenty-one others."

MR. PUNDERSON'S DECLARATION OF CONFORMITY.

"I, Ebenezer Punderson, do here declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by ye Book entitled the Book of Common Prayer, and administrations of ye sacraments ; and ye Rites and Ceremonies of ye Church, according to the use of the Church of England ; together with ye Psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches, and the form or manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating Bishops, Priests and Deacons."

"Upon the 4th day of December, 1763, the above mentioned Ebenezer Punderson, after divine service was began, and before it was ended, read distinctly the thirty-nine articles of Religion, and declared his unfeined assent and consent to them ; and also made the above declaration.

Witness, HACHALIAH BROWN, TIMOTHY WETMORE."

The Rents incident to a manor were of two kinds, those arising from the demense lands of the lord, and those from the freehold lands held by the tenants of

the manor. It is a proof of the fact that the renting of land from a superior, was a most natural as well as most ancient custom, that from the payment of rent is derived our English word *farm*. In early Saxon days, and at, and just after, the Norman Conquest, the estates of the chiefs and leaders were cultivated by the people attached to their different lands, the villeins, heretofore mentioned, who were practically slaves, and, in the very earliest times, passed with the estates on which they dwelt. In course of time the land owners allowed them to occupy specific parts of their lands at will, yielding a return of corn, hay, of other portions of their crops; and later they granted them the lands for a certain number of years, by which they were enfranchised, the owners reserving an annual return of portions of the corn or other provisions. From this the lands thus granted were called *farms*, from the Saxon word *feorm*, which signifies provisions.[1] This return for the use of the land, was expressed by the Latin word *redditus*, which means 'return,' and from it comes our English word 'rent.'

Rents were of three kinds, 1. Rent service; that is payment of money or produce, and fealty, which was the only rent known to the common law and to which a right of distress was incident. 2. Rent charge; when the rent was created by deed, no fealty was annexed and consequently there could be no distress in case of non-payment; hence an express power of distress was inserted in the deed to cure the difficulty. A rent so reserved was said to be charged with a distress, and hence called a rent charge. 3. Rent seck, or dry or barren rent; this was simply a rent for the recovery of which no power of distress was given by the common law, or by the agreement of the parties.[2]

All three kinds were used, but the first or rent service was that generally reserved in manor leases in New York. The leases themselves were granted for terms of years of longer or shorter periods, with covenants of renewal, or without, as the parties could agree. Usually they were for long terms, and sometimes they were made in perpetuity, in which latter case they were called fee-farm leases, and the rents fee-farm rents. In the Westchester County Manors there was great latitude in the character of the lease holds. The Lords and their Tenants were bound by no hard and fast rules, and made just such agreements with each other as they saw fit. Sometimes the right to purchase the fee by the tenant upon terms was inserted in the leases. But it was the custom generally to sell the reversion of the fee to the tenant, whenever it was desired and the parties could agree upon the terms of the purchase. These leaseholds were devisable by will, and divisible, with the lord's assent, into parts in the lessee's lifetime. This made it easy for tenants to retain their farms in their families from father to son if they wished, or to divide up a large farm into smaller ones, among several sons, or married daughters. But in all cases the consent in writing of the lord was necessary. And, as a rule, this was never withheld, when the subdivisions proposed were not made too small. In these divisions of a leasehold, the rent was arranged to be paid in one of two ways. Either the lord consented to take it in fixed parts from the holders of the subdivisions, or, which was most usual, it was agreed among the subtenants that some one of them should pay the entire rent under the whole lease to the lord, and be re-imbursed by each of them for his own part. The amounts for the different parts were apportioned among themselves in this case as they chose. When the lord accepted the rent in parts the apportionment was made by him, or his steward, with the tenants at the time such division into parts was agreed upon. In the Manor of Scarsdale, there were, within the personal knowledge of the writer, instances of tenants holding their farms for four and five generations, and then purchasing the reversion of the fee from the lineal representatives of the Lord to whom the fee had descended. And it may be said that much the greater number of the original tenants of that manor, or their descendants became the owners in fee of their farms by direct purchase from the first Lord, Caleb Heathcote, or his lineal descendants. Several of these farms have been so sold and so acquired in the memory of the writer. Another rule which obtained with the owners of that manor, and with some of the owners of the manor of Cortlandt, also, to the writer's knowledge, was, that no stranger to the tenants of any farm was ever permitted to purchase the fee of a farm, without the owners first giving the tenant in possession the first opportunity to purchase it. In the latter manor many farms were originally leased to tenants on ninety-nine years leases, and in some instances they have remained in the families of the same lords and the same tenants during that entire term, and upon its expiration then sold in fee. One of these farms which descended to the writer, had been divided into four parcels by the original tenant in the manner above mentioned. And ten years ago, when the ninety-nine years' lease had expired, two portions of it were still in the hands of the great-grandchildren of the first tenant. The right to purchase, though there was no obligation to do so, the term having expired, was offered to them. But not wishing to profit by it, the fee was sold at public auction, and bought by an adjoining neighbor, who some years before had acquired the fee, or "soil right" of his own farm in the same way.

The quit-rents, payable to the sovereign authority, whether the Crown, or, after the Revolution, the State of New York, from all Manors, as well as the Great Patents and Small Patents, granted by the Crown, were incidents of all the Manors, as well as of the other Crown grants of every kind. The term itself is derived from the Latin '*quietus redditus*,' and signifies a rent reserved in grants of land, by the

[1] Cruise Tit. VIII., ch. I. § 1., and Tit. XXVIII., ch. I. § 1.
[2] Cruise Tit. XXVIII., ch. 1.

payment of which the tenant is quieted, or quit, from all other service. They were at once the acknowledgment of the tenure, the holding, of the lands, from the Sovereign Authority, and the source of a part of its revenue. And this is the reason why the success of the American Revolution had no effect whatever upon quit-rents, and that they continued payable after it, just as they were before, the State succeeding to the revenue from them formerly enjoyed by the Crown.

The Manor-Grants in the County of Westchester varied a little in the form and terms of the clauses providing for the reservation and the payment of these quit-rents, and the times of their payment. The clauses were framed in the model of the quaint old clauses of the ancient Manors of England, of five centuries before. But except this mere resemblance there was nothing "feudal" in them more than in the reservations of rent in a modern lease of a store on Broadway, a farm in the Country, or an opposition Rail Road, or Oil, Company. The quit-rent clauses of the different Manor-Grants in Westchester County are these;—

Manor of Cortlandt:—"Yielding rendering and paying therefor yearly and every year unto us, our heirs and successors, at our City of New York, on the feast day of the Annunciation of our Blessed Virgin Mary, the yearly rent of forty shillings current money of our said Province, in lieu and stead of all other rents, services, dues, and demands whatsoever for the afore recited tracts and parcels of land and meadow, Lordship and Manor of Cortlandt and premises."

Manor of Scarsdale:—"Yielding, rendering, and paying therefor yearly and every year forever at our City of New York, unto us our heirs and successors, or to such officer or officers, as shall from time to time be empowered to receive the same, five pounds current money of New York, upon the Nativity of our Lord, in lieu and stead of all services, dues, duties, or demands whatsoever."

Manor of Pelham:—Like Scarsdale as far as the word "same" inclusive, and then, "twenty shillings, good and lawful money of this province, at the City of New Yorke, on the five and twentyeth day of the month of March, in lieu of all rents, services, and demands whatsoever."

Manor of Morrisania:—"Yielding rendering and paying therefor yearly and every year, on the feast day of the Annunciation of our Blessed Virgin, unto us, our heirs and successors, at our city of New York the annual rent of six shillings, in lieu" etc. "for the said lordship and manor of Morrisania, and premises."

Manor of Fordham: "Yealding, rendering, and paying yearly and every year unto his Royal Highness, the Duke of Yorke and his successors, or to such governor, or governors, as from time to time, shall by him be constituted and appointed, as full acknowledgment and quit-rent, twenty bushels of good peas upon the first day of March, when it shall be demanded."[1]

Manor of Philipsborough:[2] "Yealding, rendering, and paying therefor, yearly, and every year, on the feast day of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, at our fort at New York, unto us our heirs and successors, the annual rent of four pounds, twelve shillings current money of our said province, in lieu of all former rents, services, dues, duties, and demands for the said Lordship or Manor of Philipsborough and premises."

In the parts of this essay treating of these Manors severally, will be found copies of the official receipts for these quit-rents given by the authorized Crown officers to whom they were payable. Being so small, they were practically allowed to run for a number of years, and then paid in a gross sum. Upon Crown Grants all over the province, not Manor-Grants—Patents as they were termed—the quit-rents were usually fixed upon the number of acres included, or estimated to be included in them, at the rate of two shillings and six pence sterling per hundred acres. But though this rate varied in some instances it may be taken as the general rate. Some of them were payable in kind usually in winter wheat. As the Province grew the amount of quit-rents increased and came to be an important part of the public revenue. Several acts of the Legislature from time to time regulated the times and manner of their payment, when they had fallen into arrears, which was a common occurrence, the last of which was in 1762, which also carefully provided for the partition of large estates where they had come into the possession of numerous heirs. But space will not permit of more than this allusion to this legislation.

After the Revolution when the State succeeded to the rights of the Crown, and in 1786, an act was passed providing for the payment of the quit-rents to the State, and permitting the owners of lands subject to them, to commute by paying a sum in gross, upon the receipt of which, the lands were declared free and discharged from then forever. The sum fixed was fourteen shillings in cash for every one shilling of annual quit-rent payable any time before the 1st of May, 1787, in the same State securities receivable in payment for forfeited estates. In the case of those payable in kind they were to be settled for in the method in the book of the Receiver-General of the former Colony, if this could be found, and if not found, then upon principles of equity and good conscience by the State Treasurer. This law was extended from time to time by various special acts. In 1791 one of these acts also changed the payments from the securities mentioned above to gold and silver, at the lower rate of twelve shillings for

[1] This was the only Manor-Grant in the County of Westchester issued under the Duke of York as Lord Proprietor.

[2] So styled in the Manor-Grant, but usually pronounced "Philipseburgh."

every shilling of quit-rent. The extensions continued to be made nearly every year up to 1813, when all payments and commutations were suspended for two years.[1] In 1815, the Comptroller was authorized to sell and commute, on the same terms as before, but in a method specified in the Act.[2] In 1816 and 1817 two more Acts were passed regulating and fixing the whole subject and placing it in the hands of the State Comptroller, and under these the quit-rents were gradually commuted until about the year 1823, when Commutation had been made for nearly all the lands subject to them, and the quit-rents became finally extinguished.

Another subject requires brief mention in this place. In the account of the old English Manors which has been given before, little or no mention has been made of the Copyhold lands. This was because, copyhold lands as such did not exist in the New York Manors. The Copyhold Tenure in England grew out of and was simply an enlargement by custom of the greater *firity* of the villein holdings of the manors, which, as has been shown, were originally terminable at the will of the Lord. As the custom of permitting the villeins to hold their lands from father to son increased, it finally became regulated by the Steward of the Manor forming a Court roll of such holdings in the Court-Baron, and for the tenants when a death or other termination of such a tenancy by gift or purchase occurred, to apply at the Court-Baron, over which the Steward, in the absence of the Lord, presided, for an entry of such change in this Court roll, a copy of which was given to the new tenant. From this custom such tenants were called "Tenants by copy of Court Roll," and in shorter terms "Copyholders." As the tenure grew solely out of a custom of the Manors, it could only exist in Manors old enough to have a custom. But as the freehold Manors of New York, were, as above shown, all New Manors, no custom of a manor could possibly exist in the Manors in that Province, and consequently there could not be any "Copyholds" or "Copyholders" therein.

In England at this day, it may be said, that with few exceptions, all the lands of the old manors except the private demesne lands of the Lords, have long since become Copyhold lands, and their Tenants Copyholders. Manors there are frequently bought and sold as a whole, and the purchaser succeeds to all the rights, franchises, privileges, and powers of the original Lord of the Manor. In the growth of England many Manors have become enormously valuable, by the spreading over them of large towns and cities. Hence many rich men have bought out these old Manors when in the neighborhood of flourishing cities and towns as an investment, or on speculation. The Lords, whether old or new ones are always ready in such cases to sell the fee of these Manor lands on satisfactory terms, which is termed Enfranchising the lands. It will be seen when a town or city has overgrown a Manor and the latter has been divided into lots how very valuable manors in such a condition become. The writer personally knew of such an instance in Gloucestershire, where the City of Cheltenham has spread over the Manor of that name.

A little upwards of twenty years ago, that manor was purchased in the manner just mentioned, and the new Lord issued through his Steward, who was also the Steward of the former Lord, his proposals for Enfranchising the lots in the Manor within that City. A copy of them is here given as an illustration of the nature and working of copyhold lands in an old English Manor, and their advantages and disadvantages, and the method by which they can become lands in fee simple. Although no copyhold lands did exist or could have existed, in New York the matter is of interest in connection with the general subject of this essay.

"MANOR OF CHELTENHAM.

Enfranchisement of Copyhold Property.

The Purchase by Robert Sole Lingwood Esquire of the Manor of Cheltenham having been completed, we are requested by him, as Lord of the Manor, to signify to the Copyholders that every facility will be afforded to those who desire to enfranchise their Copyhold Property, and that the terms on which such enfranchisement may be effected can be ascertained either through us or by application to Mr. Lingwood.

Whilst very reasonable terms will now be accepted to induce the Copyholders to avail themselves of the present opportunity to effect enfranchisements, the Lord of the Manor directs us to inform the Copyholders that he requires all Leases and dealings by the Owners with their Copyhold Tenements to be made in strict conformity with the Act of Parliament regulating the Customs of the Manor; and this notification is rendered the more necessary because Leases have heretofore frequently been made and executed by Tenants of the Manor in violation of the Custom regulating the mode of leasing, and because a Lease of Copyhold property by the Owner made contrary to the Custom occasions an absolute forfeiture to the Lord of the property so leased.

Among the objections to Copyhold property which will be got rid of by Enfranchisement may be enumerated the following:

1. The risk of forfeiture of the property by reason of ignorance in granting Leases contrary to the Custom.—

2. The expence of the perpetually recurring Stewards' fees payable on every occasion of dealing by Sale or Mortgage with the Copyhold property.—

3. The like expence of Stewards' fees payable on the death of every Owner of Copyhold property, for the admittance of his heir or devisee.—

4. The expence and inconvenience, frequently oc-

[1] Ch. 232 of Laws of 1813. [2] Ch. 209 of Laws of 1815.

casioned, to the Wife of a Copyholder, of having to travel from a distance to make in person a surrender of property sold or mortgaged by her Husband.—

5. The liability to publicity consequent on the surrender of Copyholds being made in open Court, and the proceedings being recorded on the Court Rolls which are accessible to all the Tenants of the Manor. This is particularly objectionable with reference to Mortgages.—

6. The liability to absolute forfeiture of the property, if the Owner dig clay or brickearth therefrom, or cut timber, or otherwise commit waste without the previous sanction of the Lord.

Many other grounds might be stated in favor of the Enfranchisement of Copyholds—but the foregoing are some of the more important; and in Cheltenham, where one-half of the property is Copyhold, nothing need be added to shew the importance of the Copyholders availing themselves of the opportunity now offered to them of immediately enfranchising their property on reasonable terms.—

Cheltenham W. H GWINNETT,
19 January, 1863. Steward of the Manor."

One incident of a manor was the right to tithes which sometimes could be acquired by the lords by prescriptions. This incident, as the manors of New York were new, was of little value for no prescription could attach to a new manor. It is singular, however, that in the very first manor erected in Westchester County, that of Fordham, in 1671, provision was made for the payment of a parson when it should have inhabitants. Its Lord, John Archer, and his heirs, were granted the privilege of obliging the inhabitants, when there should be enough of them, to contribute to the maintenance of a minister.[1] Had this been done which it never was, the method of contribution would naturally have been by tithes. As tithes were not known in America, it is perhaps well to explain briefly what they really were. During the first ages of Christianity the clergy were supported by the voluntary offerings of their flocks. But this being a precarious subsistence then, as it is now, the ecclesiastics in every country in Europe, in imitation of the Jewish law, claimed, and in course of time established, a right to the tenth of all the produce of lands. This right appears to have been fully admitted in England before the Norman Conquest, and acquired the name of tithe from a Saxon word signifying tenth. "Dismes or Tithes are an Ecclesiastical inheritance, collateral to the estate of the land, and of their proper nature due only to Ecclesiastical persons by the ecclesiastical law.[2] They were merely a right to the tenth part of the produce of the soil, produce of live stock, and the personal industry of the inhabitants, in return for the benefit the latter derived from the ministry of their spiritual pastors. They were an application of the Mosaic law to modern exigencies, very similar to certain applications of other parts of that dispensation to their own exigencies by the Puritan settlers of New England, and were like the latter, strictly enforced. Both were simply methods of paying the clergy. They were of various kinds and descriptions varying with the products of the soil, but these require no further mention here.

Glebe lands, however, were very common in America, in New York, and in Westchester County. They were lands given as an endowment by the Lords of Manors, and other large landholders, for the support, or in aid of the support, of Rectors, or other clergymen, of parishes. The original parishes of Westchester County all had glebes; and so, towards the close of the Colonial era, had the different churches and parishes erected and formed at different places, out of those parishes. Of course, all the original parishes as well as the later ones, were parishes and churches of the Church of England, as is shown by their very nomenclature. A nomenclature which the dissenting organizations of all kinds always repudiated, and never have used, since they severally came into existence during the last three centuries. Like all English parishes these in Westchester County were territorial divisions, each having Church Wardens, Vestrymen, and minor Parish officers.

In addition to their duties and powers relative to the Parish church, its Rector, and the maintenance, of church services in their fullness and propriety, the Wardens and Vestrymen possessed, exercised, and were by law bound to perform, many civil duties, now laid upon, and performed, by Town and County officers, such as the repairs of highways and bridges, maintenance of the poor, the assessing and collection of rates and taxes, and similar local duties, including the preservation of the public peace. They were not, as Church wardens and Vestrymen now are, officers of a purely ecclesiastical organization, but the civil officers of the parishes or territorial organizations of the church of England, as established by law in the County of Westchester. They were elected by all the freeholders resident in their respective parishes, whatever their religious views might be. And before entering upon the duties of their offices, pursuant to a law of the Province passed the 27th day of July 1721, took the following oath annually, which of itself demonstrates their powers in one of the important respects just mentioned:—

"You do Swear on the Holy Evangelist, That you and every of you shall well and truly execute the Duty of an Assessor, and Equally and Impartially assess the several *Freeholders and inhabitants, according to the value of their respective Estates, in an equal proportion, in every of your respective City, Counties, and Precincts, for which you are chose Vestry-men and according to your best Skill and Knowledge therein. You shall spare no persons for Favour or Affection, or*

[1] Manor Grant of Fordham. II, Bolton, 506, 2d ed., and *post.*
[2] II. D'Avner's Abridgment of Com. Law, 582.

grieve any person for Hatred or Ill Will. So Help you God." [1]

Their powers and duties of every nature were perfectly well understood and acknowledged, and their authority obeyed, without hesitation, by the people of Westchester County throughout the Colonial era. Occasionally some bitter opponent of the church of England would try to prevent the performance of their legal duties or the legal exercise of their powers, by word, and deed, sometimes with great heat and violence, just, as the dissenting clergy did in matters of the exercise of clerical functions. But their legal rights and duties as parish officers under the laws of the Province were never contested or denied in the Courts of the Province. The People knew them perfectly and acted accordingly. A remarkable proof of this was furnished in the case of the Parish of Rye, in 1794, eleven years after the peace of 1783, and six years after the first organization of the County into townships, in 1688, which terminated the political existence of the Parishes and the Manors. Certain creditors of the "late Parish of Rye," in that year obtained payment of the debts due them from the various newly organized towns formerly parts of that Parish, through an Act of the Legislature of the State passed for that express purpose. The executors of one of the Creditors sued "Joshua Purdy one of the Church Wardens of the late Parish of Rye" and recovered judgment. Thereupon he and the other creditors laid the case before the Legislature which granted the relief sought by passing the following Act, thus showing the continued and acknowledged lawful action of the Parochial officers of the Parish of Rye, under the Ministry Act of 1693, which created the Parish, up to its extinction by the Act of 1784, repealing that Act, and its subsequent transformation into townships by the Act of 1788. The Act with its interesting preamble, and severe provisions for its due enforcement is in these words;—

An Act *for raising Monies in arrear from the late Parish of Rye, in the County of Westchester. Passed the 28th of January* 1794.

Whereas it hath been represented to the Legislature that a judgment of fourteen pounds damages hath been obtained by the executors of John Lawrence, deceased, against Joshua Purdy, as one of the late Church Wardens of the late Parish of Rye, in the County of Westchester, for monies in arrear to their late testator for keeping and supporting a pauper committed to his care by the said Joshua Purdy, together with the Costs of suit, and that other monies are in arrears from the late parish of Rye to other persons; Therefore;

Be it Enacted *by the People of the State* of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, That it shall and may be lawful for the Supervisors of the said County of Westchester, or the major part of them, and they are hereby required at their next annual meeting to examine into, and ascertain the amount of the monies so recovered as aforesaid, as also the costs of defending the said suit, and to ascertain also the amount of other monies so due from the late Parish of Rye as aforesaid, and to cause the said monies, and also such other sum or sums of money as they shall find to be so due, together with one shilling in the pound for collections, and three pence in the pound for the fees of the County Treasurer for receiving and paying the same, to be levied on and raised from the Towns which constitute the said late Parish of Rye, in the same manner as the contingent charges of the said County are usually raised; which monies when so raised, shall be paid by the Collectors respectively, to the Treasurer of the said County on or before the first Tuesday of February in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, who shall pay the same after deducting his fees, to the persons to whom the monies are due: and if any Collector shall refuse or neglect to perform the duty required of him by this act, he shall forfeit and pay the sum of twenty pounds to the Treasurer of the said County to be recovered with costs in any Court having cognizance thereof by an Action of debt in the name of the Treasurer of the said County for the time being, and to be disposed of for the use of the same County in such manner, and for such purposes as the Supervisors of the said County, or the Major part of them shall think proper and direct.[2]

11.

The Church of England Parochial organization in West Chester County in its relation to the Manors therein.

In England the Boundaries of a Parish and a Manor were often coincident, and in the very earliest times this was generally the case. Later a Manor, often embraced more than one Parish. Sometimes a Parish contained within its limits two or more Manors or parts of Manors, and lands non Manorial. In New York the latter was the case. In the County of Westchester the Parishes erected, in 1693 by an act of the Legislature were, the "Parish of Westchester," and the "Parish of Rye." The former included Westchester, Eastchester, Yonkers and the Manor of Pelham, the latter Rye, Mamaroneck, and Bedford.[3] These divisions were termed the "Precincts" of these Parishes. The Parish of Westchester included the three Manors of Pelham, Morrisania, and Fordham, with the lower part of Philipseburgh. The "Ten Farms," as Eastchester was originally termed, were separated from the mother Parish and erected on the petition of its people into a Parish by itself in the year 1700, under a special act of the Legislature, "by the name and stile of The Parish of Eastchester in

[1] II. Bradford's Laws, 211; I. Liv. & Smith, 146.

[2] Laws of the 17th Session A.D. 1794, p. 5.

[3] II. Bradford, 19-20.

the County of Westchester."[1] The "Parish of Rye" included the Manor of Scarsdale, and the non-manorial lands of Rye and Bedford.

Later Yonkers was taken from Westchester, and made a Parish by itself. It was the only Parish entirely embraced within the limits of a Manor, being wholly included within the boundaries of Philipseburgh as they are described in the Manor-Grant of that Manor. New Rochelle was taken out of the Manor of Pelham and eventually made a Parish by itself, though it long continued a Precinct of the Parish of Westchester.

These were the Parishes in Westchester County, one of the four Counties of New York, in which, the Church of England became, under the legal action of the Crown of England in its conquered Province, the Established Church; the others being the Counties of New York, Richmond, and Queens.

A misconception has existed in relation to the origin and establishment of the Church of England in the part of the territory of New York, comprising the four Counties that have been named. It has been owing mainly to the little attention bestowed on the subject, both by those who are now the successors in belief of the Church of England since the American Revolution, and those of the dissenting ecclesiastical organizations. The few writers who have referred to the subject at all, have taken for granted, and honestly believed, that no such establishment ever existed, and, of course, have written in that belief and with that idea. But some attention to the Authorities, and the then law, bearing upon the subject, will show that the current popular opinion is not as well founded as has been supposed.

The question is a purely historical one. And only in an historical point of view can, and will, it be considered here.

From and after the English conquest of New York in 1664, excepting only the fifteen months that the Dutch reconquest of 1673 lasted, under all the English Governors, their Chaplains maintained the services of the Church of England and performed all clerical duties in the chapel in the Fort in New York.

By the several "Commissions" and "Instructions" to the Governors under the signs-manual of their Sovereigns, and their several oaths of office, the different Governors were commanded and compelled to maintain and support the Church of England in the Province of New York. This was the exercise in New York of a power which was legally vested in the Sovereign of England by the law of England, and which by his coronation oath he was bound to exercise. Although so strictly commanded, the Governors were unable to carry out their Instructions in any other way than in the King's chapel in the Fort, as above stated, for twenty-nine years. This was owing to the fact that the English speaking people in the Province were so few in comparison with the Dutch, and the French, (the latter alone being one-fourth of the City population prior to 1790), that the church in the Fort was sufficient for their needs in the City; while those in other parts of the Province where there were any English at all were so very few, that it was impossible to act at all in the matter. All this time it must be borne in mind that the Commissions and Instructions of the Governors were continually in force. At length the increase of the English population became sufficient to justify a movement putting them in operation. On the 28th of August, 1692, Colonel Benjamin Fletcher arrived in New York as Governor in the ship "Wolf," having been appointed by William and Mary on the 18th of the preceding March.[2] He was warmly attached to the Church of England. Chief Justice Lewis Morris in a judicial opinion in 1701, speaks of him as "Colonel Fletcher (justly styled the great patron of the Church of England here)."[3] At his instance, pursuant to his Commission and Instructions, the Legislature, composed of the Governor, Council, and Assembly, answering to the present Governor, Senate and Assembly, passed on the 24th of March, 1693, seven months only after his arrival as Governor, "An Act for Settling a Ministry and Raising a Revenue for them in the City of New York, County of Richmond, Westchester and Queens Counties."[4] This act gave an impetus to the Church of England in New York, which it never afterwards lost. Under it and the efforts and support of a few English Churchmen in the City of New York who had organized themselves into a body styled "The Managers of the Church of England in New York," at the head of which was Colonel Caleb Heathcote, that Church began a growth, which has continued to this day. Increasing ever after, sometimes faster, sometimes slower, that Church became during the Colonial era, as it has continued to be since the American Revolution, under its present title of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, the leading church in influence and standing, but not in numbers, in the City, Province, and now State of New York.

Under, or rather by, this Act of 1693, the Parishes of Westchester County were constituted.

The reasons why this "Ministry Act," as it was commonly styled, was confined to the regions it names in establishing the Church of England have not been adverted to by any writer who has mentioned it. The Counties it designates were the only portions of the Province in which English-speaking people dwelt, with the single exception of the County of Suffolk, in the eastern portion of Long Island. In all the other counties of the Province, the Dutch, with many French in two or three of them, were the sole inhabitants. In those counties the Dutch church, for fifty

[1] II. Bradford, 39.

[2] III. Col. Hist., 846, 833.

[3] Chalmers Opinions, 257.

[4] II. Bradford's Laws, 19.

years prior to 1664, the Established Church in the Province, with which the French Protestants, outside of New York City, generally affiliated, was maintained in its worship, privileges, property and dependence on the Church of Holland, by the Crown of England, pursuant to the Articles of Surrender of 1664, the Treaty of Breda in 1667, and the Articles of Surrender of 1674. All that it really lost by the change of dominion from Holland to England was the pecuniary support it derived from the Dutch West India Company under the different charters of Freedoms and Exemptions, and the title of the 'Established Church.' Hence it was impossible to establish the English Church in those parts of the Province, where not only were there no English-speaking people, but where the pre-existing Dutch Church was guaranteed by the English Crown in its faith, worship, and rights of property, neither of which, by the law of the land, could be interfered with in any way whatsoever. In Suffolk County, the only other English-speaking region of the Province, there existed an Established church, the Congregational Church of New England. That County claimed to be a part of, and was claimed by, the Colony of Connecticut, was represented for years by delegates in the "General Court" at Hartford, and was an integral part of that Colony. As such, the "General Court," under the "Body of Laws of Connecticut, concluded and established in May, 1650," ruled supreme in church and state on the east end of Long Island. What that rule so "established" was, is best stated in the very words of "The Laws of Connecticut Colony." "It is ordered by the Authority of this Court; That no persons within this Colony shall in any wise imbody themselves into Church Estate without consent of the General Court, and the approbation of Neighbour Churches.

"It is also ordered by this Court; That there shall be no Ministry or Church Administration entertained or attended by the Inhabitants of any Plantation in this Colony distinct and separate from and in opposition to that which is openly and publicly observed and dispensed by the approved Minister of the place, except it be by approbation of this Court and Neighbour Churches, upon penalty of the forfeiture of *Five pounds* for every breach of this order. . . . .

"This Court having seriously considered the great Divisions that arise amongst us about matters of Church Government, for the Honour of God, welfare of the Churches, and preservation of the publick peace so greatly hazarded.

"Do Declare; That whereas the Congregational Churches in these parts for the general[1] of their Profession and practice have hitherto been approved; We can do no less than approve and countenance the same to be without disturbance until better light in an orderly way doth appear.

"But yet forasmuch as sundry persons of worth for prudence and piety amongst us are otherwise perswaded (whose welfare and peaceable satisfaction we desire to accommodate; this Court doth Declare; That all such persons, being so approved according to Law, as Orthodox and Sound in the Fundamentals of Christian Religion, may have allowance in their perswasion and Profession in Church ways or Assemblies without disturbance. . . .

"It is further ordered; That wheresoever the Ministry of the Word is established according to the order of the Gospel throughout this Colony, every person shall duely resort and attend thereunto respectively upon the Lord's day, and upon such publick Fast dayes and dayes of thanksgiving, as are to be generally kept by the appointment of Authority. And if any person within this Jurisdiction, shall without just and necessary cause, withdraw himself from hearing the publick Ministry of the Word, after due means of conviction used, he shall forfeit for his absence from every such meeting *five shillings*. . . .

"It is ordered by this Court; That the Civil Authority here established hath power and liberty to see the Peace, Ordinances and Rules of Christ be observed in every church according to his Word; as also to deal with any Church member in a way of civil justice notwithstanding any Church relation, office, or interest, so it be done in a civil and not in an ecclesiastical way, nor shall any church censure degrade or depose any man from any Civil Dignity, Office or Authority he shall have in the Colony.[2]

Such was the Established Congregational Church of Connecticut, on the East end of Long Island. To both it and the Colony, the final determination of the Joint-Commission appointed to settle the boundary question after the Dutch surrender, that the eastern part of Long Island was included in the Duke of York's Patent and was a part of New York, was a blow as severe as it was unwelcome, and the people of that region protested against it, but in vain. Although this decision severed the civil connexion between Suffolk County and the Colony of Connecticut, it did not affect the ecclesiastical connexion between them except that it ended the latter's power to enforce its church laws there by the civil arm. And its effect is perceptible to this day, notwithstanding the fact, that Presbyterianism came there about 1717, and that, since the American Revolution, several other forms of Christian belief have obtained a foothold in that County. So strong was, and is, this old feeling, that the editor of the Southampton Records, published in 1877, says in his preface to the second volume, "Had the wishes of the people been consulted, this union would have still continued, and to-day our delegates to the Legislature, would ascend the Connecticut River rather than the Hudson."[3]

These were the causes, the efficiency of which can-

[1] So in the original.

[2] Book of the General Laws, collected out of the Records of the General Court, pp. 21, 22. Brinley's Reprint of 1865, of the ed. of 1673.

[3] Mr. W. S. Pelletreau.

not truthfully be denied, why the English Governors of the Province of New York, in obedience to the "Instructions" of the English King, could take no steps to establish the Church of England, except in those parts of that Province, where it could possibly be done.

The Church of England in New York originated not in this "Ministry Act" as has been so generally believed and stated, but in the earlier action of the English Sovereigns, in virtue of the law of England. That act was merely the second step taken in obedience to the Royal Instructions. It was also an illustration of a principle, which obtained throughout British America from the earliest settlement of Virginia down to the close of the American Revolution. That principle was this, "that some form of religion, dissent from which involved serious civil disabilities was established in nearly all the Colonies by virtue, of either the local or the imperial law." These are the words of Ex-Provost Stillé of the University of Pennsylvania, in his "Religious Tests in Provincial Pennsylvania."[1] Mr. Stillé has treated this subject so ably, and so well, and his conclusions being so nearly identical with those to which its investigation had already led the writer, that his statement (which has only appeared since this portion of this essay was begun) is here given in preference to the writer's own, which was not quite so full, and because it corroborates his views.

"The truth is," says Mr. Stillé, "that during the Colonial period we were essentially a nation of Protestants, with fewer elements outside Protestantism than were to be found in any country of Europe, and that we, forced to do so, either by our own earnest conviction that such was the true method of supporting religion, or by the laws of the Mother-country, took similar methods of maintaining and perpetuating our Protestantism, excluding those who dissented from it from any share in the government, and frankly adopting the policy which had prevailed in England from the time of Queen Elizabeth. . . . . There were, it is true, in some of the Colonies, especially New York, at times 'ineffectual murmurings' against laws which forced people to pay taxes for the support of a ministry whose teachings were not in harmony with the religious sentiment of the great mass of the inhabitants,[2] and in Pennsylvania there was a long, and at last a successful struggle to induce the Imperial Government to regard the affirmation of a Quaker as equivalent to the oath of another man; but if there were any men in our Colonial history who, after the example of William Penn, and Lord Baltimore, lifted up their voices to protest, as these men had done, against the violation of the principle of religious liberty here, I have not been able to discover their names. The only subject of a quasi-ecclesiastical nature which appears to have excited general interest and to have met determined opposition was a scheme, at one time said to have been in contemplation of sending Bishops to this country. It was opposed not so much because it was thought to be the first step towards forming a Church Establishment in this [whole] country, as because the Colonists had a peculiar abhorrence of the methods of enforcing the jurisdiction of the English Church as they were familiar with them in the old country. They may have forgotten many of the sufferings they had endured in England in consequence of their non-conformity and even committed themselves to a theory of Church establishment, but there was one thing they never could forget, and that was the prelatical government of Land and the High Commission, and upon this were founded the popular notions of the authority wielded by Bishops. . . . I I am well aware that these statements of the general prevalence of a principle here during the Colonial period, which in contrast to that now universally recognized I must call the principle of religious intolerance, will appear to many too wide and sweeping. But a very slight examination of the provisions in this subject in the laws of the Colonies will, if I mistake not, produce a different impression. In Virginia where the English Church was early established by law and endowed, men who refused or neglected to bring their children to be baptized were punished with civil penalties; Quakers were expelled from the Colony, and should they return thither a third time, they were liable to capital punishment. Any one who denied the Trinity or the truth of the Christian religion was deprived by the Act of 1704 of his civil rights, and was rendered incapable of suing for any gift or legacy. In New England, except in Rhode Island, religious intolerance was very bitter. It is true that in Massachusetts, under the charter of 1691, the power of committing those barbarous acts of persecution of which the theocracy of the old standing order had been guilty was taken away, and all Christians, save Roman Catholics, were permitted to celebrate their worship, yet none but members of the Congregational Church could be freemen, and all were taxed for the support of the Ministry of that Church. In Maine which was a District of Massachusetts, in New Hampshire, and in Connecticut, the same general system of religious intolerance prevailed. Conformity was the inflexible rule throughout New England. In New York, the Dutch were protected by the provisions of the Treaty of Breda, which guaranteed them the possession of their property then held there for religious purposes and their ecclesiastical organization.[3] But the royal Governors of that Province expelled any Catholic priests who might be found within their territory on the plea that they were exciting the In-

[1] IX. Penn. Mag. of History, 372.

[2] The laws in the New England Colonies, though not mentioned by Mr. Stillé, were still more severe than the Ministry Act of New York in compelling dissenters from the Puritanism of those colonies, to pay taxes to support their "Established Church."

[3] The articles of the two "surrenders of 1664 and 1674," should have been mentioned also in this connexion.

dians to revolt against the government, and they established the English Church, so far as it could be done in a Province where the Episcopalians were very few in number by requiring each of the towns to raise money for the support of the clergy of that church, by dividing the country into parishes, and by exercising the power of collating and inducting into these parishes such Episcopal Rectors as they thought fit.[1] In New Jersey, after the surrender of the Charter, when the Colony came directly under the royal authority in 1702, liberty of conscience was proclaimed in favor of all except Papists and Quakers; but as the latter were required to take oaths as qualifications for holding office, or for acting as jurors or witnesses in judicial proceedings, they, of course the great mass of the population, were practically disfranchised. But the story of the arbitrary measures taken by the Governor of this Colony [New Jersey], Lord Cornbury, to exclude from office or the control of public affairs all except those who conformed to the Church of England is too well known to need to be retold here. In Maryland the English Church was established in 1696, and one of the first acts of the newly organized Province was to disfranchise those very Catholics and their children by whom the doctrine of religious liberty had been established in the law of 1649. In Carolina after the fanciful and impracticable Constitution devised for it by the celebrated philosopher, John Locke, had been given up, by which the English Church had been established, and endowed in the Colony, the Church feeling was so strong, and the determination to secure its supremacy so unyielding, that an Act was passed in 1704 requiring all members of the Assembly to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. Georgia, following the example of her elder sisters, gave free exercise of religion to all except Papists, and such rights in this respect as any native born Englishman at that time possessed; a grant, as we have seen, of very doubtful value to English nonconformists, then ruled by the tender mercies of the Toleration Act.[2] The result of this review is to show that in all the Colonies named except, perhaps, Rhode Island, liberty of worship was the rule, excepting, of course, in the case of Roman Catholics. Throughout the Colonies, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the man who did not conform to the established religion of the Colony, whether it was Congregationalism in New England, or the Episcopal form elsewhere, was not in the same position in regard to the enjoyment of either civil or religious rights as he who did conform. If he were a Roman Catholic he was everywhere wholly disfranchised. For him there was not even the legal right of public worship. If he were a Protestant differing in his creed from the type of Protestantism adopted by the rulers, although he could freely celebrate in nearly all the Colonies his peculiar form of worship, he was nevertheless excluded from any share in public affairs. He could neither vote nor hold office,[3] and he was forced to contribute to the support of a religious ministry whose teachings he in his heart abhorred. And this condition of things, extraordinary as it seems to us now, had not been brought about by any conscious arbitrary despotism on the part of the rulers, but was the work of good but narrow-minded men who were simply following out the uniform practice of the Christian world, and who no doubt honestly thought that in so acting they were doing the highest service by obeying the will of God."[4]

The Ministry Act of New York was simply the carrying out as far as it was possible of the Commission and the "Instructions" which Governor Fletcher had received from the King. These "Instructions" to the Governors of the British Crown Colonies, which were delivered by the English Sovereigns in writing to each Governor when first appointed, were the Constitutions of the Colonies under which they were ruled by their Governors, just as the Charters from the same Sovereigns were the Constitutions of the Chartered Colonies under which they were governed. Both were given in the exercise of the Royal Prerogative, and were in fact grants of it. The charters could not be revoked except for cause as long as they were lived up to and obeyed. The "Instructions" were the Royal directions from the King for the governing of his Province, and could be altered, varied, or revoked at his pleasure. In point of fact they were never changed in the time of each Governor, except to meet some exigency not contempleted when they were issued. Upon the appointment of a new Governor, either new "Instructions" were given to him, or, if those of the preceding Governor were satisfactory to the Province and the King, he was simply directed to carry them out as his own.

The Instructions of Charles II. to Sir Richard Nicolls the first English Governor of New York, dated the 23d of April, 1664, five months prior to the capture of New York from the Dutch, directed him to avoid giving umbrage to the people of Massachusetts, where he was to stop on his way to New York, by being present at their devotions in their churches, but the document thus continues, "though wee doe suppose and thinke it very fit that you carry with you some learned and discreete Chaplaine, orthodox in his judgment and practice, who in your owne

[1] All this was done under the "Ministry Act" above mentioned, and its amendments, An Act which was not repealed till 1784, one year after the establishment of Independence. It was the binding law of New York from 1693 to 1784, full ninety years.

[2] I. W. and M., Ch. 18. Exempting dissenters from the penalties of certain laws against non-conformity, but requiring an oath against transubstantiation, and of allegiance to William and Mary.

[3] New York was an exception to this, as to all religions, except the Roman Catholic.

[4] IX. Penna. Mag. Hist., 372-376.

familyes will reade the book of Common Prayer and performe your devotion according to ye forme established in the Church of England, excepting only in wearing the surplesse which haveing never bin seen in those countryes may conveniently be forborne att this tyme." [1]

The Instructions of Lovelace the second Governor seem not to have been preserved, but he says in a letter of the 28th of August, 1668, to Secretary Lord Arlington: "I have since happily accomphisht my voyadge and am now invested in the charge of His Royal Highnesses teritorys being the middle position of the two distinct factions, the Papist and Puritane." [2]

In the time of Thomas Dongan, afterward the Earl of Limerick, the third Governor of New York, Charles the Second died, the Duke of York succeeded as James the Second, and his Lord Proprietorship merging in the Crown, New York thenceforward became a Royal Province, governed directly by the King through his appointed Governor. Though a Roman Catholic himself, and his Governor, Dongan, was of the same religion, James, as King, acted promptly, and without hesitation, and gave Dongan the most pointed, and strongest possible, "Instructions" to establish the Church of England in New York. A King of England by the law of England could not do otherwise. But the thoroughness of James's action under the circumstances is very surprising. His "Instructions" to Dongan bear date May the 29th, 1686. They not only established the Church of England, but also placed it under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and are in these words:

"31. You shale take especial care that God Almighty bee devoutly and duely served throughout yo^{r} Government: the Book of Common Prayer as it is now established, read each Sunday and Holyday, and the Blessed Sacrament administred according to the Rites of the Church of England. You shall bee careful that the Churches already builtt here shall bee well and orderly kept and more built as y^{e} Colony shall, by Gods blessing bee improved. And that besides a competent maintenance to be assigned to y^{e} Minister of each Church, a convenient House bee built at the Comon charge for each Minister, and a competent Proportion of Land assigned him for a Glebe and exercise of his Industry.

"32. And you are to take care that the Parishes bee so limited & settled as you shall find most convenient for ye accomplishing this good work.

"33. Our will and pleasure is that noe minister be preferred by you to any Ecclesiastical Benefice in that our Province without a Certificat from ye most Reverend the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury of his being conformable to ye Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, and of a good life and conversation.

34. And if any person preferred already to a Benefice shall appear to you to give scandal either by his Doctrine or Manners, you are to use the best means for y^{e} removal of him; and to supply the vacancy in such manner as we have directed. And alsoe our pleasure is, that, in the direction of all Church Affairs, the Minister bee admitted into the respective vestrys.

And to th^{e} end the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the said Archbishop of Canterbury may take place in that our Province as farr as conveniently may bee. Wee doe think fitt that you give all countenance and encouragement in y^{e} exercise of the same; excepting only the Collating to Benefices, granting licenses for Marriage, and Probate of Wills, which wee have reserved to you our Gov^{r} & to y^{e} Commander-in-chief for the time being.

"36. And you are to take especial care, that a Table of Marriages established by ye Canons of the Church of England, bee hung up in all Orthodox churches and duly observed.

"37. And you are to take especial care that Books of Homilys & Books of the 39 Articles of y^{e} Church of England bee disposed of to every of y^{e} said churches, and that they bee only kept and used therein.

"38. And wee doe further direct that noe Schoolmaster bee henceforth permitted to come from England & to keep school within our Province of New York, without the license of the said Archbishop of Canterbury; And that noe other person now there, or that shall come from other parts, bee admitted to keep school without your license first had."

In the face of these direct, positive "Instructions" of James II. to Governor Dongan there can be no question that the King in the legal exercise of his power as King, as soon as it was possible after he came to the throne of England established the Church of England in his former Proprietary, and now Royal, Province of New York, subject only to the articles of surrender of 1664, of 1674, and the treaty of Breda in 1667, which guaranteed the continued existence therein of its former established Church of Holland with all its rights of faith, discipline, and property; and subject also as far as Suffolk County was concerned, to the pre-existing Congregational Church of Connecticut as there practically established under the authority of the General Court of that Colony. If the latter was a legal establishment under the laws or charter of Connecticut prior to the Dutch surrender in 1664 and the treaty of Breda in 1667, then the King of England was legally bound to maintain it as such. He did immediately after the first Dutch surrender, by his commissioners make a change in the civil condition of Suffolk County by deciding that Long Island, of which it was then, as it is now, the eastern end, was not a part of Connecticut, but was a part of New York. He appointed civil officers in Suffolk County, and instituted there the complete civil and military jurisdiction of New York, but made no change whatever in its ecclesiastical condition, which continued

[1] III. N. Y. Col. Hist. 49. [2] Ibid. 174.

precisely the same as when it claimed to be a part of Connecticut.

The above-cited provisions of the Instructions of King James to Governor Dongan relative to the Church of England in New York were continued by William III., Anne, George I., George II., and George III. in their different "Instructions" to the different Governors of New York they successively appointed, with little or no variation in language and none in effect.[1] Occasionally a new one was added, as in the Instructions to Lord Cornbury when he was appointed Governor by Queen Anne, dated the 29th of January, 1702, in which, clause No. 63, is in these words;—"You are to inquire whether there be any minister within your Government who preaches and administers the Sacrament in any orthodox church or chapel without being in due orders and to give an account thereof to the Bishop of London." The use of the word "Minister" in these various Instructions is shown by the context of them, and markedly in this additional one to Cornbury, to mean and to designate clergymen only of the Church of England. And the same thing may be said of the term "Orthodox Church," for by law neither the King nor the Bishop could acknowledge, or have any ecclesiastical jurisdiction over, any Minister or any Church which did not belong to the Church of England. No other church and no other other clergyman could be, in the eye of the law, either of England or New York, orthodox. King William, as King, formally approved the Ministry Act of 1693 passed by the Legislature of New York, and as by the law of England he could not acknowledge any other church as orthodox or any other Ministers, as Ministers, except those of the Church of England, it follows that the words and terms of that act referred to the Church of England and only to that church. That this is the sense, and the only legal sense, in which these words were then used, is shown by an opinion of Sir Edward Northey, the Attorney-General, in 1705, asked by the Board of Trade and Plantations, upon the grant of ecclesiastical power in the Patent of Maryland, which closes with these words, "and the consecrations of chapels ought to be, *as in* England, *by Orthodox Ministers only.*"[2]

No English Governor has been more denounced for his action in regard to the church of England than Lord Cornbury, and his official acts concerning it have been abused in almost every possible way. His action has been taken as the result of pure bigotry, and he termed a bigot, while he was merely carrying out the Instructions he had sworn to support and maintain. His "Instructions" are therefore here given at length, taken from the original Instrument which with his Commission under the hand and seal of Queen Anne, are now in the hands of a gentleman in New York.

From the Instructions to Lord Cornbury, dated January 29, 1702–3.

60. You shall take especial care that God Almighty be devoutedly and duly served throughout your Government, the Book of Common prayer, as by Law established, read each Sunday and Holy day, and the blessed Sacrament administered according to the rites of the Church of England; You shall be carefull that the Churches already built there be well and orderly kept, and that more be built as the Colony shall by God's blessing be improved, and that besides a Competent maintenance to be assigned to the Minister of each Orthodox Church, a convenient house be built at the Common charge for each Minister, and a competent proportion of Land assigned him for a Glebe and exercise of his Industry. And you are to take care that the parishes be so limited and setled, as you shall find most convenient for the accomplishing this good work.

61. You are not to present any Minister to any Ecclesiasticall Benefice in that Our Province without a certificate from the right reverend Father in God the Bishop of London, of his being conformable to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, and of a good life and conversation, and if any person preferred already to a Benefice shall appear to you to give Scandall, either by his doctrine or Manners, You are to use the best means for the removal of him, and to Supply the Vacancy in Such manner as Wee have directed.

62. You are to give order forthwith (if the same be not already done) that every Orthodox Minister within your Government, be one of the Vestry in his respective parish, and that no Vestry be held without him, except in case of Sickness, or that after notice of a Vestry Summon'd he omitt to come.

63. You are to enquire whether there be any Minister within your Government, who preaches and administers the Sacrament in any Orthodox Church or Chappell without being in due Orders, and to give an account thereof to the said Bishop of London.

64. And to the end the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Said Bishop of London may take place in that province So farr as conveniently may be, Wee do think fitt, that you give all Countenance and encouragement to the exercise of the Same. Excepting only the Collating to Benefices, granting Lycenses for Marriages and probate of Wills, which Wee have reserved to you Our Governour and to the Commander-in-chief of Our Said Province for the time being.

65. Wee do further direct that no Schoolmaster be henceforth permitted to come from England, and to keep Schoole within Our Province of New York, without the Lycense of the said Bishop of London, and that no other person now there, or that shall come from other parts, be admitted to keep School without your Lycense first obtained.

66. And you are to take especial care that a Table of Marriages, established by the Canons of the Church

[1] In the 3d, 4th, 5th and 6th volumes of the "Col. Hist. of N. Y." nearly all of them may be found.

[2] Chalmers' opinions, 42. The italics are the writer's, and not in the original.

of England be hung up in every orthodox Church and duly observed, and you are to endeavour to get a Law past in the Assembly of that province (if not already done) for the strict observation of the Said Table.

79. And you are also with the assistence of the Council and Assembly to find out the best means to facilitate and encourage the conversion of Negroes and Indians to the Christian Religion; more especially you are to use your endeavours with the Assembly that they make provision for the maintenance of some Ministers to inhabit amongst the five Nations of Indians in order to instruct them, and also to prevent their being Seduced from their Allegiance to us, by French priests and Jesuits.

In the instance not only of Cornbury but of each Governor, it must be remembered that these "Instructions" were, not merely directions to him personally, but were the binding constitutions of the Province in all things civil, military, and ecclesiastical, during each Governor's period of office. They were the law of the land both for the Governor and the people, which was to be obeyed by both. They were laid down, and set forth, by each Sovereign, in his Kingly capacity, under the law of England for the government of his or her Province of New York. This fact has not been considered by American historians, or by English ones either, in treating of the civil and religious,—especially the religious—aspects and conditions of the Royal Provinces in America in general, and of New York in particular.

What then was the Kingly authority in these respects? Whence came the monarch's legal right to govern his Royal Provinces by "Instructions" to his representatives the Governors? What were the powers then vested in the Crown by the laws of England?

The attributes of the Monarch of England, sovereignty, perfection,[1] and perpetuity,[2] which are inherent in, and constitute, his political capacity, prevail in every part of the territories subject to the English Crown. "In such political capacity as King he is possessed of a share of legislation, is the head of the Church, generalissimo throughout his dominions, and is alone entitled to make war and peace.[3] But in countries which, though dependent on the British Crown, have different local laws, as for instance the Colonies the minor prerogatives and interests of the Crown must be regulated and governed by the peculiar law of the place. But if such law be silent on the subject," or if the place has become by conquest or cession a Colony or Province of the Crown, having never before been possessed by the English nation, "it would appear that the prerogative of the King in his political capacity as chief of the State, as established by English law, prevails in every respect."[4] "When a country is obtained by conquest or treaty the King possesses an exclusive prerogative power over it, and may entirely change or new-model, the whole, or part, of its laws, and form of government, and may govern it in all respects by regulations framed by himself, subject only to the Articles or Treaty on which the country is surrendered or ceded, which are always sacred and inviolable according to their true intent and meaning.[5] Lord Mansfield thus most fully and succinctly lays down the law on this subject, citing New York as an example. "A country conquered by the British arms becomes a dominion of the King in right of his crown. . . . After the conquest of New York, in which most of the old Dutch inhabitants remained, King Charles 2d changed the form of their Constitution and political government, by granting it to the duke of York, to hold of his crown under all the regulations contained in the letters patent." "It is not to be wondered at," continues the Great Chief Justice of England, "that an adjudged case in point has not been produced. No question was ever started before but that the King has a right to a legislative authority over a conquered country; it was never denied in Westminster Hall; it was never questioned in parliament."[6] This decision was made in the Court of King's Bench in 1774—a century after the practical application of, and action under, its principle, by Charles the Second, and James the Second, and William & Mary in their Province of New York, to say nothing of Queen Anne and her successors. There can therefore be no question as to the law itself, or the legality of the power by which the Sovereigns of England, by their "Commissions" and "Instructions" to their Governors, established the Church of England in their American Province of New York.

Now what was a "Province" in law? This term, in Latin *Provincia*, was first used by the Romans to designate a portion of territory outside of Italy, which they had subjected by conquest. Its general use, however, says Chief Justice Stokes of the Colony of Georgia, is "to denote the divisions of a Kingdom or State, as they are usually distinguished by the extent of their civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction. With us, [the English people] a Province signifies—1st. An out-country governed by a Deputy or Lieutenant; and 2dly, The circuit of an Archbishop's jurisdiction. When the British settlements in America are spoken of in general, they are called the Colonies or Plantations. If it is a Government on the Continent [in contradistinction to the West India Islands] where the King appoints the Governor it is usually called a Province, as the Province of Quebec; but a Plantation in which the Governor was elected by the inhab-

[1] This is expressed by the well-known legal axiom "The King can do no wrong."

[2] This is expressed by that other well-known axiom "The King is dead, long live the King."

[3] Chalmers' Opinions, 150.

[4] Chitty's Prerogatives of the Crown, 25 and 26.

[5] Ibid. 29; Cowper's Rep. 208.

[6] Hall *v.* Campbell, Cowper's Reports, 208, 211. Calvin's Case 4 Coke's Rep. 1.

itants, (under a charter of incorporation from the King) was usually called a Colony, as the Colony of Connecticut."[1] Thus the very name was expressive of the character of the King's power by virtue of which he erected and established in New York Manors, Parishes, Churches and a General Assembly. Sir William Blackstone in speaking of the American Provinces, says, "In the Provincial Establishments (commonly called King's Governments) their constitution depended on the respective commissions issued by the Crown to the Governors, and the Instructions which usually accompanied these commissions; under the authority of which Provincial Assemblies were constituted with the power of making local ordinances, not repugnant to the laws of England."[2] It is clear, and beyond question, that the very authority by which New York was granted the right to possess and elect a representative Assembly of its own people, a privilege granted to it by William and Mary in 1691, which continued from that time without interruption as long as it remained a British Province, sprang from precisely the same source, as the establishment of the Church of England within its limits—the Commission and *King's Instructions* to his Governors; To say nothing of the first granting of the right to elect and hold Assemblies by James II. himself as Duke of York to Governor Dongan in 1683, eleven years before; which assemblies sat for three years, and the laws which they passed in those years, still in existence, are the earliest English statutes of New York; and which assemblies were called and held solely by virtue of James's "Commission" and "Instructions" to Governor Dongan.

There is another point of importance in this connexion. Every Commission to every Governor from every Sovereign of New York, contained in it a clause, delegating to him the power of collation to church benefices, a power under the law of England which could be exercised only in the Church of England. It was in these words, "And we do by these presents authorize and impower you to collate any person or persons to any churches, chapels, or other ecclesiastical benefices within our said province and territories as aforesaid, as often as any of them shall happen to be void."[3] This was the delegation by the King of his own power as Ordinary. This word derived from the Civil Law primarily signifies one who, of his own right, has authority to take cognizance of causes. In the common law it is usually applied to the Bishop of a Diocese, who only could certify to ecclesiastical and spiritual acts in his own diocese. The King as the Head of the Church possessed this temporal right throughout his whole Kingdom, and could delegate it. The Bishop could only delegate his power in temporal ecclesiastical matters in his own diocese. As there were no dioceses as such in the British American Colonies, the King delegated the power of collating to benefices here to his different Governors as his personal representatives. From the same source came their power to grant probate of wills, and marriage licenses.

The spiritual supervision of the Church of England in America, was, as we have seen, first committed by King James to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Later it was deemed most convenient to attach this supervision to the Bishop of London, who appointed "Commissaries" in different parts of America, to oversee the clergy in their different districts, in such matters not purely episcopal, as a Bishop did in his Diocese in England.

As there were then no Dioceses in America, the King in the different Instructions to the Governors, directed them to retain these powers, of collation, to benefices, of granting probate of wills, and of licensing marriages to themselves. This was in virtue both of the King's Legislative power, and his power as Head of the church. Perhaps nothing has been, or is, more misunderstood, and that very honestly, in America than the Royal Supremacy of the Church of England. Of course, it cannot be treated at length here. We can only state the popular idea of it, and then show what it really is. The popular idea of it in this country is, that the Sovereign of England was, and is, the head of the Church of England in spiritual as well as temporal matters, and is the superior of the Archbishops and Bishops in all that relates to their offices as such, and is governed by his or her own ideas of what is true and right in matters of doctrine and discipline. Of course this is only the common idea, but it is held by many people of education and general intelligence nevertheless, who are, and are usually considered, well informed.

A recent writer after citing and examining the legal authorities, and writers of England since the Reformation, on this subject, says, "These numerous authorities repeat again and again the same opinions touching the supremacy of the Crown. According to them the Royal Supremacy is simply and strictly a temporal or civil power over all causes and persons in things temporal, and over spiritual persons and causes as far as their temporal or civil accidents are concerned. But it has no inherent spiritual power as such, nor ecclesiastical authority, whatsoever, the spirituality alone possessing the power of the Keys."[4] Lord Selborne the learned and eminent Lord High Chancellor in Mr. Gladstone's late Government says, "The Sovereign has not (as some suppose) a temporal supremacy in temporal things and a spiritual supremacy in spiritual things; it is one undivided temporal supremacy, extending to all persons, causes, and things, whether ecclesiastical or civil, of which the law of the land takes cognizance, and upon which that law has

[1] Constitutions of the British Colonies in America, 2.

[2] 1 Blackstone's, Comm. 108.

[3] Stokes's Cons. of the Am. Colonies, 158. And see the different Commissions themselves in the volumes of the Colonial History.

[4] Fuller's Appellate Jurisdiction of the Crown, 186.

operation. It does not and it can not extend to the province of religious belief, or to moral and spiritual obligations recognized by the conscience as springing from a source higher than the laws of the land."[1] That most eloquent and able prelate, Wilberforce Bishop of Winchester, when Bishop of Oxford, in a debate in the House of Lords, in which this subject was brought up, thus spoke out:—"he did not believe that it was a correct or constitutional interpretation of that supremacy, to say that the occupant of the throne should settle in his or her individual capacity, articles of faith or any other questions whatever. He was sure that the exalted personage who at present occupied the throne would be herself the first to repudiate so unconstitutional a doctrine. The Supremacy of the Crown meant nothing more than this, that the Crown had the ultimate Appeal in all questions ecclesiastical and civil, deciding such questions not of herself, but through her proper constitutional agents." And Mr. Gladstone himself writes, in his Letter on the Royal Supremacy;—"I contend that the Crown did not claim by statute, either to be by right, or to become by convention, the *source* of that Kind of action which was committed by the Saviour to the Apostolic church, whether for the enactment of laws or for the administration of its discipline; but the claim was that all the canons of the church, and all its judicial proceedings, inasmuch as they were to form parts respectively of the laws and the administration of justice in the Kingdom, should run only with the assent and Sanction of the Crown."

This full statement has been written to show, that in their Province on the Hudson, the Sovereigns of England in virtue of their political, ecclesiastical, and legislative, capacities, as Sovereigns under the laws of England, through their direct "Commissions" and "Instructions" under their own signs-manual, legally established and maintained in that Province, by precisely the same legal instruments and methods, the same form of civil government and the same form of religious belief, that was established in England, as far forth as both could possibly be there done, consistently with the Surrenders and Treaty by which the Province became a possession of their Crown. And it also shows, that historically, the existence in New York, of a General Assembly of elected representatives of the people, of Manors, of the Church of England with its Parishes, and taxation of all inhabitants for the support of its Ministers and churches, had one and all exactly the same origin, and were equally the legitimate results, of the legitimate action, of its legitimate Sovereign authority, the monarchs of England.

12.

The Manors and the County in their Mutual relations, with the Origin and Organization of the latter.

The six Manors of the County of Westchester, in the order of their erection, were 'Fordham' in November 1671, 'Pelham' in October 1687, 'Philipsborough' in June 1693, 'Morrisania' in May 1697, 'Cortlandt' in June 1697, and 'Scarsdale' in March 1701. As the 'Manor of Cortlandt' comprised the whole northern part of the County from the Hudson to the Connecticut line, and was ten miles in width, it will be described first, then following the order of location of the others down the eastern side of the county to its southern extremity, 'Scarsdale,' 'Pelham,' 'Morrisania,' and 'Fordham,' will be suceessively treated, then 'Philipsborough,' which comprised the entire western portion of the County bordering upon the Hudson as far north as the south line of the Manor of Cortlandt, and extended eastwardly to the Bronx River which runs through the centre of the County from north to south and was the boundary between it and the manors of the east side.

The general nature and history of Manors in a legal point of view, the origin of the ancient manorial system of England, its tenures, and the modern manorial system of New York with its incidents, and tenure introduced by the English upon its capture from the Dutch, have been described. But before treating of each of the Manors separately, the general Province and County Jurisdiction as it affected the Manors as a whole, and the origin and formation of the County itself will be shown.

The authority of the Governor, as Governor, of the Governor and Council in the Executive capacity of the latter, and of the Governor, Council in its legislative capacity, and the General Assembly, the three together forming the Legislature of the Province, extended throughout the manors of New York in all respects save one. Neither of these authorities could in any way whatever alter, change, abridge, or in any way interfere with the franchises, rights, powers, privileges, and incidents, vested in any Lord of a Manor by his Manor-Grant. The Lords might not choose, or desire, to exercise any one or more of the franchises, rights, powers, privileges, and incidents of their Manors. This was a matter in their own discretion. but none of them could become void by non-user, nor could the Province authorities of any grade modify them in any way. If the Lords preferred, or had no objection, to have any local duties, legal acts, or offices, exercised by justices of the peace, assessors, constables, and other minor officers, either chosen by their tenants alone, or by their tenants in connection with the inhabitants, freeholders of any adjoining non-Manorial lands, this could be done by an act of the Provincial Legislature. But no act of such a nature could be passed against their wishes. Hence there are to be found many acts of the kind alluded to in the Colony laws.

The jurisdiction of the "Supreme Court," of the "Inferior Court of Common Pleas" and of the Court of Sessions, extended to all lands whether Manorial or non Manorial.

[1] Letter of Lord Selborne, then Sir Roundell Palmer, Atty. Gen., of 30 Dec. 1850, in Plymouth Herald of 11th Jan. 1851. Fuller, app. B. 251.

So too, in the matter of elections, the inhabitants of all the Manors, (except that of Cortlandt which had a representative of its own as a franchise of its Manor-Grant) united with the people of the non-Manorial lands in the choice of Members of Assembly for the County.

The power of the High Sheriff of the County, who was always a gentleman, was appointed by the Governor, and served without pay, as in England, was as complete and thorough in the Manors as out of them. The fees of the office, which were vastly lighter in proportion, than those of elected Sheriffs now, went after being reported to, and scrutinized by the High Sheriff, to the Undersheriff and the one or two deputies, who were all that the business of the County required in the Colonial era. If any overcharge or oppression, was attempted, a complaint properly proven, to the High Sheriff himself, was all that was necessary to right the wrong.

Again, in military matters, the military organization of the County was effected in the County as a whole without regard to the Manors. Sometimes, however, their names were given to the companies enrolled within their limits.

A Colonel for the County commissioned by the Governor, commanded the one regiment, which was formed of the enrolled companies within its limits, all of which were infantry. Toward the close of the Colonial period, when the population had increased, a Light Horse organization of one or two troops for the County in general was formed, the Commander of which was a Lieutenant-Colonel, or Colonel. The inhabitants of the Manors were enrolled in both precisely as were those of the rest of the County.

The third act passed by the first Assembly under William and Mary in 1691, provided for the annual election in each town of "a certain Freeholder" "to supervize and examine the Publick and Necessary Charge of each respective County, which persons so duely chosen shall elect and constitute a certain Treasurer for each respective County." It also provided for the election of two Freeholders in each town as Assessors. This was the origin in New York of County Assessors, Supervisors, and Treasurers.[1] Only Freeholders could be electors, and the second Act of 1691, defines a Freeholder to be, "every one who shall have Forty shillings per annum (N. Y. Currency) in Freehold."[2] And the same act apportioned to Westchester County two Members of Assembly. In the second year of Queen Anne, eleven years later, this third act of 1691 was re-enacted in an enlarged and amended form. Its provisions are worth quoting in full as showing the early internal economy civil and political of the County and how all interests manorial and non-manorial moved in harmony and unison. Its words are "That there be elected and chosen once every year, in each respective Town within this Province, by the Freeholders and Inhabitants thereof, one of their Freeholders and Inhabitants, to compute, ascertain, examine, oversee, and allow the Contingent public and necessary charge of each County, and that each and every Freeholder in any Manor, Liberty, Jurisdiction, Precinct, and out-Plantation, shall have liberty to joyn his or their Vote with the next adjacent town in the County where such Inhabitant shall dwell, for a choice of Supervisor (except the Manor of Rensselaerswyck who shall have liberty to chuse a Supervisor for the same Mannor). And also, that there shall be in each Town, Mannor, and Precinct, by the Freeholders and Inhabitants hereof, in every respective County annually two Assessors, and one Collector, which Supervizors, Assessors, and Collectors, shall be annually chose in every Town on the first *Tuesday in April*, or such days as is appointed by their Charters or Patents, which Supervizors so chosen shall annually meet at the County Town in each respective County, on the first *Tuesday in October*, and at such other time and times as the said Supervizors shall judge and find necessary and Convenient," to perform the duties of their office.[3]

In 1722 the number of Supervizors was increased in the County of Westchester by a special Act, passed on the 6th of November in that year, as the former Act which applied to the whole Province, worked unequally in some respects in Westchester. It provided "for such Mannor or Mannors as (in their Rates and Taxes) have usually been or hereafter may be divided into two or more Divisions. That a Supervizor may in like manner be chosen for each of such Divisions by the Freeholders and Inhabitants thereof. And where the said Inhabitants shall omit to make such annual choice in any of the said Divisions, or in such Mannor or Mannors, where not above twenty Inhabitants do dwell or reside, the Owner or Owners of such Mannor or Mannors, or of such Division thereof as aforesaid, or their Stewards or Deputies, shall be deemed and esteemed the Supervizors thereof respectively, and have the same Powers, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, whatsoever as those chosen by virtue of the Act above mentioned.[4]

The act of 1703 called for the annual meeting of the Supervisors at the "County-town," which then was the Town of Westchester. In 1745 the population had so much increased as to make a change to another part of the County desirable, therefore an act was passed on the 27th of November in that year changing the place of meeting as "much for the ease of the people," which provided that "the annual meeting shall be at the School House in the Town of Rye," and that the majority shall have power to adjourn to such time and place as they see proper.[5]

The next change did not occur till 1773, twenty-

[1] III. Bradford 6. [2] Ibid. 3.

[3] III. Bradford, 53. [4] III. Bradford 212.

[5] I Van Schaak's Laws, ch. 804.

eight years later. Then another act was passed changing the annual meeting of the Supervizors "to the Court-House at Whiteplains on account of the increase of inhabitants of the northerly part of said County," with a like liberty to adjourn to such time and place as they should please.[1] This building was the first Court-House in Whiteplains which was burned by the Americans a day or two after the battle of Whiteplains in 1776. It stood on the same site as its successor, the old wooden Court-House on Main St., which was pulled down after the erection of the present handsome stone edifice on Rail-Road Avenue.

Another fact of interest which shows the upward march of population of the people, both of the manors and the towns is the change in the place holding the County elections which it produced. The Colonial elections, it must be remembered, were not by ballot as ours are now, but like those in England, *viva voce*. The term "hustings" was, and is used in England to describe the place of election, but though the thing was the same in New York, the word does not seem to have been in use here. At least no instance of its employment has been met with by the writer,

The first law on the subject passed in 1699 directed that the Sheriff "shall hold his Court for the same Election *at the most publick* and *usual Place of Election* within City or County where the same has most usually been made."[2] This was usually at Westchester before it was chartered as a "Boroughtown" and after that at Eastchester.

But in 1751, on the 25th of November the place was changed by a special act of the Legislature,[3] which is of such curious interest for its reasons and choice of a new place, and its stern enforcement of that choice that it is here given in full.

"Whereas the County of Westchester is very extensive, and the extreme parts thereof to the Northward, have of late years become very populous; and whereas the Elections for Representatives to serve in the General Assembly for the said County, have, from the first settlement of the said County, been held at the Southern Part of said County; it now becomes extremely inconvenient for the Freeholders of the Upper or Northern Parts thereof, which are now become, by far, the most numerous, to attend those Elections at so great a distance from their respective Habitations: For Remedy whereof for the Future;

I. *Be it Enacted by his Excellency the Governor, the Council, and the General Assembly and by Authority of the Same,* That in All Elections hereafter to be Made in the said County of *Westchester*, for electing Representatives to serve in this, or any future Assembly of this Colony, the Sheriff of the Said County for the time being, or his Deputy, shall hold his Court of Election at or near the Presbyterian Meeting-House in the White-Plains, in the said County, and at no other Place Whatsoever; any Law, Usage, or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

II. *And be it Further Enacted by the Authority* aforesaid, That if any Sheriff of the said Counsy of *Westchester*, or Deputy of the said Sheriff, Shall after the Publication of this Act, in the Execution of any Writ or Writs for the electing "Representatives for the Said County, to serve in this or any future Assembly, act contrary to the Directions, and true Intent and Meaning of this Act; they shall respectively forfeit the Sum of *One Hundred Pounds* ($250). to be recovered in any Court of Record within this Colony, by any person aggrieved; and the said Election so made contrary to the Directions and true Intent and Meaning of this Act, shall be null and void to all Intents, Constructions, and Purposes Whatsoever."

Not only does it prove the great change of population, south of the Manor of Cortlandt, to which it not apply as that Manor elected its own representative, but the severity of the last clause would seem to show that there was some opposition, probably political, to the change. It applied to the whole County except the Manor of Cortlandt and the "Borough" of Westchester, which elected their own representatives.

No other change was made during the Colonial era, and from 1751 to 1776, all the County "Courts of Election" were held at the Presbyterian Church in White plains.

The Colonial elections were not held at fixed times as at present, but at whatever dates the "writs" of election were issued to the Sheriff by the Secretary of the Province, at the command of the Governor and Council. Consequently they were held at various seasons of the year, but usually early in the spring or in the fall.

The qualification for electors "in the Cities, Counties, and Mannors" of the Province, was the having by "every one of them," "of Land or Tenements improved to the value of Forty Pounds in Freehold, free from all Incumbrances, and have possessed the same three Months before the Test of the said Writ." As soon as the writ was received by the Sheriff, he was obliged in six days to give at least six days previous public notice of the time and place of election, to each constable in his bailiwick to be affixed to the most Public Place in each Town, or Mannor. At the time and place fixed the Sheriff attended with his Deputies and presided at the "Court of Election." The electors met, the candidates being present, the Sheriff announced the names of one side, when all of their supporters held up their hands; then he announced the names on the other, and their supporters held up their hands. He then announced who had the most. In case the election was not determined by this

[1] I Van Schaak's Laws, ch. 690.

[2] II. Bradford 33. The reference here is to the elections held for the Assemblies for 1683 to 1685 inclusive under the Duke of York, the last of which was under James as King.

[3] Ch. 1411 of I. Liv. & Smith, 453.

"view," as the law calls it, or "show of hands," as it was popularly termed, with the consent of the electors, then "a Poll" was required. The Sheriff then appointed a sufficient number of clerks who were sworn, "Truly and Indiferently to take the same Poll, and to set down the names of each Elector, and the place of his Freehold, and for whom he shall poll, and to poll no Elector who is not sworn, if so required by the Candidates or any of them, then and there present." The Sheriff also appointed to each candidate such one person as the latter designated "to be Inspectors of Every Clerk." Every elector if a candidate desired it was obliged to swear in his vote, which was given audibly by word of mouth. At the end the Sheriff made a return of the votes cast in writing and announced the result. The return, which was a certified copy of "the poll" as taken by the Clerk "in his presence, the Sheriff returned to the Secretary of the Province, who produced it at the first meeting of the Assembly which was the judge of the validity of all elections of its members. Neither the Sheriff nor his deputies were permitted to charge any fees whatever. And he was bound to furnish "a copy of the poll" to any one who demanded it, on "payment of a reasonable charge for writing the same."

Such was a Westchester County election in Colony Times, and such the Presbyterian Church in White-Plains witnessed from 1751 to 1765 inclusive. This edifice of wood stood on the site of the present stone church on Main street, but was burned down in 1776 by the Americans, Massachusetts troops, in the same fire which destroyed the Court-House as has been mentioned above.

Another matter of interest in Colonial days to the people of Westchester, were the two Fairs held by law in the county. In England Fairs were often a franchise of a manor, as well as of a town or county, but neither of the Westchester manors possessed it. The reason probably was, that very early, in 1694, before the time several of them were erected, a general "Act for the settling of Fairs and Markets in each respective City and County throughout the Province" was passed.[1] It directed that two Fairs be "kept" in the County of Westchester, the first at Westchester on the second Tuesday in May, the second to be "kept" at Rye on the second Tuesday of October, each yearly, and to be "held for four days inclusive and no longer," so as to end on the "Fryday" of each week; "All which Fairs shall be holden together with a *Court* of *Pypowder*, and with all *Liberties* and *Free Customs* to such Fairs appertaining, or which ought or may appertain, according to the Usage and Customs of Fairs holden in their Majesties Realm of England." The Governor of the Province commissioned for each Fair "a Governour or Ruler" authorized to hold a Court of Pypowder on each of the days of the Fairs, who was charged with the preservation of order, and who could try all causes of Complaint of every Kind, and all disputes, arising at the Fairs, and could punish "by Attachments, Summons, Arrests, Issues, Fines, Redemptions, and Commodities, and other Rights whatsoever, to the same Courts of Pypowder any way appertaining," To these Fairs, could be carried, for sale, (for they were not Exhibitions for prizes like modern Fairs, but places for trade) "all sorts of Cattle Horses, Mares, Colts, Grains, Victuals, Provisions, and other Necessaries, together with all sorts of Merchandize of what nature soever, and them to expose to sale or Barter in Gross or by Retail, at the Times, Hours, and Seasons, that Governours or Rulers of the said respective Fairs, for the Time being, shall proclaim and appoint." The Governor was also obliged to set apart a certain space or "Open Place" for all the horse kind, where they could be sold, and put a person in charge as "Toll-Gatherer" who was to take "Nine pence" a day for every animal brought there and sold; and who was to put down in writing in a book, the names, sir-names, and dwelling places of all the said Parties, and the Colour, with one special mark at least, of every such Horse, Mare, Gelding, or Colt," sold, bartered, or exchanged under a penalty of a fine of Forty Shillings. The "Toll-gatherer, was obliged the next day after the Fair" to deliver the said book to the "Governour," who was to make a note therein of all the number of all the animals, so sold &c. at the Fair, and subscribe his name to it, for which entry of such sale &c. he was "to take for Toll of the same the sum of Nine pence, the one half to be paid by the Buyer, the other half by the Seller." It is evident from this that the old Westchester men meant that their dealings in horses at their Fairs should be as honest as the nature of the business would permit, whatever may been the practical result.

Such were the County Fairs of the Colonial Days, and to them went regularly great numbers of people with their stock and produce, from the Manors, Great Patents, and villages of all Westchester. And there too went as in more modern days the county politicians of all kinds who of course attended, as their successors do now, solely for the good of their country.

In this connection it is proper to state the origin and organization of the County itself as such.

Under the Dutch there was no county organization, each of the settlements then in existence, and the Patroonship of Colendonck, were simply mere parts of the Province of New Netherland entirely independent of each other.

When the Dutch surrendered New Netherland in 1664, one of the first acts of the first English Governor Richard Nicolls was to re-name it and its parts in the English language in the English manner. This he did by using mainly the name and titles of the Duke of York, who was Lord Proprietor of the Province,

[1] III. Brad. 17.

and by whom he was appointed the Chief of the Commission to capture it, and then to command it as its first Governor. It was a very natural thing for him to do, but its result has been to fasten forever on what is now the chiefest city of the Western hemisphere, that most inadequate name—New York. As the entire region surrounding Old York in England, from which the Duke took his title, forms the County there called "Yorkshire;" and as it is one of the largest in England, it was early for convenience sake divided into three Districts, termed in the peculiar Dialect of that region, Ridings, which from their position were termed the East, West, and North, Ridings of Yorkshire. This example Governor Nicolls faithfully followed. He called Long Island, Staten Island and Westchester, as the region nearest to "New," York, "Yorkshire," and divided it into three "Ridings, the "East," "West," and "North," "Ridings. The region now Suffolk County formed the "East Riding;" Staten Island, Kings County, and the town of Newtown in Queens County, formed the "West Riding;" the remainder of what is now Queens County, together with what is now Westchester County, being all the territory on the main, North of the Harlem River and South of the Highlands, between the Sound and the Hudson, he called the "North Riding." As the portion of "the North Riding" on the main, Westchester County was legally and popularly known till the year 1683. In that year it received its present name in an act of the first legislature of New York, which sat in the "Hall" of Fort James. This Assembly which there sat, was called by the express "Instructions" of the Duke of York by his Governor Thomas Dongan subsequently Earl of Limerick, and was the very first ever held in New York. This Act, passed on the 1st of November, 1663, runs thus: "Haveing taken into Consideraçon the necessity of divideing the province into respective Countyes for the better governing and setleing Courts in the same, *Bee* It Enacted by the Governour, Councell and Representatives, and by authority of the same That the said Province bee divided into twelve Countyes as followeth: . . . The Countye of *Westchester* to contain *West* and *East Chester*, *Bronx*[1] *Land*, *ffordham*, *Anne Hooks Neck*, *Richbills*, *Minford's Island* and all the Land on the Maine to the Eastward of *Manhattan's Island* As farr as the Government Extends and the *Yonckers* Land and Northwards along *Hudsons* River as farr as the High Lands." After describing all the "countyes" seriatim, the Act terminates with this clause, which first created English High Sheriffs in New York: "And for as much there is a necessity for a High Sheriffe in every County in this Province, *Bee* it therefore Enacted by the Governour, Councell, and Representatives in Generall Assembly mett and by the Authority of the same, THAT there shall be yearly and Every yeare an High Sheriffe constituted and Commissioned for Each County And that Each Sheriffe may have his under Sheriffe Deputy or Deputyes." From 1683 to 1783, precisely one hundred years, the High Sheriffs existed, and so were they always designated. After the Revolution the prefix was dropped, the duties remained the same, however, except the holding of "Courts of election" was taken from them, and these officers themselves were appointed by the State Governor. By the Constitution of 1821 they were made elective. A great mistake, for an officer clothed with a Sheriff's powers, of all others, should never be made elective. As its result we see the corruptions, extortions, and cruelties, which are known to every observant man, especially in the cities of the State.

The Acts of the Legislatures from 1683 to 1685 inclusive under the Duke of York as Lord Proprietor, and of 1686 under him as James II. though existing in manuscript in the State, have, strange to say, never been printed by the Province, nor the State of New York, a fact disgraceful to both. This one dividing the Province into Counties, however, has by itself been printed in two or three historical works, the last of which is the xiiith volume of the Colonial History of New York, in which it is on the very last page. But to this hour it has never appeared in any of the volumes of the Laws of New York. It was passed and signed by Governor Dongan on the 1st of November 1683, and is entitled "An Act to divide this Province into Shires and Countyes." It was the third act of the first session of the first Legislature which ever sat within the limits of this State.[2] Eight years later the first Assembly under William and Mary was called by Governor Sloughter.

The first Act of the second session of this first Legislature under the "Instructions" of those Sovereigns, held at the "Fort Hall" in September 1691, was a confirmation of the foregoing law, in the form of "An Act to divide this Province and Dependencies into Shires and Counties,"[3] with a preamble that it was enacted to prevent mistakes in the boundaries. The first clause provides "That the said Province be divided into twelve Counties, as followeth;" and the third clause is, "The County of *Westchester*, to contain *East* and *Westchester*, *Bronkes* Land, *Fordham*, Mannor of *Pelham*, *Miniford Island*[4] (now City Island) and Richbill's Neck, (now De Lancey's Neck) and all the land on the Main to the Eastward of *Manhattans* Island, as far as the Government at present extends, and the *Yonckers* Land. And Northwards along *Hudsons* River as far as the High Lands." The member chosen from Westchester County to this As-

[1] This is the earliest instance the writer has found of the use of the word "Bronx." "Bronkes his land" and "Bronkes' Land" and Bronkes River, were the first terms used.

[2] It is here cited from a MS. copy of the *original Manuscript of the Dongan Laws*, at Albany, in which it is found on page 12.

[3] II. Bradford's Laws, ed. 1710, p. 11. III. Bradford's Laws, ed. 1726, p. 11. I. Livingston & Smith's Laws, 6., II. Van Schaack, 6.

[4] Westchester is named first in the original act, while it is second here. This is the only change that was made.

sembly was John Pell, who was thus the first of a line of Assemblymen for the County which has existed from that day to this. In the Governor's Council at the time of this first Assembly as Members by Royal appointment, and as such, members of the Upper House which passed this Act, were Stephanus Van Cortlandt and Frederick Philipse, who were also of the Council under James as Duke and as King. Thus among the framers of the original act which created the County, who, so to speak, were present at its birth, and also at its confirmation were two members of families, subsequently manorial, both of whom were the first Lords of the Manors of Philipsburgh and Cortlandt, neither of which had then been erected.[1]

Who represented "The North Riding," in the Assembly under the Duke of York is not known as the Journals of all the Assemblies from 1683 to 1686 have been lost, and the names of the members of all of them have consequently gone into oblivion.

No change whatever took place in the limits of Westchester after the act of 1691, until the "Equivalent Lands," or "Oblong," was acquired by New York in the settlement of a boundary dispute with the Colony of Connecticut, on the 11th of May, 1731. This was a strip nearly two miles in width taken off the western side of Connecticut as far north as Massachusetts, and ceded to New York in exchange for lands upon the Sound yielded to Connecticut. The extension of the counties of New York over this strip was not made by a Legislative act. Being an addition to a Crown Colony, it was a new acquisition by the Crown, and as such its status was legally determinable by the King. Hence an "Ordinance" by the Governor of New York in the name of the King was issued on the 29th of August 1733 extending Westchester and the other counties affected up to the new line between New York and Connecticut established by the agreement of the 14th of May 1731. As this Ordinance does not appear in any collection of New York Laws and Ordinances that the writer has seen nor in the two volumes of Historical Documents relating to the Boundaries of New York, lately compiled and printed by order of the Regents of the University and is rare, it is here given in full from an original printed copy in the writer's possession.

"An

Ordinance for The Running and better Ascertaining the Partition Lines between the Counties of *Westchester*, *Dutchess*, *Albany* and *Ulster*, and extending those Counties on the East side of *Hudsons River* to the present Colony Line of *Connecticut*.

GEORGE the Second, by the Grace of God, of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, KING, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Our loving subjects inhabiting or being in our Province of *New York*, and to all others whom it doth or may concern, *Greeting*,

Whereas since the passing of the Acts of Assembly in the year 1683, and 1691, for dividing this Province and its Dependencies into Shires and Counties, there are several acquisitions of Lands by New Settlements, and otherwise, particularly the *Equivalent Lands* Surrendered by the Colony *Connecticut*, whereby this Colony has became larger than it was before. *And Whereas* notwithstanding that the Counties lying on the West side of *Hudson's River*, were by the said Acts intended to be parted and divided by a West Line to be drawn from *Hudson's* River, at the respective Stations and Places on the said River, mentioned in the said Acts, to the utmost extent of Our said Province on the West side of the said River; and that the Counties lying on the East side of the said *Hudson's River* were likewise, by the said Acts, intended to be parted and divided by an East Line to be drawn from *Hudson's River* at the respective Places and Stations on the said River, mentioned in the said Acts, to the utmost extent of Our said Province, on the East side of the said River, Yet the People living on the Borders of the said Counties, or some of them, for want of the said actual Running and Surveying of the said Partition Lines, protest sometimes that they are in one County, and sometimes within another, and on that pretence have committed several Abuses, and endeavored to elude all Process issuing from the Courts of Judicature, to the great hindrance of Justice, encouragement of Fugitives and Vagabonds, and to the disturbance of our Peace.

And Whereas, since the passing of the said Acts, the *Christian* Settlements and Plantations, have been greatly extended into the *Indian Counties*, particularly in that part of the Province, which is called and esteemed the *County of Albany*, from whence some Doubts have arose, Whether the Settlements made since the passing of the said Acts, are at present within the said County of *Albany?*

In order therefore, to remove such Doubts, remedy such mischiefs, and prevent the like Inconvenencies for the future, *We do hereby Ordain and Direct*, That the County of *Westchester* do and shall contain, All the Lands on the Main between *Hudson's River* and the *Sound*, to the Southward of an East Line drawn from a Red Cedar Tree on the North Side of a high Hill in the Highlands, commonly called and Known by the Name of *Anthony's Nose*, and running thence to the Colony Line, together with the adjacent Islands in the *Sound*.

Now We do hereby further Ordain and Direct, That the South Bounds of the County of *Albany*, do and shall begin at the Mouth of of a Creek or Brook called the *Sawyer's* Creek, on the West side of *Hudson's River*, and from thence Shall run West to the utmost extent of our Province of *New-York*. And that on the East side of the said River, the said County of *Albany* shall begin at the Mouth of a Brook called Roeloff Jansen's Kill, and shall run thence Eastward to the utmost extent of our said

[1] And John Pell who was the member for the County in 1691, and voted for the act of that year, was of that old family which then possessed the Manor of Pelham.

Province; and that the said County of *Albany* shall extend from the said South Bounds Northerly, on both sides *Hudson's River*, to the utmost extent of Our said Province, and shall comprehend therein the *Mannor* of *Livingston*, *the Mannor of Ranslaerswyck-Schenectady*, and all the Towns, villages, neighbours hoods and *Christian Plantations*, and all the Land, that now are, or at any time heretofore in possession of or claimed by any of the Indians of the *Six Nations*, the *River Indians*, or by any other *Indians* belonging or depending On Our said Province.

And we do hereby likewise Ordain and Direct, that the North Bounds of our County of *Ulster* shall begin at the Mouth of the said *Sawyer's Creek* or *Brook*, and extend from thence West to the utmost extent of Our said Province.

And We do hereby further Ordain and *Direct*, That the County of *Dutchess* do and shall contain All the Lands between *Hudson's River* and the Colony of *Connecticut*, from the North Bounds of the County of *Westchester* to the South Bounds of the County of *Albany*.

And Our Royal Will and Pleasure is, and *We do hereby Direct and Require*, That Our Surveyor General of Our said Province of *New York*, shall, with all convenient speed, Run, and Survey the Partition Line between the Counties of *Westchester & Dutchess*, the Partition Line between the Counties of *Dutchess and Albany*, and the Partition Line between the Counties of *Albany and Ulster*.

In Testimony *Whereof, We Have caused these Our Letters to be Made Potent, and the Seal of Our Province of New York to be hereunto affixed. Witness our Trusty and Well-beloved* William Cosby, *Esq.*, Captain *General and Governour-in Chief* of Our *said Province of* New York *and the Territories depending thereon in* America, *Vice-Admiral of the same, and Colonel in his Majesty's Army*, &c. *in and by and with the Consent and Advice of Our Council* of Our said Province, *at* Fort George *in Our City of* New York, *the Twenty nineth Day of* August, *in the Seventh* Year of Our Reign Annoq; Dom. 1733."

This Ordinance really established the boundaries, not only of Westchester County but of the whole Province outside of Long Island, Staten Island, Manhattan Island and the County of Orange at its date. Its description of the County of Albany is believed to be the largest and fullest of that County extant, practically including in it the whole Indian territory of the Six Nations westward, wherever they ruled in 1733. By it the southern portion of the "Oblong" was formally annexed to, and made a part of the County of Westchester as it has ever since remained. It did not however extend the lines of the Manors and Patents granted before its date, and bounded by the original Colony line to the new one. The manor of Cortlandt was not thereby extended to the new Colony line established in 1731. Mr. Robert Livingston a few years after the date of this ordinance, undertook to claim that his Manor of Livingston was by implied intendment extended to the new Colony line, and instituted an ejectment suit against the then owners of the part of the Oblong adjoining his manor, but he did not succeed. Some of the papers in this matter which the writer has examined show, however, that the "Oblong" owners were exceedingly alarmed at this claim. This Ordinance is also of interest as being a good admirable example of an instrument of royal rule confined to the British Crown Colonies in America.

For the next thirty-five years the Bounds of the County remained unchanged, no other Ordinance or Act relating to the limits of Westchester was made or enacted. The division line in the Hudson River and in the Sound, however, became questioned in criminal Proceedings. To settle all questions on this subject of every kind, whatsoever, on the 30th of December, 1768, the very last day of that year, an Act was passed, "To ascertain Part of the Southern and Western Boundaries" of the County of Westchester, the Eastern Boundaries of Orange County, and Part of the Northern Bounds of Queens County."[1] It settled the jurisdiction over, and also the title to, all the islands and inlets in the Sound, many of them mere masses of naked rock, rising from its waters. It is in these words;

"*Whereas* there are many Islands lying and being in the Sound, to the Eastward of *Frog's Neck*, and Northward of the main channel, opposite to the County of Westchester, several of which are not included in any county in this Province.

And Whereas, also that part of Hudson's River, which lies opposite to the said County of Westchester, is not included in any County of this Province; in order to remedy which, and to render the Administration of Justice more effectual;

I. *Be it Enacted by his Excellency the Governor, the Council, and the General Assembly, and it is hereby Enacted by the Authority of the same*,[2] That by all the Islands lying and being in the Sound to the Eastward of Frog's Neck, and to the Northward of the Main Channel, and as far Eastward as *Captain's* Island, including the same, together with all that part of the Sound, included within these Boundaries shall be and remain in the County of *Westchester*; and all the Southernmost part of the Sound from the bounds aforesaid as far as *Queens* County extends Eastward, shall be, and is hereby, annexed to *Queens* County; and all that part of *Hudsons* River, which adjoins the County of *Westchester*, and is to the Southward of the County of *Orange*,[3] or so much thereof as is included within this Province, and the Easternmost half Part of said River, from the Southermost Bounds of the County of *Orange*, to the Northermost Bounds of the County of *Westchester*, shall also be and remain in the said County of Westchester.

[1] II. Van Schaack's Laws ch. 1376, p. 527.

[2] This was the form of enacting clause used in the Colonial Legislature of New York.

[3] Orange then included what is now Rockland County.

II. The second clause enacts that "The Middle of the said (Hudson) River shall be, and is hereby declared to be, the Boundary Line between the said Counties of *Orange* and *Westchester*," and that the western half "is declared to be included in, and annexed to the said County of Orange, together with all the Islands included within the said Bounds."

III. *And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid*, That from and after the Publication of this Act, all the Islands and Premises hereby included in, and annexed to the said County of *Westchester*, shall be taxed and subject to all such Laws, Rules, and Regulations, with those Manors, Towns, or Districts, to which they are nearest in Situation."

The effect of this law was to remove all doubt that might arise in relation to the subject of the act. It affected the coast-line of every Manor in the County. From the ninth day of July, 1776, when the Provincial Congress sitting then at White Plains, accepted, while "lamenting the necessity which rendered that measure unavoidable,"[1] the Declaration of Independence, until 1789, when the Government of the United States, framed by the convention of 1787, went into operation, New York was an independent Sovereign State, mistress of herself, and as such was one of the thirteen independent Sovereignties so acknowledged by the British Treaty of Peace in 1783. While in this condition her Legislature divided her territory into counties and townships, and made some changes in the former from what they had been under the Province of New York. This was done by two acts passed on the 7th of March, 1788, chapters 63 and 64 of the Laws of 1788.[2] Both acts, however, were only to take effect from and after the first day of April, 1789. By the former, which related to the counties, the State was divided into sixteen counties, four more than by the act of 1691, to be called by the names of New York, Albany, Suffolk, Queen's, King's, Richmond, Westchester, Orange, Ulster, Dutchess, Columbia, Washington, Clinton, Montgomery, Cumberland and Gloucester."

Westchester is thus described: "The County of *Westchester* to contain all that part of this State, bounded southerly by the *Sound*, easterly by the State of *Connecticut*, northerly by the North Bounds of the Manor of *Cortlandt*, and the same line continued east to the bounds of Connecticut, and west to the middle of *Hudson's* River, and westerly by a line running from thence down the middle of *Hudson's River* until it comes opposite to the Bounds of the State of *New Jersey*, then west to the same, then southerly along the east Bounds of the State of *New Jersey* to the Line of the County of *New York*, and then along the same easterly and southerly to the Sound, or *East River*, including Captain's Island, and all the islands in the *Sound* to the east of Frog's Neck and to the northward of the main channel."

By the latter act Westchester County was divided into the following towns named in the following order: Westchester, Morrisania, Yonkers, Greenburgh, Mount Pleasant, Eastchester, Pelham, New Rochelle, Scarsdale, Mamaroneck, White-Plains, Harrison, Rye, Northcastle, Bedford, Pound-Ridge, Salem, North Salem, Cortlandt, Yorktown, and Stephentown, twenty-one in all,—the bounds of each being clearly set forth.

This was the first division of the County into townships, an organization which has since continued without variation except divisions of a few of the towns, some alterations of the bounds of two or three others and the incorporation of a part of Yonkers as the City of Yonkers, the details of which need not be given here.

The Boundaries of the County remained wholly unchanged, until the annexation of the new towns of Morrisania and Kingsbridge, formed from the southern portions of the old towns of Westchester and Yonkers to the City of New York of which they now form the twenty-third and twenty-fourth Wards. The upper part of the old town of Yonkers has been incorporated as the City of Yonkers. The County of Westchester therefore with these exceptions retains its original limits as fixed in 1683, and confirmed by the State County act of 1788.

The Township Act of 1788 is remarkable for its use of the Manors in enacting the bounds of the townships it created. No less than fourteen of those twenty-one townships are described and bounded in part by naming special lines of the old Manors, or the Manors themselves as a whole. Eleven towns out of the twenty-one, were formed wholly out of the Manors. These were Morrisania, Yonkers, Greenburgh, Mount Pleasant, Pelham, Scarsdale, Mamaroneck, North Salem, Cortlandt, Yorktown, and Stephentown. Two, Salem (now Lewisborough) and Poundridge, were partly so formed, about half of the former and one-third of the latter, being portions of the Manor of Cortlandt.

13.

The Manor of Cortlandt, Its Origin, First Lord and his Family, Special Franchises, Division, Local History, and Topography.

The most northern part of the County of Westchester, a tract reaching from the Hudson River on the west to the first boundary line between the Province of New York and the Colony of Connecticut, on the east, twenty English miles in length by ten in width, in shape nearly a rectangular parallelogram, formed, "The Manor of Cortlandt." Acquired by direct purchase from the Indians, in part, by Stephanus van Cortlandt, a native born Dutch gentleman of New York, and in part by others whose titles he subsequently bought, this tract, together with a small

[1] Resolution in I. Journals Prov. Congress, 518.
[2] II. Jones & Varick, 317 and 319.

tract on the west side of the Hudson River opposite the promontory of Anthony's Nose, which he also purchased from the Indians, was, by King William the Third through his Governor, Benjamin Fletcher, on the 17th of June 1697, erected into "the Lordship and Manor of Cortlandt." The original Manor-Grant covering two skins of vellum beautifully written, and bearing the Great Seal of the Province, its opening words highly ornamented, still exists in perfect preservation. Above the writing is an elegantly engraved border nearly two inches in width, of rich Italian arabesque design of fruits, flowers, figures and birds, in the centre of which appear the arms of England in full. The initial letter "G" of "Gulielmus," the King's name in Latin, with which the instrument commences, is very large, is richly ornamented, and has within it a bust portrait of William wearing the large peruke, and full laced scarf, of that day. The great seal attached is that brought over by Governor Sloughter in 1691, made pursuant to a warrant of William and Mary bearing date the 31st of May 1690. It has upon its obverse the Arms of England as borne by the Stuarts with the addition of a shield of pretence in the centre, charged with the lion rampant of the house of Nassau; and, on its reverse, full length effigies of the King and Queen, the latter holding the orb and sceptre, and kneeling at their feet an Indian man and woman, the former offering a roll of wampum, and the latter a skin of a beaver. The legend around the obverse is in Latin, signifying "The seal of our province of New York in America," that around the reverse, also in Latin, is, "William III. and Mary II. By the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King and Queen, Defenders of the Faith."

It is attached to the fold of the vellum by a thick silken cord, is of wax, and lies in the covered metallic case originally made for it, and is three inches and one half in diameter. Upon the fold of vellum is the signature of Benjamin Fletcher, the Governor, and the countersignature of David Jamison, Deputy Secretary of the Province.

This description of the seal of William and Mary is given because it was that used in New York throughout their joint reign, the reign of William alone, and of Anne until the 6th of September 1705, on which day the new seal of that Queen was received, and this old one was defaced, and sent back to England to be broken, in accordance with the law. It authenticated every Manor-Grant and Patent in the Province from 1691 to 1705, and was appended to every Manor-Grant in the County of Westchester, except those of Fordham and Pelham, the former of which bore the seal of James as Duke of York, and the latter that of James as King, they being the two oldest Manors in the County. From the fact that this seal was so used, after the deaths of Mary and of William, upon patents and other instruments in New York issued in the early part of the reign of Anne, attempts were once made to deny their validity in Court, but always in vain. A notable example of which, was that of the original charter of Trinity church in 1697. This seal was decided to be the lawful seal of the Province until superseded by the first seal of Queen Anne, as above stated in September 1705. The ancient and important instrument just described, now nearly two centuries old, at present the property of Mr. James Stevenson van Cortlandt of Croton, the only surviving son of the late Colonel Pierre van Cortlandt, is the foundation of the title to the whole Manor of Cortlandt as possessed by Stephanus van Cortlandt, and of all existing titles within its limits. It is therefore here given in full:—

MANOR-GRANT OF THE MANOR OF CORTLANDT.

Gulielmus Tertius, Dei Gratia, Angliæ Scotiæ, ffranciæ, Hiberniæ, Rex, fidei Defensor, &ç. To all Whom these Presents Shall Come Sendeth Greeting.

Whereas our Loveing Subject Coll. Stephanus Van Cortlandt One of the Members of our Councill of our Province of New York &c., Hath by his Pettition presented unto our Trusty and well belove^{d} Coll. Benjamin Fletcher our Capt. General and Governour in Cheif of our Said Province of New York &c. and territorys Depending thereon in America &c. prayed our Grant and Confirmation for a Certain tract and parcell of Land Situate Lyeing and being upon the East side of hudsons River Begining on the North Line of the Mannor of Philipsburge Now in the tenour and Occupation of Fredrick Phillipse Esq^{r}. one of the Members of our Said Councill And to the South side of a Certain Creek Called Kightawank Creek and from thence by a Due East Line Runing into the Woods Twenty English Miles And from the said North Line of the Mannor of Phillipsburge upon the South Side of Said Kightawank Creek runing along the said Hudsons river Northerly as the said River runs into the north side of a high Hill in the high Lands Commonly Called and Knowen by the Name of Anthonys Nose to a Red Ceadar tree Which makes the south Bounds of the Land Now in y^{e} Tenour And Occupation of Mr. Adolph Phillipse Including in the Said Northerly Line all the Meadows Marshes Coves Bays and necks of Land and pennensulaes that are adjoining or Extending into Hudsons River within the Bounds of the Said Line and from said red ceadar tree another Due Easterly Line Runing into the Woods Twenty English Miles and from thence Along the Partition Line between our Colony of Conecticut and this Our province untill you Come unto the place Where the first Eastterly Line of twenty Miles Doth Come the Whole being Bounded on the East by the said partition Line between our said Collony of Conecticut and this our province & on the south side by the Northerly Line of the Mannor of Phillipsburg to the southward of Kightawank Creek aforesaid and on the west by the said Hudsons river and on the North side from the aforesaid red Ceadar tree by the

south Line of the Land of Mr. Adolph Phillips; And also of a Ceartain parcel of Meadow Lying and being Situate upon the West side of the Said Hudsons river Within the Said High Lands over Against the aforesaid Hill Called Anthonys Nose Begining on the south Side of a Creek Called by the Indians Sinkeepogh and so Along Said Creek to the head thereof and then Northerly Along the high hills as the River Runeth to Another Creek Called Apinnapink and from thence along Said Creek to the said Hudsons River Which Certain tract of Land and Meadow our Said Loving Subject is Now possessed thereof and Doth hold the same of us by Virtue of Sundry grants heretofore Made unto him by Coll. Thomas Dongan Late Govr. of our Said province and Whereon our Said Loving Subject hath made Considerable Improvements haveing been at Great Cost Charge & Expence in the Purchasing the said Tract of Land and Meadows from the Native Indians, as well As in the Setling a Considerable Numbers of Famalies thereon, and being Willing To make Some further Improvements thereon doth by his Said Petition further Request & Pray that we should be Graciously pleased to Erect the Aforesaid tract of Land and meadows Within the Limitts and Bound Aforesaid Into a Lordshipp or Mannor of Cortlandt, Which reasonable Request for the future Incouragement of our said Loving Subject wee being willing to Grant,

Know Ye that of our Especial grace Certain Knowledg and Mere motion We have given granted ratified and Confirmed And by these presents do for Us our heirs & Succesors give grant ratifie and Confirm unto our Said Loving Subject Stephanus van Cortlandt all the Afore recite[d] Ceartain Parcell & tract of Land and Meadows Within theire Several and Respective Limits and bounds Aforesaid Together with all and Every of the Mesuages Tenements buildings Barnes Houses out houses Stables edifices Gardens Inclosures fences pasture[s] fields Feeding[s] woods underwoods trees timbers Swamps meadows marshes pools ponds Lakes fountains waters Water Courses rivers Revulets runs Streams Brooks Creeks Harbours Coves Inlets Outlets Islands of Land and Meadows Necks of Land and Meadows Pennensules of Land and Meadows ferrys fishing fowling hunting and hawking and the Fishing on Hudsons River so far as the bounds of the Said Land Extends upon the same, Quaries, Mines, Minerals, (Silver and Gold mines only Excepted) And all the Other the rights, Members, Libertys, Priviledges, jurisdictions, prehemenences, Emoluments Royaltys, Profits, Benefits, Advantages, Heridittements, & apurtenances, whatsoever, to the afore recite[d] Ceartain parcells or Tracts of Land and Meadows Within their Severall and Respective Limits and Bounds aforesaid belonging or In any wise Appertoaning, or Eccepted, Reputed, taken, known, or Ocupied, as part parcell or member thereof, To Have And To Hold all the afore Recite[d] Ceartain parcell[s] and tracts of Land and Meadows within their Several and Respective Limits and Bounds Aforesaid; Together with all end Every of the mesuage Tennements Buildings barns houses out houses Stables Edefices Orechards Gardens Inclosures fences Pasture fields feedings Woods underwoods trees timber Swamps Meadows Marshes pooles ponds Lakes fountains Water Water Courses Rivers Revulets Rivulets Runs Streams brooks Creeks harbours Coves Inlets Outlets Islands of land and Meadows Necks of Land and Meadow Penninsules of Land and Meadow ferry[s] fishing fowling hunting and hawking and the fishing on hudsons River so far as the Bounds of the Said Land Extend[s] upon the said River, Quaries Mines minerals (Silver and Gold Mines only Excp[t]) And all other the Right[s] Members Libertys priveledges jurrisdictions prehemmenences Emoluments Royaltys profits benifits Advantages heridetiments and Appurtenances Whatsoever to the afore recited Certain parcell and tract of Land and Meadow within the several and Respective Limitts and bounds aforesaid belonging or in any wise apertaining or accepted Reputed taken Known or ocupied as part parcell or member thereof unto the Said Stephanus van Cortlandt his heirs and assigns to the Sole and only proper use Benefit and Behofe of him the said Stephanus van Cortlandt his heirs and assigns for Ever.

And Moreover Know ye tnat our further Especial Grace Certain Knowledge and mere Motion we have thought fitt according to the Request of our Said Loving Subject to Erect all the before Recited Ceartain Parcell and tracts of Land and Meadow Within the Limitts and Bounds aforesaid into a Lordship or Mannor, and therefore by these presents we do for us, our heirs, and Successors, Erect make And Constitute, all the afore Recited Ceartain parcells and tracts of Land and Meadows Within the Limitts and bounds aforesaid, together with all and Every the above Granted premises With all and Every of Appurtenances Into one Lordship and Mannour to all Intents and purposes, And it is our Royall will and pleasure that the said Lordship and Mannour Shall from henceforth be Called the Lordship and Mannour of Cortlandt; And further Know yee that wee Reposeing Especial trust and Confidence in the Loyalty wisdom Justice Prudence and Circumspection of our said Loving Subject do for us our heirs and Successors Give and Grant unto our said Loving Subject Stephanus van Cortlandt and to the heirs and assigns of him the said Stephanus van Cortlandt full power and authority at all times for Ever Heareafter in the said Lordship and Mannour one Court Leet and one Court Barron To hold and Keep at Such time and times and so Often Yearly as he or they Shall see meet, and all fines Issues and Amerciaments at the Said Court Leet and Court Barron To be holden within the said Lordship and Mannour to be Let forfited and Employed or payable or hapning at any time to be payable by any of the Inhabitants of or Within the said Lordship and mannour of Cortlandt or

the Limitts and bounds thereof And Also all And every of the Powers and Authoritys herein beforemetioned for the holding and Keeping of the said Court Leet and Court Barron from time to time and to award Issue out the acCustomary writs to the Heirs and Assigns of the said Stephanus Van Cortlandt for ever or their or any of their steward Deputed and apointed with full and ample power and Authority to Distrain for the rents Services and Other Sums of Money payable by Virtue of the Premises and all other Lawfull remidies and means for the having possessing Receiving Levying and Enjoying the premmises and every Part and Parcell of the same and all waifes Estrayes Wrecks Deodands goods of felons happening and being Forfeited within the said Lordship and Mannour of Cortlandt and all and Every Sum and sums of Money to be paid as a Post fine upon any fine or fines to be Levied of any Land Tennements or Heriditements within the said lordship and mannour of Cortlandt together with the Advowson and right of patronage and all and Every the Church and Churches Erected or Established or heareafter to be had Erected or Established in the said mannour of Cortlandt.

And we do by these presents Constitute and Appoint our said Loving Subject Stephanus van Cortlandt and his heirs and Assinys to be our Sole and only Ranger of the Said Lordship and Mannour of Cortlandt and to have hold and Enjoy all the Benifits perqusites fees, rights priviledges Profits and Apurtenances that of Right doth belong unto a Ranger According to our Statutes and Customs of our Realm of England in as full and Ample Manner as if the same were perticularly Expressed in these presents anything to the Contrary Hereof in any ways Notwithstanding.

And we Likewise do further give and Grant unto the said Stephanus van Cortlandt and to his heirs and Assinys, That all and every the tennants of him the Said Stephanus van Cortlandt Within the Said Lord Ship and Mannour of Cortlandt Shall and May at all times heareafter meet Together and Chuse Assessors within the Mannour aforesaid According to such rules ways and Methods as are prescribed for Citys towns and Countys within our said province by the Acts of Generall Assembly for the Defraying the Publick Charge of Each respective City town and County aforesaid and all such sum or sums of Money So assessed and Levyed to Collect pay and Dispose of for Such Uses as the act of General Assembly shall Establish and Apoint.

And further of our Especial grace Certain Knowledge and Mere Motion we do by these presents for us our heirs and Successors give and Grant unto our Said Loving Subject Stephanus van Cortlandt and to his heirs and assinys forever that he the said Stephanus van Cortlandt his heirs and assinys Shall and May From time to time and after the Expiration of twenty Years Next Ensueing the Date of these presents Return and send a Discreet Inhabitant in and of the said mannour to be a Representitive of the said Mannour in every Assembly after the Expiration of the said twenty Years to be summoned and holden within this our said province which Representative so Returned and Sent Shall be Received into the house of Representatives of Assembly as a Member of the said house to have and Enjoy such priviledge as the other Representatives Returned and Sent from any other County and Mannours of this our said province have had and Enjoyed in any former Assembly holden within this our said province;

To have and to hold possess and Enjoy all and Singular the said Lordship and Mannour of Cortlandt and premisses with all their and every of their Royaltys and appurtunancys unto the said Stephanus van Cortlandt his heirs and assignes to the Sole and only proper use Benefitt and Behoof of him the said Stephanus van Cortlandt his heirs and Assignes forever To Be holden of us our heirs and Successors in free and Common Soccage as of ou rMannour of East Greenwich in our County of Kent within our Realm of England, Yielding Rendering and paying therefore yearly and Every year for Ever unto us our heirs and Successors at our City of New York on the feast Day of Annunciation of our Blessed Virgin Mary the yearly Rent of forty Shillings Current money of our said province in Lieu and Stead of all other Rents Services Dues Dutys and Demands whatsoever for the Afore Recited Tract and Parcell of Land and Meadow Lordship and Mannour of Cortlandt and premisses.

In Testimony whereof we have Caused the Great Seal of our said province to be hereunto affixed Witness our Said trusty and well beloved Coll. Benjamin Fletcher our said Cap: Generall and Governor in Chief or our Province of New York and the Territorys Depending thereon in America and Vice Admiral of the same, our Lieu[t] and Commander in Chief of the Militia and of all the forses by Sea and by Land within our Collony of Connecticut and of all the Forts and places of strength within the same, in Council at our fort in New York the Seventeenth day of June in the Ninth Year of our Reign Anno Domini 1697.

BENJAMIN FLETCHER.

By his Excelys. Command,
David Jamison D. Sec'y.[1]

The earliest movement of Stephanus van Cortlandt towards obtaining the Lands of the Manor, was to take out, pursuant to the law of the Province,[2] a License to purchase them from the Indians, in order to extinguish the Indian title. This instrument, from the original among the van Cortlandt papers, is in these words:

License from Gov. Andros.

"By The Governor:

Whereas application hath been made unto mee by divers persons for lands at Wyckerscreeke, or ad-

[1] Recorded in Book of Patents No. 7, begun in 1695, pp. 165-170.

[2] Explained above in this essay.

jacent parts, on the east side of Hudson's River, the which have not yet been purchased of the Indyan Proprietors. These presents are to authorize you, Col Stephanus van Cortlandt, Mayor of this City, if fitting opportunity shall present, to treat with, and agree for, any part of the said Land for wh^ch there may be present occasion of settlement, or for the whole, with the Indyan Sachems or Proprietors. The payment whereof to be made publicly at the Fort or City Hall.

Given under my hand in New York this 16th day of Novem^ber, 1677.

Andros."[1]

This license, it will be seen, was general, and permitted van Cortlandt to buy of the Indians whenever it might conveniently be done. No time was mentioned and it operated as an indefinite permission to extinguish the Indian title in the region named. Six years after its date, in 1683, he bought the peninsula afterwards, and now known as Verplanck's Point, and another large tract adjoining it running to the eastward, the former called by the natives Meanagh,[2] and the latter Appamapogh, which were conveyed to him by the annexed Deed;—

SIECHAM, *and six other Indians, to Stephanus van Cortlandt.*

"To all christian people to whom this present writing shall come: Siecham, Pewimine, Oskewans, Turham, Querawighint, Isighera, and Prackises, all Indians, true and rightful owners and proprietors of the lands, hereinafter mentioned, as for themselves and the rest of their relations send, greeting, KNOW YE that for and in consideration of the sum of twelve pounds in wampum and several other merchandises, as by a schedule hereunto annexed more at large, doth and may appear, to them the same Indians in hand paid before the ensealing and delivering thereof, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, and for other divers causes and considerations, they, the said Indians have granted, bargained and sold, aliened, enfeofted and confirmed, and by these presents do fully, clearly and absolutely grant, bargain, sell, alien, enfeof, and confirm unto Stephanus Van Cortlandt of the city of New York, merchant, his heirs or assignes forever, all that certain tract or parcel of land situate, lying or being on the east side of the Hudson River, at the entering in of the Highlands, just over against Haverstraw, lying on the south side of the creek called Tammoesis, and from thence easterly in the woods to the head of the creek called Kewightahagh, and so along said creek northerly to Hudson River, and thence westerly to the utmost point of the said tract of land, and from thence southerly along said Hudson River to the aforenamed creek, Tammoesis, which said tract or parcel of land known by the Indians by the name of Appamaghpogh and Meanagh, including all the lands, soils, meadows and woods within the circuit and bounds aforesaid, together with all, and singular the trees, timber-woods, underwoods, swamps, runs, marshes, meadows, rivulets, streams, creeks, waters, lakes, pools, ponds, fishing, hunting, fowling and whatsoever else to the said tract or parcel of land within the bounds and limits aforesaid, is belonging or in any wise appertaining without any restriction whatsoever, TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the said parcel or tract of land, and all and singular other the premises and every part and parcel thereof unto the said Stephanus Van Cortlandt, his heirs and assignees to the sole and only proper use, benefit and behoof of him, the said Stephanus his heirs and assignees forever, and they, the said Indians do for themselves their heirs and every of them consent, promise, and engage, that the said Stephanus Van Cortlandt his heirs and assignees shall and may from henceforth and forever lawfully peaceably and quietly have, hold, possess and enjoy the said tract or parcel of land, and all and singular the other the premises with their appurtenances without either let, hindrance, disturbance or interruption of or by them, the said Indian proprietors, or their heirs or any other person or persons claiming, or that shall hereafter, shall or may claim, by from under them or either of them, and that they shall and will upon the reasonable request and demand made by the said Stephanus Van Cortlandt, give and deliver peaceable and quiet possession of the said tract and parcel of land and premises, or of some part thereof and in the room of the whole under such person or persons, as by the said Stephanus Van Cortlandt shall be appointed to receive the same, in witness whereof the said Indians Pewemine, Oskewans, Turham, Querawighint, Siecham, Isighera, and Prackises, the Indian owners and proprietors aforesaid, have hereunto set their hands and seals in New York, this twenty-fourth day of August in the thirty-fifth year of his majesties reign, Anno Domini, 1683.

Signed sealed and delivered in presence of
Francis Rumbouts,
Guelyne Verplancke.

(Here follow the seals, and the marks, of Siecham and the other six Indians named).

Appended is the "schedule" of "other merchandises" mentioned in the deed as part of the consideration;

8 guns,	12 shirts,
9 blankets,	50 pounds powder,
5 coats,	30 bars of lead,
14 fathoms of Duffels,[3]	18 hatchets,
14 kettles,	18 hoes,

[1] This paper is recorded in the Sec. of State's off., Albany, Lib. 27, p. 238, and in West Co. Reg. off., Lib. A, 228. It is also in XIV. Col. Hist., 515.

[2] This word is so spelled in the original deeds and wills in which it occurs. The spelling "Meahagh" is simply a copyist's, or printer's, corruption.

[3] A coarse but soft woolen cloth made in Holland.

40 fathoms black wampum, 14 knives,
80 fathoms white wampum, A small coat,
2 ankers of rum, 6 fathoms stroud cloth,
5 half vats strong beer, 6 pair of stockings,
6 earthen jugs, 6 tobacco boxes."

On the ninth of March, 1682, Cornelis van Bursum of New York City, obtained the following License to purchase Indian Lands from Anthony Brockholes, who, as Senior Member of the Council had succeeded Andros in the Command of the Province when the latter went to England.

Lycense to Cornelis Van Bursum,
By the Commander in Chiefe.

"Whereas *Cornelis Van Bursum* of this City hath made Applicaçon for Liberty and Lycense to purchase of the Indyans a Certain parcel or Tract of Land Lyeing on the East side of *Hudson* River Behither the *High-Lands*, to Settle A ffarme or Plantaçon or for the Improvem[t] of Husbandry, These are to certify that I have and Doe Hereby with Advise of the Counsell Grant Liberty and Lycense to the said *Cornelis Van Bursum* to purchase of the Indyans the said Parcell or tract of Land and to Settle A ffarme or Plantaçon thereupon, he Makeing Due return thereof to the office of Records there in Order to Confirmaçon, and Makeing Improvement and performing what the Law in Such Cases Requires.

Given under my hand in New-Yorke this third Day ffeb[ry], in the thirty Fourth yeare of his Mat[ies] Reigne Annoy. Domini 1681-2. A. B.[1]"

Van Bursum acted immediately, and four months later received from Ackimak, and nineteen other Indians, a deed for the lower peninsula which forms the South bounds of Haverstraw Bay. It was called by the Indians Senasqua, and by the Whites "Sarah's," and "Teller's," Point, and later "Croton" Point. The last from the fact that it forms the North Side of the estuary of the Croton River. Sarah was the wife of William Teller who long lived upon the Point, she having survived her husband several years. It is decribed in the Indian deed to Van Bursum as, "all that parcell, neck, or point of Land, with the Marsh, Meadow ground, or valley thereto Adjoining and Belonging, Situate lying and being on the east side of the North or Hudson's River, over against verdrietye's Hooke, commonly called and Known by the name of Slauper's Haven, and by the Indians Navish, the Meadow[2] being called by the Indians Senasqua, being bounded by the said River and a certain creek called or known to the Indians by the name of Tanrackan, and divided from the Main land by certain trees marked by the Indians, together with half of the said creek &c. for, and in consideration of, a certain sum of Wampum, and divers other goods, paid by Cornelius van Bursum.[3]

The lands from the Croton River Northward to Stephanus van Cortlandt's Appamapogh purchase before mentioned, and running eastward to the Keakates or twin ponds, or Cedar Ponds, as they are called on the Manor Map, and thence down the Mescoot and Croton rivers to the latters mouth, were bought of the Indians by Governor Thomas Dongan himself. Their deed to him was dated August 1685. Dongan on the 20th March 1686, sold the land to one John Knights. Dongan's deed from the Indians thus describes the tract, which from the Indian name of the Croton, was called Kichtawanck, or Kitchtawong; — "all that Tract or parcell of Land situate Lying and being on the East side of Hudson's River, within the County of Westchester, beginning at Kichtawong Creek, and so running along Hudson's River northerly to the land of Stephanus van Cortlandt, from thence to the eastwardmost end of the Said van Cortlandts Land, and from thence to a great fresh Water Pond called Keakates, and from the said pond along the creek that runs out of the said Pond to Kichtawong Creek, and so downward on the south side of the said creek to Hudson's River, including all the land, soil, and meadow within the bounds and limits aforesaid." John Knights, on the 20th of April, 1687, reconveyed it by deed to Governor Thomas Dongan.[4] And from Dongan it subsequently passed to Stephanus van Cortlandt.

Previously to his purchase of the Dongan lands, and on the 13th of July, 1683, Stephanus Van Cortlandt bought from the Haverstraw Indians a tract on the West side of the Hudson River, directly opposite to the promontory of Anthony's Nose, and North of the Dunderbergh Mountain, forming the depression or valley,[5] through the upper part of which, in the Revolutionary War, Sir Henry Clinton came down and captured Forts Constitution and Montgomery, then commanded by his distant relatives and namesakes, Generals, George, and James, Clinton. The original deed, among the Van Wyck papers, which has never before been printed, is as follows:

Indian Deed to Stephanus van Cortlandt
for Lands on the West Side of the Hudson.

"To All Christian people To whom this Present writing shall come Sakaghkeineck Sachem of Haverstraw, Werekepes, Saquogharup, Kakeros, and Kaghtsikroos, all, Indians true and Rightfull owners and Proprietors of the Land herein after mentioned and Expressed, Send Greeting. Know ye, That for and in Consideraion of the Sume of Six Shillings Curr: Silver money to them the said Indians in hand payed before the Enscaling and Delivery here of the Receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged and for Diverse other Valuable Causes and Consideraions they the said Indians have Granted Bargained Sold Aliened Enfeoffed and Confirmed and by these Presents Doe Fully

[1] XIII. Col. Hist., 554. [2] On the peninsula.
[3] West. Co. Reg. off. Lib. A, 182.
[4] Lib. A, 121, West. Co. Reg. off.
[5] This valley bears now the odd appellation of "Doodletown."

Cleerly and Absolutely Grant Bargain Sell Alien Enfeoff and Confirm unto Stephanus Van Cortlandt of the Citty of New Yorke Merchant his heires and assignes for ever All that A Certaine Tract or Parcell of Land Situate Lyeing and being on the West side of Hudsons River within the High Lands over Against a greate Hill Commonly called Anthonys Nose beginning on the South side at a Creeke called Sinkapogh[1] and so alongst the said Creeke to the head thereof and then northerly alongst the high hills as the River runneth to Another Creeke called Assinnapink[2] and from thence along The said Creeke to Hudsons River againe togather with A Certaine Island and Parcell of Meadow Land neere or adjoyneing to the same called Wanakawaghkin and by the Christians known by the name of Salsbury's Island[3] Includeing all the Lande Soile and Meadows within the Bounds and Limitts aforesaid togather with all and singular the trees Timber Woods Underwoods Swamps Moores Marshes Meadows Rivoletts Streames Creeckes Waters Lakes Pooles Ponds ffishing hunting and fowleing and whatsoever Else to the said Tract or Parcell of Land within the Bounds and Limitts aforesaid is belonging or in any wise appurteineing without any Reservaion whatsever To have and To hold the said Tract or parcell of Land and all and singuler other the Primisses and every Parte and Parcell thereof unto the said Stephanus Van Cortlandt his heirs and Assigns to the sole and only Proper use Benefitt and Behoofe of him Van Cortlandt his heires and Assigns for ever. And they the said Indians Doe for themselves and their heires and every of them Covenant Promise and engage that the said Steph: Van Cortlandt his heires and assignes Shall and may from henceforth for Ever Lawfully Peaceably and Quiettly have hold Possesse and Enjoye the said Tract or Parcell of Land and all and singuler other the Premisses with their Appurtenences without any Lett Hindrance Disturbance or Interrupion whatsoever of or by them the said Indian Proprietors or their heires or of any other Person or Persons Claymeing or that hereafter shall or may clayme by from or under them or either of them.

And that they shall and will upon reasonable Request and demand made by the said Stephanus Van Cortlandt Give and Deliver Peaceably and Quietly Possession of the said Tract or Parcell of Land and Premisses or of some Parte thereof for and in the name of the whole unto such Person or Persons as by the said Stephanus V. Cortlandt shall be appointed to Receive the same

In Witnesse whereof the said Sakaghkeineik Sachem of Haverstraw Werekepes Saquoghharup Kakeros and Kaghtsikroos the Indians owners and Proprietors aforesaid have hereunto Sett their hands and Seales in New Yorke the 13th day of July in the thirty-fifth yeare of his Ma[tie]s Reigne Anno Domin 1683.

Signed Sealed and Delivered
in the Presence of Uss
By Sakaghkeineck, Werekepes & Kaghtsikroos
Fredryck Flypssen
Gulain Verplancke
John Weis
My Marke
†
Mantion

the mark of
Sakaghkeineck † Sachem
of Haverstraw
The marke of
†
Werekepes
The Marke of
†
Kaghtsikroos"

The last purchase which Stephanus Van Cortlandt is known to have made, was a tract on the east side of the Hudson, then belonging to "Hew MacGregor, Gentleman, of the City of New York," who previously obtained it from the Indians. The original deed from MacGregor is among the Van Wyck papers and bears date the 13th day of July 1695, only two years and twenty-five days before the date of the Grant of the Manor. It is a full covenant warrantee deed, signed by both Hew McGregor and Stephanus Van Cortlandt, the witnesses being Johannus Kip, Theunis De Key, and John Barclay. The consideration mentioned is "a certain summ of good and lawfull money." And the premises conveyed are thus described—"All that certain tract of land situate, lying, and being up Hudson's River on the East side thereof, beginning at the East side of the land late belonging to Jacob De Key and Company at a Creek called Pohotasack and so along a creek called by the Indyans Paquingtuk and by the Christians John Peak's Creek to another creek called by the Indyans Acquasimink, including two small water ponds called Wenanninissios and Wachiehamis, Together with all and singular meadows, marshes, woods, underwoods, waters, ponds, water-courses, improvements, privileges, hereditaments and appurtenances whatsoever to the said Tract of land and premises belonging or appertaining."

How extensive an area this description embraced cannot be stated its terms being too vague, but is was a very large tract lying east of the eighteen hundred acre tract called Sachus, or Sachoes, and known as "Rycke's Patent," which embraced the present village of Peeks Kill and its immediate neighbourhood, the fee of which was not owned by Stephanus van Cortlandt, although within the limits of the Manor, and subject to its jurisdiction, till 1770, when it was granted by special act a civil organization of its own, as will be hereafter shown.

These lands including all his purchases upon both sides of the Hudson River were granted and confirmed, to Stephanus van Cortlandt, June 17th, 1697, by the Manor-Grant of the Manor of Cortlandt. Its

[1] Now called Snakehole Creek.
[2] The Creek South of Snakehole Creek.
[3] Now called Iona Island.

boundaries as therein stated are thus set forth, "a certain tract and parcell of Land situate Lying and being upon the East side of Hudson's River, Beginning on the North Line of the Mannor of Philipseburghe, now in the tenour[1] and occupation of Fredrick Phillipse, Esqr., one of the Members of our said Councill, and to the south side of a Certain Creeke called Kightawank Creek,[2] and from thence by a Due East Line Runing into the woods Twenty English miles, and from the said north line of the Mannor of Philipseburghe upon the south side of said Kightawank Creek running along the said Hudson River Northerly, as the said River runs, unto the North side of a High Hill in the highlands commonly called and Known by the Name of Anthony's Nose, to a Red Ceader tree, Which Makes the South Bounds of the Land now in y^e^ tenour and occupation of Mr. Adolph Phillipse[3] Including in the said Northerly Line all the Meadows, Marches, Coves, Bays, and Necks of Land and pennensulaes that are adjoining or Extending into Hudson's River within the Bounds of the said Lines, and from said red ceader tree another Due Easterly Line Runing into the Woods Twenty English Miles, and from thence along the Partition Line between our Colony of Conecticut and this Our Province untill you come into the place where the first Easterly Line of twenty miles Doth Come, the Whole being Bounded on the East by the said Partition Line between our said Collony of Conecticut and this our Province, and on the south side by the Northerly Line of the Mannor of Philipseburghe to southward of Kightawank Creeke aforesaid, and on the west by the said Hudson's River, and on the North side from the aforesaid red ceader tree by the south Line of the Land of Mr. Adolf Phillipse. And also a Ceartain parcel of Meadow Lying and being situate upon the West side of Hudson's River Within the said High Lands over against the aforesaid Hill called Anthony's Nose, Beginning on the South side of a creek called by the Indians Sinkeepogh, and so along said Creeke to the head thereof and then Northerly along the high hills as the River Runeth to another Creeke Apinnapink, and from thence along said Creeke to the said Hudson's River."

From this description we are able to see the outline and appreciate the extent, and area, of this magnificent Manor of Cortlandt, which contained on the East side of the Hudson River 86,213 acres, and on the West side at least 1,500 acres, making altogether the enormous total of Eighty-seven thousand seven hundred and thirteen acres of land.

About two years after receiving the Grant of the Manor Stephanus van Cortlandt, following the usual, and the wise, rule of the day in such matters, (the reason of which has been fully explained in the beginning of this essay in speaking of the Native owners of the County)[4] obtained from the Indian dwellers upon the lands of his grant as a whole, a special deed of confirmation. This Instrument is very important as it states specifically the lands in, and the bounds of, the region embraced in the Manor of Cortlandt. It is dated the 8th of August 1699, and is in there words;

Indian Deed of Confirmation of the Manor of Cortlandt.

"We, Sachima-Wicker, Sachem of Kightawonck," (and twenty two other Indians seven of whom were squaws) "all right, just, natural owners and proprietors of all the land hereinafter mentioned, lying and being within the bounds and limits of the Mannor of Cortlandt, &c., have sold, for a certain sum of money, all that tract and parcel of land, situate, lying, and being in the Mannor of Cortlandt, in West Chester County, beginning on the South side Kightawonck Creek, and so along the said Creek to a place called Kewighecock[5], and from thence Northerly along a Creek called Peppeneghek[6] to the head thereof, and then due east to the limits of Connecticut, being the easternmost bounds of said Mannor, and from thence Northerly along the limits of Connecticut aforesaid to the river Mutighticus[7] ten miles, and from thence due west to Hudson's river, together with all the lands soils &c &c.[8] The witnesses were John Naufau (the Lieut. Governor) Abraham De Peyster, James Graham, and A. Livingston.

Thus Stephanus van Cortlandt became the undisputed and acknowledged Lord of "The Lordship and Manor of Cortlandt."

There were two small parcels of land within the above general limits of the Manor, the soil of which was not owned by either Stephanus van Cortlandt or his heirs, one of eighteen hundred acres and one of three hundred, the latter fronting on the north side of Peekskill bay, the former on the Hudson River between Verplank's Point and Peekskill creek. The former was the tract known as "Ryke's Patent." Its Indian name was "Sachus," or "Sackhoes," and it was purchased of the Indians on the 21st of April, 1685, under a license dated March 6, 1684, from Governor Dongan, by Richard Abrams, Jacob Abrams, TeunisDekey or De Kay, Seba, Jacob and John Harxse;[9] and on the 23rd of December, 1685, a patent was granted to these purchasers and one or two others for this tract, in which it is thus described:—"All that certain tract or parcel of land, situate, lying, and being on Hudson's River at a certain place called by

[1] Tenure.

[2] The Croton River.

[3] A brother of Frederick Phillipse. The tract was called "Phillipse's Upper Patent," and included almost all of what is now Putnam County.

[4] Ante p. 34.

[5] Or Kewightequack, as spelled on the Map of the Manor.

[6] Now Cross River, an eastern branch of the Croton.

[7] Now called the Titicus.

[8] Book I of Indian Deeds, 88, Sec. of State's offi. Albany.

[9] So spelled and named in the original petition to Dongan for the Patent in vol. 2 of Land Papers of 1683, Sec. of State's Office, Albany.

the Indians Sachus, and stretching by the north side of Stephanus van Cortlandt, his land up to the said river, to another creek, and so runs up said creek in several courses, to a certain tree marked T. R. west of the aforesaid creek which lies by Stephanus van Cortlandt's land, including all the meadows both fresh and salt within said bounds, containing in all 1800 acres or thereabouts." The tenure like that of the Manor was "in free and common soccage according to the tenure of East Greenwich in the County of Kent in his Majesties Kingdom of England." The quit rent was "ten bushels of good winter merchantable wheat yearly, on the five and twentieth day of March [New Years Day according to the then "old style"] in the city of New York.[1]

From Richard Abrahamsen one of the six patentees this tract derives its name of Ryke's Patent, "Ryke" being a Dutch abbreviation of Richard, he having subsequently acquired the shares of several of the original owners.[2] From him and his brother Jacob Abrahamsen of "Upper Yonckers," their title passed by purchase to Hercules Lent who also acquired finally the title to the whole 1800 acres. Hercules Lent devised the patent in several parcels among his children and grandchildren by will in 1766.[3] The name of Lent is still very common in the neighborhood of Peekskill to this day, and some of the name still own portions of the original tract. The 300 acre tract, which was of little importance, fronted on the inner and upper part of Peekskill bay, and became prior to 1732 the property of John Krankhyte. Both these pieces are shown, colored in pink, on the accompanying map of the Manor of Cortlandt.

The earliest traces of the settlement of any part of the Manor was that at the trading station with the Indians, which resulted in the erection of the stone fortified building, at the north side of the mouth of the Croton, which subsequently became the present Manor House. The largest Indian village was upon the high flat at the neck of the peninsula of Senasqua, or Tellers, or Croton Point, which unites it with the main land, and over which now runs the River Road. Hence for convenience sake the Dutch traders sought the landing place of the Indians, in the sheltered North side of the Estuary of the Croton, then an open bay without the sedge flats which now nearly fill it. Here too was subsequently established the ancient ferry and ferry house, as the population, and the traffic, up and down the Hudson, began to grow and increase. The next point of settlement was about the mouth of the Peekskill Creek, and in the tract called Ryke's Patent. The method of settlement adopted by Van Cortlandt was the same as that, which was adopted by the early Dutch colonists, and subsequently continued by the English. What it was we learn from the "Information relative to taking up Land in New Netherland in the form of Colonies, or private bonweries" written in 1650 by Secretary Tienhoven, for the information of the States-General of Holland. "Before beginning to build" he says, "'Twill above all things be necessary to select a well located spot, either on some river or bay, suitable for the settlement of a village or hamlet. This is previously properly surveyed and divided into lots, with good streets according to the situation of the place. This hamlet can be fenced all round with high palisades, or long boards, and closed with gates." * * "Outside the village or hamlet, other land must be laid out which can in general be fenced and prepared at the most trifling expense."

"In a Colonie each farmer has to be provided by his landlord with at least one yoke of oxen or with two mares in their stead, two cows, one or two sows for the purpose of increase, the use of the farm, and the support of his family." * * "And as it is found by experience in New Netherland that farmers can with difficulty obtain from the soil enough to provide themselves with necessary victuals and support, those who propose planting colonies must supply their farmers and families with necessary food for at least two or three years, if not altogether, it must be done at least in part." Then the proprietor had to furnish mechanics of all kinds, carpenters, smiths, wheelwrights, millers, and boat builders, and if possible a doctor, and a clergyman or school master. In this document, there are descriptions of a few regions in New Netherland which he mentions as well adapted for settlement and among them, that of the eastern and northern part of West Chester county comprising the subsequent Manors of Cortlandt, the upper part of Philipsburgh, and lands immediately adjacent to them and the Manors of Scarsdale and Pelham. The region is thus mentioned, "The country on the East River between Greenwich and the Island Manhattans is for the most part covered with trees, but yet flat and suitable land, with numerous streams and vallies, right good soil for grain, together with fresh hay and meadow lands.

Wiequaeskeck, on the North River, five leagues above New Amsterdam, is very good and suitable land for agriculture, very extensive maize land, on which the Indians have planted. Proceeding from the shore and inland 'tis flat and mostly level, well watered by small streams and running springs. It lies between the East and North Rivers, and is situate between a rivulet of Sintinck and Armonk."[4]

This is the first topographical description of the upper part of the county that exists. Written twenty-seven years before Stephanus von Cortlandt obtained his license of 1677, and thirty-three before he made his

[1] Lib. A. of Patents, Sec. of State's Off., 114. Lib. I., West. Co., Reg. Off., 145.

[2] The "Von Rycken" origin of this name, given in Bolton's History, is fanciful.

[3] Lib. 25, Wills, N. Y. Surr. Off., 337.

[4] I. Col. Hist. 365–370. These streams were the Sing Sing creek and the Byaom river.

first purchase of its northern part from the Indians, it gives us a good idea of the clear-headedness and shrewdness of the man, and the obligations he took upon himself in undertaking to settle the tract. He undoubtedly did a good deal in bringing in inhabitants and stock, between 1683, the date of his first purchase, and 1697, the date of his Manor-grant. Here it was that he erected the mills, mentioned (in the plural) in his will, dated three years later in 1700, the year of his death, which by both Dutch and English law the Patroons and the Lords of Manors were bound to provide for the benefit of their tenants. Had Stephanus von Cortlandt lived to be seventy-five or eighty years old, like so very many of his descendants in every generation, instead of dying at fifty-seven, leaving a large family, mostly minors, it is probable that he would have left his manor as flourishing and as populous in proportion as that of Rensselaerswyck at the same date.

The general franchises and privileges of a Manor having already been described, those only which were peculiar to this particular Manor of Cortlandt will be mentioned here. The Rent Service on which the Manor was held, was "Forty shillings current money of our said Province" (five dollars), payable "at our city of New York on the feast day of the Annunciation of our blessed Virgin Mary." The peculiar franchises of the Manor of Cortlandt were two only, the Rangership of the Manor, and the right to be represented by its own member in the General Assembly after the expiration of twenty years next ensuing the date of the Manor Grant, the 17th of June 1697. In this as in all the other Manor-Grants was a clause giving to the Lord and his heirs the right for his tenants to meet and choose assessors and provide for public charges in accordance with the general laws of the Province.

Like all the other Manor-Grants silver and gold mines were excepted from the grant and reserved to the Crown. This reservation was actually acted upon by the Crown in the case of this Manor. And the last century a Crown-grant was made of a silver mine which was discovered just by Sing Sing village. But space will not permit more than this mention of the fact.

"Rangers" were sworn officers of the Crown, to whom were granted by the Sovereign the "Royal rights or franchises, of waifs, estrays, hunting, royal fish, treasure trove, mines, deodands, forfeitures, and the like. They were appointed, either, by a special royal grant, over a special district, which was the more usual, or else, as in this instance, the franchise was named among others in the grant of a Manor. The appointment by Governor Hunter on September 4th, 1710, of Major Thomas Jones, of Fort Neck, Queens County, the grandfather of Judge Thomas Jones the author of the "History of New York during the Revolutionary War" as 'Ranger-General of Long Island' is an instance of the former. That of Stephanus van Cortlandt in his Manor-Grant of Cortlandt one of the latter. Its value to the Lord of Cortlandt was, that it gave him the regulation and absolute control of the methods of Hunting and Fishing, throughout the Manor, the forests and waters of which were remarkable for their more than great numbers of deer, beaver, wild turkies, wild geese swans, ducks, and other feathered game, and the great-plenty of salmon, shad, herrings, and striped bass, which filled the Hudson, to say nothing of the trout, black bass, and pickerel of its beautiful fresh water lakes and streams, which gemmed in clear brilliance the vales and glades of the Manor amid its bold lofty hills, and dark, magnificent forests.

The other special franchise was that of sending a Representative to the General Assembly. This was a franchise of so high a character that it was granted to but two more out the many New York Manors, those of Rensselaerswyck in 1705 and Livingston in 1715, the former eight years, the latter eighteen years, after the grant to Cortlandt. The franchise in this case was not to be enjoyed till after the lapse of twenty years from the date of the Manor-Grant, June 17th 1697, that is until after June 17th, 1717. The reason of this was to allow a sufficient time to elapse for the coming in of a population numerous enough to require a representative.

In 1697 when the Manor was erected, except a few white people near the mouth of the Croton, and near Verplanck's Point, the whole Manor was occupied by the Indians. True, their title to the lands had been duly purchased, but, as in almost all Indian purchases a right to hunt and fish and plant corn, was practically reserved by the Indians. And this the whites always acknowledged. In consequence the entry of the whites was extremely gradual. Therefore, until people enough to require a representative had settled upon the Manor there was no need of one.

It was not until 1734, however, that the heirs of Stephanus van Cortlandt, who had died in 1700, chose to avail themselves of this privilege of representation. In that year at their instance Mr. Philip Verplanck[1] was chosen to represent the Manor in the General Assembly. The admission of its Members to the Assembly is interesting and curious. On the 10th of June 1734, says the Journal of the House, "Philip Verplanck, Esq., attending without, was called in, and produced to the House, an indenture that he was duly elected a Representative for the Manor of Cortlandt, in this present Assembly, as likewise the Letters Patent of the said Manor dated in the year 1697, whereby a Power and Privilege [was] granted to choose said Representative living within the same, to commence twenty years after its date—*Ordered*, that the same be taken into consideration to-morrow morning." The next day, the eleventh, the House resolved that Mr.

[1] The husband of Gertrude, only child of Johannes (John) van Cortlandt, the eldest son of Stephanus, which Johannes was then dead.

Verplanck "be admitted as a member of this House for the said Manor as soon as an act is passed for that purpose, and that leave be given him to bring in a bill accordingly." Four days afterwards, on the 15th of June 1734, "Mr. De Lancey" (Etienne or Stephen De Lancey, the first of that family in America, then the first named of the four members for the City of New York, a son-in-law and one of the heirs of Stephanus van Cortlandt) "according to leave presented to this House a bill entitled, *An Act* for regulating the choice of a Representative for the Manor of Cortlandt in the County of Westchester; which was read the first time and ordered to be read the second time. Two days later, on the 17th, in the morning session, the bill was read a second time and referred to the Committee of the Whole. In the afternoon session of the same day "Col. Lewis Morris, Jr.,[1] from the Committee of the whole House reported the bill with an amendment, "which were read and agreed unto by the House," and the same ordered to be engrossed. Five days later the Governor (Cosby) gave his assent to the bill and it was, with nine others, "published at the City Hall." After which and on the same day, on motion, Mr. Verplanck was admitted as the Representative for the Manor of Cortlandt. He was then called into the House, and Messrs. Le Count and Van Kleck were directed to go with Mr. Verplanck before the Governor, and see him take the oaths and subscribe the Declaration according to Law. This was done, and on their return Mr. Le Count reported that the duty had been performed, whereupon it was, "*Ordered*, that the said Mr. Philip Verplanck take his place as a Member of this House accordingly."[2] It is easy to see from these proceedings that the Assembly was very jealous of its own privileges, and careful to see that the admission was strictly according to law.

The Act itself consists of a long preamble and four sections, the last of which was the "amendment" added in Committee of the Whole. It is recited in the preamble that Mr. Verplanck had been elected "pursue ant to a Writ lately issued to the Freeholders of and in the said Manor," and it then gives the reason for enacting the law in these words;—"But inasmuch as the Heirs of the said Stephanus van Cortlandt, by Reason of the said Manor's remaining undivided among them, and otherwise, had not, untill very lately, asserted and claimed their said Privilege; and there not being sufficient Provision made in the said Grant for the regulating and orderly chusing such Representative, some Debates and Controversies did arise in the House of Representatives,[3] upon the Return made to them of the choice of the said Philip Verplanck as aforesaid; and thereupon for the regular admission of the said Philip, it was ordered that he should have leave to bring in a bill for that purpose; Wherefore and to the end such Representative may be more orderly and duly elected for the future." It was enacted;—first, that Verplanck's election should be confirmed; second, that the Freeholders of the Manor should elect "a fit and discreet Inhabitant and Freeholder" of the Manor to represent it in the Assembly; third that the Returning officer of the Manor should hold the elections precisely as the High Sheriff held the elections in the County, and be empowered to administer the same oaths;[4] and fourth and last, the amendment reported by Col. Lewis Morris, Jr., which as it is both curious and interesting, is here given in full; IV. *Provided and Be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid*, That the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the said Manor of Cortlandt, shall at all times pay the Wages of their own Representative; and that nothing herein contained shall exempt them from paying their due and equal proportion of the Wages of the Deputies or Representatives for the County of Westchester, and of all other the annual publick, and necessary charges of the same County."[5] It is certainly very evident that the Assembly of 1734 did not believe in Representation without *double* taxation. There was probably some jealousy, or political feeling at the bottom of the insertion of this provision, for three years later, in 1737 it was unconditionally repealed by an Act passed on the 16th of December in that year,[6] except as to the general County charges. This act also fixed the "Wages" of the Representative of the Manor at "Six shillings for every day he attends the Service of the said Assembly," and expressly provided that the Inhabitants of the Manor should "only pay the charges and Wages of their own Representative."

It also provided for the annual election in the Manor of "one Supervisor, one Treasurer, two Assessors, and one Collector" with all the powers and duties of those officers in the Counties of the Province, pursuant to "The Act" of William and Mary of 1691, "for defraying the public charges of the Province, maintaining the poor, and preventing vagabonds." This was the first time these officers became necessary in the Manor.

Elected and admitted to his seat under this franchise in 1734, Philip Verplanck was constantly re-elected to subsequent Assemblies and sat for the Manor of Cortlandt continuously up to the year 1768, the long period of thirty-four years. A continuous period of service without a parallel in Province of New York, and which has never occurred under the State of New York. The nearest approach to it under the State Government, singularly enough, being

[1] Son of the Chief justice of the same name.

[2] See journals of the Assembly vol. I. pages 666 to 669 for these proceedings.

[3] This term "House of Representatives" so familiar to all Americans now, was the term always used in New York in colony times, to distinguish the Assembly officially.

[4] See pp. 110, 111, *Ante*.

[5] I. V. S. Laws, chap. 607, p. 183.

[6] I. V. S. Laws, ch. 654, p. 192.

that of the distinguished, and very able, gentleman, who has, in our own day, represented this same Manor of Cortlandt and the portions of the County adjoining it, now the third Assembly District of Westchester County of which he is a native, for 16 years in the Assembly 11 of which were of continuous service, the Honorable James W. Husted of Peekskill; and who in the Assembly of this present year—1886—now presides over that Body as its speaker,—the fourth time to which he has been chosen to that high office.[1] Mr. Verplanck having died and Sir Henry Moore the Governor having dissolved the old Assembly on the 6th of February 1768, writs for a new election were issued on the 10th of February returnable on the 22d of March following, between which dates the new election was held, in the manner that has been before described, and "Pierre Van Cortlandt Esq." was duly elected representative for the Manor, and took his seat at the opening of the session on the 27th of October 1768.[2] This Assembly was a very short one, having been dissolved by the same Governor on the 2d of January 1769. New writs for a new election were issued on the 4th of the same month returnable on the 14th of the ensuing February.[3] The election in the manor took place on the 1st of February 1769 "Pierre Van Cortlandt Esq." being again elected. The following is a copy of the "return" of the election under the hands and seals of the returning officers, and as showing the method in use in Colony days is of much interest. It is endorsed "Copy of Indenture certifying the election of Pierre Van Cortlandt Esq^{r}. to serve as Representative of the Manor—1769."

Indenture of Election.

"This Indenture made and concluded this first day of February in the Ninth year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George the Third by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France and Ireland King, Defender of ye Faith, etc., and In the year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty-Nine—With and Between Joshuah Traviss Constable of the one Part and Jeremiah Traviss, Charles Moore, Joseph Traviss, Abraham Purdy and John Stevens, Principal Freeholders of the Manor of Cortland of the Other Part, Witnesseth that the said Constable in obedience to His Majesties Writ to him directed bearing Date the Fourth day of Jannary did give Public Notice to the Freeholders of the said Manor of Cortland who assembled and met Together on the First Day of February and by Plurality of Voices made Choice of Pierre Van Cortlandt, Esq., one of the Principal Freeholders of the Said Manor to be the Representative to Assist the Captain General or Commander-in-Chief of the Province of New-York In General Assembly for Said Province, on the Fourteenth day of February. In Testimony Whereof we have hereinto set our Hands and Seals this day and year First Above Written.

Joseph Traviss, [L. S.] Joshuah Traviss, Constable [L. S.] Abram Purdy, [L. S.] Jeremiah Traviss, [L. S.] John Stevens, [L. S.] Charles Moore, [L. S.][4]

This Assembly was the last elected in the Province of New York, and sat till 1775. Pierre Van Cortlandt sat for the Manor during its whole existence.

In 1756 the population had so increased that an act was passed reciting the fact and authorizing the election of two Constables, one from those "having Habitations near Hudson's River," and the other from those whose "Habitations" were "on the Eastern parts of said Manor."[5]

By 1768 the numbers of the people had so much more increased that, the last mentioned act was amended by authorizing the election of three Constables, and dividing the Manor into three "Divisions" or Wards, each of which was to elect one of the three constables. The first of these "division" contained all the Manor West of the east bonds of North lot No. I. and South lot No. I., North of the Croton River, and *West* of the West bounds of lot No. 8 on the South of the Croton. The second division, lay east of the first, and *West* of the West bounds of North lot No. 8 and South lot No. 8, and *West* of the East bounds of lot No. 10 South of the Croton. The third was all the rest of the Manor East of the East bounds of the second division.[6] This act also provided for the annual election of "Overseers of Roads" in each of the above divisions and specified their powers and duties.[7]

In all these elections, and public actions under the foregoing laws, the inhabitants of the Krankhyte 300 acre tract, and of Ryke's Patent were included, being political portions of the Manor of Cortlandt, although the fee of the soil was in the owners of the patents solely. Several of the Manors in New York likewise embraced within their limits in the political sense, small parcels of land not owned in fee by their proprietors, in the same way. By 1770 the people in Ryke's Patent had so increased in number, that an act was passed on the 27th of January in that year, for their special benefit which provided "that for the better defraying the common and necessary charges of Ryke's Patent in the Manor of Cortlandt in Westchester County," the Freeholders thereof should elect on the first Tuesday in every April, one Supervisor, one Constable, one Assessor, one Poor-Master, two Fence-Viewers, one Pound-Master, and one or more Surveyors of Highways, with all the powers and

[1] For one year of Mr. Husted's service in the Assembly, he sat for Rockland County directly across the Hudson.

[2] Assembly Journals of 1768, 3.

[3] Assembly Journals of 1769, p. 3, By a printer's error the Journals make the issue of the new Writs the "14th," instead of the "4th" of January, 1769.

[4] The original is among the Van Cortlandt papers.

[5] I. V. S. Laws, Ch. 1015, p. 359.

[6] These divisions are often spoken of in the documents of that day, as the three wards of the Manors.

[7] II. V. S. Laws, Ch. 1378, p. 529.

duties and subject to the same pains and penalties of the like officers under the Laws of the Colony.[1]

A singular law in regard to the Manor, as it appears to us now, was one passed the 13th of December, 1763, which enacted that in case any person whatsoever "shall carry on the Practice of Inoculation for the Small-Pox in the Manor of Cortlandt within the Distance of Half a Mile of any Dwelling House he shall forfeit the sum of *Twenty Pounds* ($50.) for every such offence, upon proof before a Justice of the Peace, one-third to go to the prosecutor, and the other two thirds "for the use of the Poor in the Said Manor." The patient had consequently to go through the operation and subsequent treatment, either in a barn or a shanty in the woods.

The Manor of Cortlandt was erected on the 17th of June, 1697. Stephanus van Cortlandt its first and only Lord died on the 25th of November 1700. Three years and about five months only did he possess it. This time was too short for any practical development of its Manor privileges, all that he seems to have done, was to make the stone trading house situated at or rather near, the northern terminus of the ferry across the mouth of the Croton River, better adapted to its purposes, to bring in some farmers and mechanics, and build mills. Precisely when this house was built is uncertain, but probably about 1683. Van Cortlandt's home was in New York, and this first building was intended as a station for Indian traffic. Naturally it became his place of temporary residence when visiting his lands after his first purchase, either for business, pleasure, or the enjoyment of hunting and fishing. It is a tradition that Governor Dongan often visited this region for the latter purposes, as he was a sportsman in his tastes, a thorough gentleman and a great personal friend of van Cortlandt. Dongan was fond of flowers and fruit culture, and he introduced a kind of apple into this region still known in the Manor District as the "Dongan Apple." Subsequently the House was enlarged and became the still existing well known "Manor House of Cortlandt's Manor." From the days of Stephanus to the present hour it has ever continued to be the property and the residence of one of his family and his name, and ever the scene of a continued, and generous hospitality. The main part of the structure is built of reddish free-stone, with a high basement and walls nearly three feet thick. The roof is a rather low pitched one, in the Dutch style with dormer windows. A piazza of modern construction, extends along the entire front above the high basement. It stands on the brow of a declivity sloping to, and overlooking, the wide estuary of the Croton River, and commands a magnificent view, to the southwest of the wide Tappan Sea of the Hudson, and its striking, beautiful, bold, and almost mountainous scenery. It was originally pierced with T shaped openings for defence, in case of hostile attacks, and one or two of them have been kept unwalled up, as a matter of interest, to this day. The ancient ferry near which it was built was then and long after the only method of crossing the Croton River from the south to the north, west of Pine's Bridge near the centre of the present Artificial Croton Lake, a distance of several miles. That bridge was not built till late in the 18th century. To the death of Stephanus van Cortlandt so shortly after the erection of his lands into a Manor, is probably to be ascribed the fact, that there are no records to show whether he ever organized his Manorial Courts. The probability is, from the then sparseness of the inhabitants, that he did not. Nor before his death, was there sufficient time to have introduced very many new settlers. We know however that all the privileges and franchises of the Manor, general and political, were enjoyed by his heirs, or their assigns during the whole Colonial era.

It will be remembered, that, by the terms of the surrender of New Netherland to the English under Nicolls in 1664, and afterwards under the provisions of the treaty of Breda in 1667, the Roman-Dutch law of inheritance was guaranteed to the new Netherland colonists. Hence it was, that when Stephanus Van Cortlandt died on the 25th of November, 1700, his will made on the 14th of the preceding April, was found to be in accordance with that law, and not with the law of England. Very ample and honorable provisions was made for his wife, both, in case she wished to marry again, or in case she did not, the latter of which proved to be the case, although she outlived her husband nearly four and twenty years. The peninsula of Verplanck's Point was devised to his eldest son Johannes, and all the rest of his property of all kinds was divided equally among all his surviving children, eleven in number, including Johannes. The devise of Verplanck's Point was all that Johannes received in addition to the others in virtue of his being the eldest son.[2] Had it not been for the terms of surrender and the treaty this eminently just will could not have been made, nor could the action under it which the widow and children adopted, have been taken.

Before describing that action and its results, it is necessary to state who Stephanus Van Cortlandt was, who was his father, what his family, and who were his children.

Stephanus Van Cortlandt was the eldest of the two sons, Stephanus and Jacobus (Stephen and James), of Oloff, (or Oliver), Stevens Van Cortlandt, the first of that name in America, by his wife Annetje (Ann) Lockermans. He was born at his father's house in "Brouwer," now Stone, street, in New Amsterdam on the seventh of May, 1643, and was baptized three days later, or the eleventh, in the Dutch church in the Fort. He married on the tenth of September, 1671, in his 28th year, Gertrude, daughter of Philip Pie-

[1] II. V. S. Laws, Ch. 1459, p. 576.

[1] The will is recorded in the N. Y. Surr. Off., Lib. 2 of Wills, p. 78.

terse Schuyler, of Albany; and died, as has been stated on the twenty-fifth day of November, 1700, at the comparatively early age of fifty-seven years, leaving him surviving his wife and eleven children.

His father, Oloff Stevens, or Stevense, van Cortlandt, came to New Netherland, a soldier in the service of the West India Company, arriving there in the Ship Haring (The Herring) with Director Kieft on the 28th of March, 1638.[1]

He was a native ot Wijk, a small town in the province of Utrecht, in Holland. But of the origin of his family nothing is definitely known. He had a good education and the positions he subsequently held, his seal with the van Cortlandt arms, still in the possession of his descendants, as well as articles of Dutch plate bearing the same arms, show that his position was good, and that of a gentleman. He remained only a short time in the military service, having been appointed by Kieft in 1639 "Commissary of Cargoes," or customs officer, and in 1643, Keeper of the Public Stores, of the West India Company, a responsible position under the provisions of the Charters of Freedoms and Exemptions, being the Superintendent of the collection of the Company's Revenue in New Amsterdam, most of which was paid in furs. In 1648 he resigned from this official position, was made a freeman of the City, and entered upon the business of a merchant and brewer, in which he was eminently successful, becoming one of the richest men in New Amsterdam. In 1649 he was chosen Colonel of the Burgher Guard, or City train Bands, and also appointed one of the "Nine Men" a temporary representative board elected by the citizens.[2] In 1654 he was elected Schepen, or a Alderman, and the next year, 1655, appointed Burgomaster, or Mayor, of New Amsterdam. This office he filled nearly uninterruptedly till the capture by the English in 1664, at which he was one of the Commissioners appointed by Director Stuyvesant to negotiate the terms of Surrender, was prominent in their settlement, and the document bears his signature with those of the other Commissioners. He was also engaged in several temporary public matters as a Councillor and Commissioner during the administration of Director Stuyvesant, notably in the Connecticut boundary matter in 1663, and the settlement of Capt. John Scott's claim to Long Island in 1664. He acted in similar capacities under the first English Governors, Nicolls, Lovelace, and Dongan, and was chosen the Trustee of Lovelace's estate to settle it up in 1673. He married on the 26th of February, 1642, Annetje Lockermans of Turnhout, near Antwerp, a sister of Govert Lockermans, who came out with Director von Twiller, in 1633, and was so prominent afterward in New Netherland affairs. "Govert Loockermans after filling some of the highest offices in the Colony," says O'Collughan, (vol. 2, p. 38, n.) died, worth 520,000 guilders, or $208,-000; an immense sum when the period in which he lived is considered." Oloff Stevense van Cortlandt died on the 4th of April, 1684, and his wife followed him about a month afterwards.[3] They had seven children, the oldest of whom was Stephanus, and the youngest Jacobus, who respectively, were the progenitors of all of the name now living. The former founded the oldest branch, the van Cortlandts of the Manor, the latter the younger branch, the van Cortlandts of Cortlandt House, Yonkers. The names of Oloff Stevense and Annetje van Cortlandt's seven children were:

1. Stephanus, born 7 May 1643, married Gertrude Schuyler.
2. Maria (Mary), born 30 July 1645, married Jeremias Van Rensselaer.
3. Johannes (John), born 11 Oct. 1648, died a bachelor.
4. Sophia, born 31 May 1651 married Andries Teller.
5. Catharine, born 25 Oct. 1652, married
   1. John Dervall,
   2. Frederick Philipse.
6. Cornelia, born 21 Nov. 1655, married Brandt Schuyler.
7. Jacobus, born 7 July 1658, married Eve Philipse.[4]

After the death of the oldest of these children, Stephanus, his Manor vested in his own surviving children as joint tenants under his will. Their Father, Stephanus van Cortlandt, the first and only Lord of the Manor, was one of the most eminent men of the Province of New York after it become an English Colony. Except the Governorship itself, he filled at one time or another every prominent office in that Province. And when Lt. Gov. Nicholson went to England at the outbreak of Leisler's insurrection and actual usurpation, to report in person to King William, he committed the Government itself in his absence, to Stephanus van Cortlandt and Frederick Philipse.[5] A fact that caused Leisler, to seek their lives and forced them to escape from the City of New York to save themselves. Space will not permit more than the briefest mention of the events of his career, perhaps the most brilliant and varied in the fifty-seven years it occupied, of any inhabitant of New York in the seventeenth century; and undoubtedly the first brilliant career that any native of New York ever ran. Born in New Amsterdam in 1643, he was a youth of twenty-one, when in 1664 the English capture took place and New Amsterdam became New

[1] I. O'Coll. 180. Alk. Rec. 1., 89. The Dutch troops in New Amsterdam were detachments from the regular army raised in Holland by the West India Company, and were changed from time to time.

[2] He was also one of the "Eight Men" a similar body, in 1645.

[3] The facts stated in this sketch are found in I. O'Call. 180 and 212. New Netherland Register under its several headings, and the II. vol. of the Colonial History. Also in Brodhead's History, both volumes. And the Lookerman's Family Bible in the library of the Bible Society of New York.

[4] Daughter of the first Frederick Philipse.

[5] III. Col. Hist. 675.

York. Brought up under the eye of his father, and educated by the Dutch clergymen of New Amsterdam,[1] whose scholarship was vastly higher than it has pleased modern writers to state, and which would compare favorably with that of the clergy of the nineteenth century, young van Cortlandt long before the death of his father in 1684, showed how well he had profited by the example of the one, and the learning of the others. He was a merchant by occupation. His first appointment was as a member of the Court of Assizes, the body instituted under "the Duke's Laws" over which Sir Richard Nicolls presided, and which, as we have seen, exercised both judicial and legislative powers. In 1668 he was appointed an Ensign in the Kings County Regiment, subsequently a Captain, and later its Colonel. From 1677 when at the age of 34 he was appointed the first Native American Mayor of the City of New York, he held that office almost consecutively till his death in 1700. When by the Duke of York's Commission and Instructions to Governor Dongan, a Governor's Council was established in New York, Stephanus van Cortlandt and Frederick Philipse were named by the Duke therein as Councillors, and with them Dongan was to appoint such others as he deemed fit for the office. His name was continued in each of the Commissions of all the succeeding Governors down to and including Bellomont's in 1697, and he continued in the office till his death in 1700. Early in this latter year he was appointed Chief Justice, but he only filled the office till his death in November of the same year. He had many years before been appointed Judge of the Common Pleas in Kings County, and later in 1693 a Justice of the Supreme Court. In 1686 Dongan made him Commissioner of the Revenue—and on the 10th of November, 1687, he was appointed by the King's, Auditor-General in England, William Blathwayt, Deputy Auditor in New York, his accounts being regularly transmitted to England and approved.

He was appointed also Deputy Secretary of New York and personally administered the office, the Secretary always residing in England, after the British custom. He was prominent in all the treaties and conferences with the Indians as a member of the Council, and was noted for his influence with them. His letters and despatches to Governor Andros, and to the different Boards and officers in England charged with the care of the Colonies and the management of their affairs, remain to show his capacity, clear headedness and courage.[2] Equally esteemed and confided in by the governments of James as Duke and King, and by William and Mary in the troublous times in which he lived, and sustained by all the Governors, even though, as in Bellomont's case, they did not like him personally, no greater proof could be adduced of his ability, skill, and integrity.

[1] III. Col. Hist. 588.

[2] In vols. III. and IV. of the Col. Hist. of N. Y.

With this sketch of their Father we pass to the disposition he made of his Great Manor among his children, and their management and final division of it among themselves:

The whole number of the children of Stephanus van Cortlandt and Gertrude Schuyler, his wife, who were married on the 10th of September 1671, were fourteen;

1. Johannes (John), born 24 Oct. 1672, married in 1695 Anne Sophia van Schaack and left one child Gertrude, who married Philip Verplanck grandson of Abraham Isaacsen Verplanck the first of that family in America.
2. Margaret, born 12 Aug. 1674, married to Col. Samuel Bayard only son of Nicholas Bayard the youngest of the three nephews of Gov. Stuyvesant.
3. Ann, born 13 Feb. 1676, married Etienne (in English Stephen) de Lancey, the first of that family in New York, where he arrived, a fugitive Huguenot, on the 7th of June, 1686.
4. Oliver, born 26 Oct. 1678, died a bachelor in 1708.
5. Maria (Mary), born 4 Apl. 1680, married 1st, Kilian van Rensselaer fourth Patroon, and first 'Lord of the Manor,' of Rensselaerswyck, and 2nd John Miln, M.D., of Albany.
6. Gertrude, born 10 Jan. 1681, died unmarried.
7. Philip, born 9 Aug. 1683, married Catherine de Peyster, daughter of the first Abraham. From this couple spring the *eldest* line of the *van Cortlandts*, now British subjects.
8. Stephen, born 11 Aug. 1685, married Catalina Staats. These were ancestors of the 'van Cortlandt of Second River' (the Passaic) New Jersey, now extinct in the males.
9. Gertrude, born 10 Oct. 1688, married Col. Henry Beekman. No issue.
10. Gysbert, born 1689, died young.
11. Elizabeth, born 1691, died young.
12. Elizabeth, 2d, born 24 May 1694, married Rev. Wm. Skinner of Perth Amboy.
13. Catharine, born 24 June 1696, married Andrew Johnston of New Jersey.
14. Cornelia, born 30 July 1698, married Col. John Schuyler of Albany. These were the progenitors of the Schuylers descended from Gen. Philip, who was their son, and from his brothers and sisters.[3]

[3] The genealogy above given is taken from a transcript of the entries in the van Cortlandt family bible, obtained from one of the eldest branch, the English one, by the late Gen. Pierre van C. of Croton in 1826 and

This large family, of which four sons and seven daughters lived to maturity, the latter of whom married into the first families of the Province, and three of the sons, (one having died a young bachelor) marrying into the same or allied families, formed a family connexion, of great extent and influence. It wielded a power, social and political, during the Colonial era which largely controlled the society and the politics of the Province, and in social matters its influence has continued to be felt to this day. All the married daughters, except Mrs. Beekman who had no issue, had large families, and those of the sons were also numerous. And when to these were added the children of Stephanus's younger brother Jacobus van Cortlandt of Yonkers, and their wives and husbands, it will be seen what an enormous family circle it was, and will explain why at this day all these families now so widely extended, are by the marriages and inter-marriages, among their descendants, so connected together as to form an almost inexplicable genealogical puzzle. In no other American colony did there exist any such great kinship. It also explains why nobody can write correctly the history of New York under the English, without first making himself, or herself, the master, or the mistress, of at least the leading facts of this kinship of the different governing families of that Province.

The political influence of these New York families is best shown by the following extract from William Smith's History of New York, a most partizan and prejudiced work, but which in this instance can be relied on, as the language is that of a political enemy, and was written to explain the worsting of his own side in the party contest of the day to which it refers. Speaking of the New York Assembly of 1752, and the influence of Chief Justice James de Lancey, Smith says, "It may gratify the curiosity of the reader to know, that of the Members of this Assembly Mr. Chief Justice De Lancey was nephew to Col. Beekman, brother to Peter De Lancey, brother-in-law of John Watts, cousin to Philip Verplanck and John Baptist Van Rensselaer; that Mr. Jones the Speaker, Mr. Richard, Mr. Walton, Mr. Cruger, Mr. Philipse, Mr. Winne, and Mr. Le Count, were of his most intimate acquaintances; and that these twelve, of the twenty-seven, which composed the whole house, held his character in the highest esteem. Of the remaining fifteen he only wanted one to gain a majority under his influence, than which nothing was more certain; for except Mr. Livingston who represented his own Manor, there was not among the rest a man of education or abilities qualified for the station they were in."[1]

"The Seven Miss van Cortlandts," as they were long collectively spoken of, were noted for their characteristic decision of character, good sense, personal beauty, and warm affection for each other. When their mother died in 1723, the list of her descendants and family relatives present, which is still preserved, is most surprising for its numbers, length and prominent names. The funeral took place in New York and was one of the largest ever seen in that city up to that day. Space will not permit any mention of its details here, interesting as they are.

Of these children of Stephanus van Cortlandt, the eleven who survived their Father, are thus named in his will in the order of their births, Johannes, Margaret, Ann, Oliver, Mary, Philip, Stephanus, Gertrude, Elizabeth, Katharine, and Cornelia. With the exception of the devise of Verplanck's Point to Johannes as being the eldest son, the whole real estate after the decease of his wife, he divided among his children equally. It was very large, for besides the Manor of Cortlandt, it included, lots and houses in New York, his share of the great Patent above the Highlands, a tract in Pennsylvania, and other lands owned in connexion with Gulian Verplanck, in Dutchess county, and some small pieces in other counties. It is only the Manor of Cortlandt that can here be treated of. His wife Gertrude was made "sole Executrix," and with her as guardian of the minor children, of whom there were several, as well as of the others, he appointed "my Brother Jacobus Van Cortlandt, my Brother [in law] Brant Schuyler, and my cousin William Nicolls,[2] to be Guardians, Tutors, and Overseers over my said children." The personal and mixed estate including "plate and jewels" was bequeathed "to my well beloved wife Gertrude," whom he charged with the payment of all debts and funeral charges. And to her were also given "the full and whole rents, issues, and profits of all and every part of my said houses, lands, mills, and other such Estate whatsoever, without giving or rendering any inventory or account thereof to any person whatsoever." The will was dated the 14th of April 1700, and was proved the 7th of January 1701. There was a custom among the Dutch people of New York, not to have the will of a deceased parent opened till after the expiration of a month from the day of the death, as a token of respect.[3] Then it was read in a family council, and immediately offered for probate. This custom was probably followed in this case. The Witnesses who proved the will were, Thomas Wenham, Rip Van Dam, John Abeel, Richard Stokes, and Andrew Teller jr., names familiar in New York to-day.[4]

The third clause, after devising all his real estate whatsoever and wheresoever to his eleven children above named their heirs and assigns respectively,

sent to the writers Grandfather John Peter de Lancey of Mamaroneck (the two gentlemen being second cousins) and now in the writers possession. It was printed by the writer in the Apl. No. , 1874, of the N. Y. Gen. & Biog Record.

[1] II. Smith's Hist. N. Y., 142, ed. of 1829.

[2] Son of Matthias Nicolls the first English Secretary of the Province, who had married Mrs. Van Rensselaer, widow of this Patroon.

[3] The writer has personally known instances of this custom, which in some families has come down to these days.

[4] Lib. 2 of Wills, N. Y. Surr. Off., pp. 78–84.

continues, "and it is my Desire and Appointment that the same houses, lands, and premises be Either Equally Divided amongst them my said children, or that they hold or enjoy the same in Common Amongst them, as my said children and Overseers and Guardians hereafter named shall judge and think most effectuall and proper for their best advantage, use, and benefit." The next clause directs "that upon a Division of my said houses, lands, mills, and other Real Estate, my Sons according to their priority of birth shall have the first choyce, alwayes allowing to the value of those parts they shall choose, that the respective partys and persons of my children may be made Equall in worth to one another."

The family was a very united one and deeply attached to the mother, who was a woman of a very affectionate, but strong, and decided, character. She never married again, but devoted herself to her children and their interests. Under these circumstances, very many of the children being minors at their father's death, and the above being the provisions of his will, it was determined, that the Manor should be kept in common and not divided. Ann, Mrs. de Lancey, and Margaret, Mrs. Bayard, were the only daughters married in their father's life-time, the former only in the January, and the latter only in the April, of the same year, 1700, in November of which he died. This determination continued not only during Mrs. van Cortlandt's life, which terminated in 1723, but up to the year 1730, when it was agreed to divide that part of the Manor lying north of the Croton River. During this period the population gradually increased, the rents were applied, in part, to its development in building of mills, the making of roads, and aiding those tenants who desired to take up lands, The few people brought in, and improvements undertaken, by Stephanus van Cortlandt between his first purchase and his death, were settled and made in the western portion of the Manor, along the river, and in its immediate neighbourhood. The progress was from west to east, not from east to west. The access to New York and from Albany was by water the landing places being at the ferry near the Manor House, and near the mouth of "John Peak's Creek" as well as at a spot south of the latter in Ryke's Patent. Johannes, or John, van Cortlandt the eldest son of Stephanus, had married Anna Sophia van Schaack of Albany, and had only one child a daughter who became the wife of Philip Verplanck son of Abraham Isaacsen Verplanck the first of that name in America. To her was devised by her Father at his death, the Point, from her husband's name called "Verplanck's Point," and his one eleventh interest in the Manor.[1] Oliver van Cortlandt, the second son of Stephanus, died in 1708, at the age of 30 years, a bachelor, and devised by will dated the 3d December, 1706, his entire share of his father's estate equally among his surviving brothers and sisters and their heirs.

Philip Verplanck was a man of good education, good ability, and one of the best surveyors in the Colony. To him his relatives entrusted the surveying and division into parcels of the whole Manor. How well and thoroughly he performed the duty his survey and map remain to attest to us to-day. The original of the latter disappeared, at a comparatively late day, but in 1774, before the American Revolution, a fac-simile copy (the oldest in existence, and often wrongly called the *original* Manor Map) was made from it by the well known surveyor of the City of New York of that period, Evert Bancker, and is now among the Van Wyck papers in the possession of that family; of which by their permission, a reduced copy accompanies this essay. To it are made all the references of parcels, lots, and owners herein mentioned. It speaks for itself of the ability of Philip Verplanck, who was the same Philip Verplanck mentioned above, who sat for the Manor of Cortlandt in the Assembly of the Province from 1734 to 1768, thirty-four years.

This survey was made in the spring of 1732, and is dated the thirtieth day of May in that year. The Agreement of the children and grandchildren to make a division of the estate was dated November the 13th 1730. It provided for a division into ten equal parts of the estates of Stephanus and his son Oliver, "and to that end all the said parties with an unanimous assent and consent did elect and choose Philip Ver planck, surveyor, to survey and lay out the same into thirty Lotts, by virtue of which nomination and appointment he the said Philip Verplanck did project and lay out the Greater part of the lands and meadow in the said Mannor into thirty Lotts, shares, and allotments," and made a map of the same, and the said parties "did further by the assistance of the said surveyor, and Daniel Purdy and Samuel Purdy, appraisers elected and chosen by all of them for that purpose, make a perfect dividend, separation, and division of the said thirty Lotts, shares, and allotments,"[1] which several shares were conveyed to each in October 1732, by partition deeds executed by all the parties to each other respectively. This division comprised only "the greater part of the manor lands."

In 1733 under the same articles of agreement, the parties in interest made in the same way, another division "of the other and remaining part of the lands aforesaid," into ten lots, and duly executed to each other similar deeds of partition dated November 1st, 1733. These two divisions, however, were confined to lands north of the Croton river about which there was no dispute. There were some lands of the manor

[1] Johannes has sometimes been called the "Second Lord of the Manor," but this is an error as the personal dignity was ended by the division made by Stephanus in his will.

[2] Recitals from one of the Deeds of partition to one of the heirs.

which had been encroached upon, others that had been entered upon by "squatters" who retained possession in spite of the owners, and others again adjoining adjacent tracts and patents, in which the boundary lines were contested. These had been omitted specifically from the first two Divisions on these accounts, and had continued to be held as undivided lands of the Manor. Some of these questions had been settled and others not, while the lands were held in this manner. At length, to settle all questions absolutely, and to effect a final division of these undivided lands and those south of the Croton river, a special agreement was entered into by all of the heirs as they stood, in 1753, in virtue of which a final disposition and distribution of the lands was effected, with some small exceptions.

At the first two divisions, the ten heirs who made them were these persons:—

1. Philip Verplanck, in right of Gertrude his wife.
2. Samuel Bayard, in right of Margaret his wife.
3. Stephen de Lancey, in right of Ann his wife.
4. Philip Van Cortlandt, of the Manor.
5. Stephen Van Cortlandt, of Second River, N. J.
6. John Miln, M.D., in right of Mary, (widow of Kilian Van Rensselaer) his wife.
7. Henry Beekman, and Gertrude, his wife.
8. William Skinner, in right of Elizabeth his wife.
9. Andrew Johnston, in right of Catherine his wife.
10. John Schuyler, Jr., in right of Cornelia his wife.

During the twenty years which elapsed between 1733, and the execution of the agreement for the division of 1753, changes by death had occurred, so that the heirs who joined in the latter were as follows:

1. Stephen Van Cortlandt (of Second River, N. J.).
2. John Miln, widower.
3. Henry Beekman and Gertrude his wife.
4. William Skinner and Elizabeth his wife.
5. Andrew Johnston, widower.
6. Cornelia Schuyler, widow.
7. Stephen Bayard, Nicholas Bayard, Samuel Bayard, sons, and Peter Kemble, son-in-law, James Van Horne, son-in-law, and Nicholas Van Dam and William Cockroft and Margaret his wife, grand children of Samuel and Margaret Van C. Bayard deceased.
8. The Honorable James de Lancey, of New York, Peter de Lancey, of Westchester, Oliver de Lancey of New York, Susannah Warren, widow of Sir Peter Warren, K.B., Admiral John Watts and Ann his wife, children of Stephen and Ann Van C. de Lancey deceased.
9. Stephen Van Cortlandt, Junr., and Pierre Van Cortlandt, of the Manor, children of Philip Van Cortlandt, dec^{d}.
10. Philip Verplanck and Gertrude his wife.

The method of the division of 1753 was a little different from that of the former ones. All the persons last above named in whom the undivided lands had vested in 1753, by lease and release, the latter dated the 14th of December in that year, conveyed them to Oliver de Lancey, John Watts, and John Van Cortlandt, in trust, to settle all disputes as to encroachments and trespasses on the lands, either by ejectment, or arbitration, as they saw fit; and all as to boundaries in the same way, and when the lands were recovered to sell the same and divide the proceeds among the heirs; and in case of all undisputed lands to have the same surveyed and divided equally among all the parties.

These details of these partitions and divisions have been taken from recitals in original deeds in possession of the Van Cortlandt, Van Wyck, and Kemble, families, and papers and documents in the writers own possession. In the Secretary of State's office in Albany, and in the Westchester County Register's office, at White Plains many of the original deeds may be found on record. The original release of 1753, last mentioned, is among the Van Wyck papers in the possession of that family.

The lands north of the Croton River were divided into two ranges called north and south "Great Lots" of the same Arabic numbers, from 1 to 10. Those north of the Croton but fronting on the Hudson River were called "Front lots" and were also numbered from 1 to 10. Number 11, was the tract on the west side of the Hudson. The lots south of the Croton were also numbered in the same way, and called "Lots South of Croton."

The fourth clause of the Will of Stephanus Van Cortlandt directed that when a division was decided upon it should be as follows: "ITEM. It is my will and appointment and Direction that upon a division of my s^{d} houses, lands, and mills, and other Real Estate my sons according to their priority of birth shall have the first choyce, alwayes allowing to the value of those parts they shall choose that the respective parties and persons of my children may be made Equall in worth one to another." Nothing is said as to how the daughters' shares should be chosen, which presumably was to be in the ordinary way, that is by lot. It is believed that when the first two divisions were made the sons first chose their parcels in the order of their births, and that the daughters drew lots for the remainder. But in whatever way these two divisions were made, the result was, that the following lots fell to the following named children—

To Philip Verplanck, Nos. two, and three of the South lots north of Croton, and No. two of the "Front Lots" on the Hudson.

To Samuel and Margaret Bayard, North lot No. three and South lot no. nine, North of Croton, and No. seven of the Front lots on the Hudson.

To Stephen deLancey, North lot No. ten, and South lot No 5, north of Croton, and Front lot No. six, on the Hudson.

To Philip Van Cortlandt, north lot No. six and South lot No. one, north of Croton, and Front lot No. one on the Hudson.

To Stephen Van Cortlandt, South lots Nos. six and seven, North of Croton, and Front lot No. 4 on the Hudson.

To John Miln,[1] North lots Nos. two and eight North of Croton and Front lot No. five on the Hudson.

To Gertrude Beekman, wife of Henry Beekman, North lot No. three, and South lot No. eight, North of Croton, and Front lot No. 10 on the Hudson.

To William Skinner, South lots Nos. four and ten north of Croton and Front lot No. three on the Hudson.

To Andrew Johnston, North lot Number one and Front lot Number nine on the Hudson.

To John Schuyler jr, North lots Nos. four and nine north of Croton, and Front lot No. nine on the Hudson.

It is easy to see, from the choice of the sons in this division and the extra value that must have been put upon the lots which fell to Andrew Johnston, to equalize, that, the lots on and nearest the Hudson were then deemed the most valuable and desirable.

When Verplanck's Map was made the ten lots *South* of the Croton, shown in it were not included in the "thirty lots" divided in the first two divisions of 1732 and 1733. Consequently no names of owners appear on them. They were however subsequently divided, later among the heirs by the same method, and they fell to the following persons:

To Philip van Cortlandt,	No.	one	South	of Croton
" Andrew Johnston,	"	two	"	"
" Stephen Bayard[2]	"	three	"	"
" Stephen van Cortlandt,	"	four	"	"
" Philip Verplanck,	"	five	"	"
" Philip Schuyler[3]	"	six	"	"
" William Skinner,	"	seven	"	"
" Henry Beekman,	"	eight	"	"
" Stephen de Lancey,	"	nine	"	"
" John Miln,	"	ten	"	"[4]

After the first two divisions there was a little changing among the heirs of their lots, either by exchange, or by purchase. Exactly what their arrangements were in all cases it is now difficult to say. One change, which will illustrate this matter, was made between Mr. de Lancey and Mr. Schuyler, and Mr. Miln, by which the latter two transferred to the former, North lot No. Nine North of Croton adjoining North lot No. ten and about two thirds of North lot No. 8 adjoining No. 9, to the West which fell to Mr. de Lancey. These two and two-third lots, together, comprise about nine-tenths of the present township of North Salem and extended from the old Colony line to the main Croton River, embracing the beautiful valley of Titicus, the easternmost branch of the Croton. Mr. de Lancey died in 1741, and under his will and the division of his Estate among his children, two of these lots became the property of his eldest son James, then the Chief Justice of the Province. In 1744 the latter conveyed them, as a gift, to his second son Stephen. Stephen a few years later began their settlement, and brought in many farmers, and some mechanics. The whole tract was laid out into farms rectangular in shape of two hundred acres each, as a rule. These were leased for long terms of years, at low rents, the highest not being more than ten pounds, and the lowest about two or three pounds. The rent rolls and map showed the farms, which were all numbered, the tenants names, and the rents payable by each, but are omitted for lack of space. It was always understood, that the tenants might buy "the soil right," as the fee was termed, at any time the parties could agree upon a price. In practice however the tenants did not begin to apply for the fee till about the time of the Revolution, and then but rarely. After that event, more were sold to applicants, but many farms continued in the families of the tenants till late in this century. The last, which had descended to himself and the widow of a deceased brother, the writer sold in 1875, after the expiration of a lease for ninety-nine years. Stephen de Lancey, the younger, the son of James, likewise about the year 1765 built a very large double frame house on the Titicus River and resided there many years. It is still standing, and, from just after the revolution was "The Academy of North Salem," having been sold for that purpose. It was One of the very first established in this State, and has only recently been discontinued, under the present School policy of the State, which has put an end to the numerous "Academies" which formerly existed all over New York. Until late in this century it was the largest building upon the whole Manor. These facts are mentioned because, the same system of leasing out their lots in farms was carried out by all the other owners of the Manor Lands. Some sold the fee of their lands at an early day to relatives who thus increased their holdings. Others retained them. The result of this was, that some portions of the Manors acquired in common parlance distinctive names, which long continued. Mrs. Beekman's estate on the

[1] This is the correct name. It has been spelled Melin, and Milin, in some papers and maps. He was a physician of Albany, N. Y., and married Maria, or Mary, van C., the widow of Kilian van Rensselaer, the Patroon of his day, and first Lord of Rensselaersburgh as a *Manor*.

[2] For himself and the other children of his mother Margaret Bayard.

[3] For himself and the other children of his mother Cornelia Schuyler.

[4] From a MSS. statement in the Van Wyck papers.

Hudson, was from her Christian name, styled "Gertrudesborough," that of Philip van Cortlandt "Cortlandttown" (now with adjacent lands called "The town of Cortlandt," and that of Mr. de Lancey, "De Lanceytown" now "The Town of North Salem." "Hanover" was also a name for part of the present "Somers" town.

The number of acres in the shares of the respective heirs and their valuation, in the division of 1732 and 1733 are of much interest, when the present enormous value of the present townships formed out of the Manor is considered.

The contrast is almost incredible notwithstanding the century and a half which have elapsed since the valuations were made.

The following statement showing the numbers and contents in acres of each of the lots is from Verplanck's survey of May 30 1732. The first column shows the numbers and areas of the first or north range of Great Lots north of the Croton; the second those of the south range of the Great Lots north of the Croton; and the third those of the Front lots on the Hudson.

North range of the Great Lots North of the Croton.

No.	1,	contents 4095	acres.
,,	2,	,, ... 2784	,,
,,	3,	,, ... 2904	,,
,,	4,	,, ... 2864	,,
,,	5,	,, ... 2811	,,
,,	6,	,, ... 3168	,,
,,	7,	,, ... 3696	,,
,,	8,	,, ... 3696	,,
,,	9,	,, ... 3696	,,
,,	10,	,, ... 3273	,,
		32,887	

South range of Great Lots north of the Croton.

No.	1,	contents 2225	acres.
,,	2,	,, ... 2994	,,
,,	3,	,, ... 2904	,,
,,	4,	,, ... 3712	,,
,,	5,	,, ... 2982	,,
,,	6,	,, ... 2760	,,
,,	7,	,, ... 2660	,,
,,	8,	,, ... 2394	,,
,,	9,	,, ... 3568	,,
,,	10,	,, ... 2565	,,
		28,765	,,

Front lots on the Hudson.

No.	1,	contents 1255	acres.
,,	2,	,, ... 932	,,
,,	3,	,, ... 1886	,,
,,	4,	,, ... 1447	,,
,,	5,	,, ... 1220	,,
,,	6,	,, ... 1720	,,
No.	7,	contents 1027	acres.
,,	8,	,, ... 808	,,
,,	9,	,, ... 1233	,,
,,	10,	,, ... 2764	,,
			,,
		14,333	,,

Recapitulation.

Great North lots.....	32,887	acres.
,, South lots.....	28,765	,,
Front Lots on Hudson.....	14,333	,,
Total in the Divisions of 1732 and 1733.....	75,985	,,
Lots South of Croton	7,128	,,
		,,
	83,113	,,
Lands in Poundridge.....	3000	,,
Parson's Point on the Hudson	100	,,
Total east of the Hudson...	86,213	,,
[1] Tract on West side of the Hudson.....	1500	,,
Total number of acres in the whole Manor.....	87,713	,,

The areas and valuations of the shares of each of the heirs named above in the divisions of 1732-3 are thus stated in an "Estimate of the Value in the Manor of Cortlandt, 1733."[2]

Names.	Acres.	Value in pounds.
P. Verplanck.....	932.....	.....215.
	2995.....	.....345.
	2904.....	.....413.
	6831	£973.
Margaret Bayard.....	1027.....	
wife of Samuel Bayard.....	2811.....	
	3560.....	
	7398	£948.[3]
Stephen De Lancey.....	1172.....	.....234.
	3273.....	.....210.
	2932.....	.....555.
	7377	£999.
Philip Van Cortlandt.....	1255..	.....300.
	2225.....	.....195.
	3168.....	.....480.
	6648	£975.
Stephen Van Cortlandt,.....	1474.....	.....214.
	2760.....	.....383.
	2660.....	.....375.
	6894	£972.

[1] This is not in Verplanck's survey, but is added as an estimate from the best information the writer could obtain.

[2] From the MS. in the Van Wyck papers.

[3] The separate values of each of these three lots are omitted in the original, though the total is given; evidently an accidental error.

Names.	Acres.	Value in pounds.
John Miln	1234	238.
	2784	300.
	3696	450.
	7714	£988.
Gertrude Beekman	2764	210.
	2904	596.
	2394	106.
	8062	£912.
William Skinner	1886	120.
	3712	675.
	2565	156.
	8163	£951.
Andrew Johnston	4095	339.
	1233	240.
	3695	310.
	9023	£889.
John Schuyler, jr.	808	218.
	2860	575.
	3696	225.
	7364	£1018.

Recapitulation.

Names.	Acres.	Amounts in N. Y. Currency.
Philip Verplanck	6831	£ 973.
Margaret Bayard	7398	£ 948.
Stephen De Lancy	7377	£ 999.
Philip Van Cortlandt	6648	£ 975.
Stephen Van Cortlandt	6894.	£ 972.
John Miln	7714	£ 988.
Gertrude Beekman	8062	£ 912.
William Skinner	8163	£ 951.
Andrew Johnston	9023	£ 889.
John Schuyler, jr.	7364	£1018.
	75474[1]	£9625.

The above values are in New York currency in in which the pound was equal to two dollars and a half of United States Currency. Hence the entire value in money of the 75,000 acres and upwards, in 1733, when the division among the heirs took place, was only $25.062, or about $2,500 per share; and as the shares averaged 7000 acres each, it is seen at once how extremely low was the value of land per acre in New York and in Westchester County at that time.

This valuation also is evidence of the good sense and sound judgment of Mrs. Stephanus van Cortlandt, the sole executrix of her husband's will, and of William Nicolls, Jacobus van Cortlandt, and Brandt Schuyler, his relatives and her advisers under the same, in deciding to hold, and not divide up, the Manor, soon after Mr. van Cortlandt's death. It likewise proves conclusively the little actual value, the enormous New York Manors and Great Patents really had at the period they were erected and granted.

When the Manor was divided into townships by the Act of 1788, there were carved out of it four entire Townships, 'Cortlandt,' 'Yorktown,' 'Stephentown,' (now changed to 'Somers'), 'Salem,' and about one-third of a fifth, 'Poundridge.' 'Salem was subsequently in 1790 divided, into 'North Salem' and 'South Salem,' the name of the latter being changed in 1840 to Lewisborough. So that five of the old townships and about a third of a sixth, were formed out of the Manor of Cortlandt. The following tabular statements of the valuation of the land in these five and one-third townships, in 1829 and in 1875, the former about a century and the latter about a century and a half, after the valuation of the Manor as a whole in 1732-33 above given, show in the most striking manner the tremendous increase in value of the Manor between the time of its division among the ten heirs of Stephanus van Cortlandt and the present day.[2]

Valuation of 1829.[3]

Township of Cortlandt,	$505,801
" of Yorktown,	499,404
" of Somers,	450.945
" of North Salem,	244,665
" of South Salem,	292,574
" of Poundridge, ⅓	55,440
	$2,048,829

Valuation of 1875.[4]

Township of Cortlandt,	$4,316,150
" " Yorktown,	1,258,641
" " Somers,	1,402,108
" " North Salem,	1,123,500
" " Lewisborough,[5]	952,435
" " Poundridge, ⅓	114,202
	$9,167,037

It must be borne in mind, however in comparing these tables of 1829 and 1875, that the valuation of 1732-3 embraced only the divisions of those years

[1] This amount is 511 acres less than the total acreage of the same lots (75,985 acres) in Verplanck's survey, printed above. As the MS. from which this last statement is taken is a rough one and unsigned, it is probable that its author made this error, and that the survey is correct.

[2] It is greatly to be regretted that a party squabble about the political patronage in the taking of it, should have prevented the taking of any State Census in 1885, so that a comparison of values up to that year could have been here given. It is, perhaps, fair to say, that, taking one town with another, an addition of ten per cent. to the figures of the census of 1875 would be about the actual value in 1885.

[3] From the Table appended to Westchester County, in the great Atlas of the Counties of New York, compiled by the celebrated Simeon De Witt, under an Act of the Legislature, in 1829 and published at Ithaca, N. Y., by David H. Burr. This is the most authentic Atlas of New York that exists, and is now rare.

[4] From the State Census of 1875, Table no. 68.

[5] Formerly South Salem.

among the heirs, while the valuation of the Townships embrace in addition the lands subsequently divided among the heirs in 1753, and a small portion of lands then leftundivided, as mentioned above; and also that in North Salem and Lewisborough the "Oblong" lands are included in their respective valuations, which were never a part of the Manor. But allowing for these corrections, they are sufficient to show the great increase of value in a century, and a century and a half, of the lands forming the Manor of Cortlandt.

Precisely which of the great lots of the Manor, were embraced within the limits of each of the five Townships, and one-third, which were carved out of it, is a matter of interest, to the antiquarian at least, at this day. The following statement of the areas of the respective townships in Great Lots and Acres, is taken from a MS. among the Van Wyck papers, undated, but drawn up, as appears by an indorsement, relative to the calculation the payment of the quit rents. It bears no signature, and was probably made up as a basis for their commutation, sometime, within the first twenty-five years of this century. As will be seen by the footing at the end, the gross number of acres somewhat exceeds the figures of the gross number by Verplanck's survey as stated above. Without attempting to explain this discrepancy the statement is given as in the original, because it shows clearly which great lots of the old Manor were embraced in each Township, carved out of it, and the amount of the quit rent due for each Township at the time the statement was prepared, whenever that was.

Town of Cortlandt.

	Acres.
All the Front Lots	14,333
South Lot No. 1	2,225
North Lot No. 1	4,095
No. 1, South of Croton	562
No. 2, South of Croton	586
½ of No. 3	300
Tellers Point	300
Parsonage Point	100
Ph. V. Planck (Verplancks Point)	915
	23,416

Yorktown.

N. Lot No. 2	2,784
N. Lot No. 3	2,908
N. Lot No. 4	2,864
S. Lot No. 2	2,995
S. Lot No. 3	2,904
S. Lot No. 4	3,712
All the Lots South of Croton River	7,128
2½ Lots taken off for Cortlandt Town	1,484
	5,644
	23,811

Somers Town.

	Acres.
N. Lot No. 5	2,811
N. Lot No. 6	3,168
N. Lot No. 7	3,696
About a third of N. Lot No. 8	1,232
S. Lot No. 5	2,982
S. Lot No. 6	2,760
Half of S. Lot No. 7	1,330
	17,979

North Salem.

⅔ of N. Lot No. 8	2,464
N. Lot No. 9	3,696
N. Lot No. 10	3,273
	9,433

South Salem.

½ of S. Lot No. 7	1,330
S. Lot No. 9	3,696
S. Lot No. 10	3,273
	9,433

Poundridge, Stone Hills.[1]

About	3,000

Town of Cortlandt	23,416
Yorktown	23,811
Somerstown	17,979
North Salem	9,433
South Salem	9,857
Poundridge, Stone Hills	3,000
	87,496

Recapitulation.

	Acres.	Share of quit rent.
Town of Cortlandt	23,416	$137.00
Yorktown	23,811	138.00
Somers Town	17,979	103.00
North Salem	9,433	54.00
South Salem	9,857	57.00
Poundridge, Stone Hills	3,000	17.00
		$506.00

Philip von Cortlandt the third son of Stephanus, born the 9th of August 1683, was a man of clear head, of good abilities, and possessed of great decision of character. He was a merchant in New Amsterdam, and like his father took an active part in public affairs. In June 1729 he was recommended to the King for appointment as a Councillor of the Province by Governor Montgomerie in place of Lewis Morris jr. The appointment was made the 3d of February 1730, he took his seat in April of the same year, and continued in the Council until his death on the 21st of August 1746, when he was succeeded by Edward

[1] This is the common name of the northern part of this Town.

Holland through the recommendation of Governor Clinton. He was a prominent member of the Commission on the part of New York, in the case of the Colony of Connecticut and the Mohegan Indians. His wife was Catharine daughter of Abraham de Peyster to whom he was married in 1710.[1] He left him surviving, six children, five sons and one daughter, Catharine, who was killed by the bursting of a cannon on the Battery while watching the firing of a salute in honor of the King's birth day June 4th 1738, in her 13th year. By the death of his elder brothers, Johannes who left only a daughter, Gertrude, the wife of Philip Verplanck, and Oloff, or Oliver, who died a bachelor, Philip became the head of the Van Cortlandt family. His five sons were Stephen, Abraham, Philip, John, and Pierre. Of the five, Abraham, Philip, and John, all died unmarried.

Stephen the eldest who succeeded his father as the head of the family, was born the 26th of October 1710, married, in 1738, Mary Walton Ricketts, and died the 17th of October 1756, leaving two sons Philip and William Ricketts, Van Cortlandt. Philip the elder, the fourth head of the family born 10th November 1739, preferring a military life, entered the British Army, in which he served many years, dying on the 1st of May, 1814, in his 75th year. He is buried in Hailsham Church where a mural monument is erected to his memory. He married on Aug 2d, 1762, Catharine, daughter of Jacob Ogden of New Jersey. They had the large number of 23 children (several being twins) of whom twelve lived to grow up, five being sons and seven daughters. The former all became officers in the British Regular Army. They were

1. Philip
2. and Stephen } twins, b. 30 July 1766, the latter died young, the former married Mary Addison and died, having had one son, George W., who died young.
3. Jacob Ogden von Cortlandt, Captain 23d Fusiliers, killed in Spain in 1811, leaving issue.
4. Henry Clinton van Cortlandt, Lt. Col. 31st Foot, died a bachelor.
5. Arthur Auchmuty van Cortland, Capt. 45th Foot, died a bachelor in India.

The daughters were, 1. Mary Ricketts, married John M. Anderson; 2. Elizabeth, married William Taylor, Lord Chief Justice of Jamaica, and left one son, Colonel Pringle Taylor of Pennington; 3. Catharine, twin with Mrs. Taylor, married Dr. William Gourlay of Kincraig Scotland; 4. Margaret Hughes, married O. Elliott-Elliott of Berkshire and died without issue; 5. Gertrude married, Admiral Sir Edward Buller and left issue;[2] 6. Sarah Ogden van Cortlandt, died single; 7. Charlotte, married Gen. Sir John Fraser; 8. Sophia married Sir Wm. Howe Mulcaster R. N.

The second son of Philip, William Ricketts van Cortlandt, born the 12th of March 1742, married Elizabeth Kortright, and had two sons, the eldest of his own name, who married 1st Miss Stevens, and 2ndly Miss Cornell, and Philip, who married Mary Bunker, and one daughter Eliza, married to her cousin Mr. William Ricketts. Descendants of William Ricketts van Cortlandt still own and dwell upon portions of the property that fell to his Grandfather Philip van Cortlandt at the division of the Manor in 1732–33.

Pierre van Cortlandt, the youngest son of Philip the third son of Stephanus, born the 10th of January 1721, and who died the 1st of May, 1814, in consequence of the deaths in early manhood of his brothers Abraham, Philip, and John, unmarried, and of the death in 1756, of his eldest brother Stephen, and the absence in the army of his nephew Philip, Stephen's eldest son, became early and closely identified with the affairs of the manor and the interests of his relatives therein. Marrying Joanna a daughter of Gilbert Livingston he naturally leaned to political side of his wife's family in the party contests anterior to the opening of the American Revolution. He was the representative of the Manor in the Colony Assembly from 1768 to 1775, and unlike his nephew, Philip, the head of the family, he took the American side in the Revolution. He was a member of the Provincial Convention, the Council of Safety, and the Provincial Congress; and upon the organization of the State Government in 1777, was chosen Lieutenant Governor of New York, and served as such till 1795. In 1787 he was President of the Convention which formed the Constitution of the United States. He had four sons Philip, Gilbert, Stephen, and Pierre, and four daughters, Catharine the wife of Theodosius P. van Wyck, Cornelia, wife of Gerard G. Beekman, Anne wife of Philip S. van Rensselaer, so long the Mayor of Albany, at which city she died in 1855 at the age of 89 years, and Gertrude who died, a child in her eleventh year in December 1766. Of the four sons, two, Gilbert, and Stephen, died in early life unmarried. The eldest was the celebrated Colonel Philip van Cortlandt of the Revolution, who at its close was made a Brigadier General, and died a bachelor Nov. 21st 1831. To him the portion of the Manor containing the Manor House descended, and there he lived all the latter part of his life. Upon his death it passed to his youngest brother Major-Gen[l] Pierre van Cortlandt. The latter was born the 29th of August, 1762, and died in 1848. He married 1st in 1801, Catharine, a daughter of Governor George Clinton, by whom he had no issue, and 2nd Anne Stevenson, of Albany. He was all his life a resident

[1] Col. Hist. N. Y. V, and VI.

[2] Lady Buller's only surviving daughter, Anna Maria, married, 25th of February, 1824, Lt. Col. James Drummond Elphinstone, when he assumed the name of Buller before Elphinstone. She died 26 Feb. 1845, leaving four sons and four daughters, the eldest of which sons William Buller Fuller Elphinstone R. N. is the 15th and present Baron Elphinstone.

of the Manor, and one of the most prominent men of Westchester, and its representative in Congress. By his second wife he had one child, a son, the late Colonel Pierre van Cortlandt, who died only on the eleventh of July 1884, leaving him surviving, his widow, Catherine, eldest daughter of the late eminent Theodrick Romeyn Beck, M.D., of Albany, one son, Mr. James Stevenson van Cortlandt, and two daughters, Catharine, the wife of the Rev. John Rutherfurd Mathews, and Miss Anne Stevenson van Cortlandt. The Manor House and adjoining estate is still the home of Col. Pierre van Cortlandt's widow and children, having continued in the family and name of Stephanus van Cortlandt since 1683, a little upwards of two hundred years.

The necessarily very brief sketches of the van Cortlandts in this essay are only intended as an outline, to show the general descent of the elder branch of the van Cortlandt family, the van Cortlandts of the Manor of Cortlandt.

The nature, origin, and existence of the Quitrent, payable from the Crown granted lands, to the Colonial, and, subsequently, to the State, Government of New York, have already been explained.[1] Those for which the Manor of Cortlandt, and all the prior grants within its limits were liable were paid at intervals, but in full, till their final extinction by commutation under the acts of the Legislature, and the action of the state government of New York as late as 1823.

In the case of the Manor of Cortlandt the first payments of its quitrent, were receipted for by the King-Receiver-General and Collector, on the back of the Manor-Grant itself, which has been already described. This course was unusual and was owing probably to the early death of its first lord and the careful attention of his widow and executrix. The receipts for similar payments being generally given on separate pas pers. These receipts are four in number, and cover from 1697, the date of the Manor Grant to 1732,—the date of the first division—thirty-five years, and are as follows:

1st Endorsement.

"Received this 29th March A D 1716 of Mrs Gertruyd van-Cortlandt the sum of Twenty-eight Pounds, Proclammation monney in full of Quit-rent for the Lands Lying in the within Pattent, untill the 25th day of this instant month of March as witness my hand

T. Byerley Collr.

2nd Endorsement.

Received (In Quality as Receiver-Generall of this province) this 16 August 1720 of Mrs Geertruydt Van Cortlandt Executrix of Stephanus Van Cortlandt deceased, the Sum of Eight pounds proclamation money. In full of Quitrents for all the Lands Lying within the Mannor of Cortlandt, to the 25 of March Last Pursuant to the within Pattent as wittness my hand

T. Byerley Collr.

3d Endorsement.

Received of Phillip Cortland Esqr for account of Mrs Geertruydt Van Cortland two pounds procl. money in full for one years quitt rent to the 25 of March last for the lands mentioned in the within Instrument. Wittness my hand this 29 day of June 1721

T. Byerley Collr.

4th Endorsement.

Received of the heirs of Coll. Stephanus Van Cortlandt, by the hands of Samuell Bayard Esqr Thirty-two pounds procln money which together with thirty-eight pounds like money Received by Mr Byerley is in full for His Majestys quitrent from June 1697 to the 17 of last witness my hand Novr 7th 1732

Archd Kennedy Recr Genl.

Thomas Byerly the Receiver General and Collector whose bold signature appears to these receipts, arrived in New York on the 29th of July 1703,[2] and was a prominent official in New York and New Jersey, of both which Provinces he was of the Governor's Council. He died in 1725, and was succeeded as Receiver-General in New York by Archibald Kennedy, who signs the last of the above receipts, in 1726.

Subsequent to the divisions of 1732–33 among the heirs, the quit rents were paid proportionably by the different owners. During the Revolutionary war and after it nothing seems to have been paid, till the state Comptroller advertised to sell the lands to pay the arrears under a State law. The following correspondence with, and memoranda of, General Philip Van Cortlandt will show how the quit rents were settled.

"Mamaroneck November 7, 1815

Sir

In a conversation I had with Judge Purdy a few days since, I understood from him that you had gone to Albany to ascertain if the quit-rents now demanded for the Manor of Cortlandt had not already been paid, if not on what part of the Manor those now demanded were due, and how the different proprietors are to proceed in estimating their respective proportions. As I am interested in a part of the Manor, I will thank you for any information you can give me on this subject. I hope you will excuse the trouble I give you, and believe me, Sir

Respectfully Yours

J. P. deLancey[3]

General Philip Van Cortlandt.

Manor House

Nov. 29 1815

Dear Sir

On my return from Albany I was favored with yours of the 7th, and am happy to inform you that

[1] Part 10, of this essay, *ante* pp. 95, 96.

[2] IV. Col. Hist., 1066.

[3] MS. Letter. Mr. John Peter de Lancey, of Mamaroneck, the writer of this letter succeeded to the unsold portion of the Manor lands

I have settled and paid up all the Q. Rent of the Manor of Cortlandt and also commuted for all future Q. R. in such manner as not to be obliged to call on any of the Proprietors. Neither will any tax be necessary. So that you may Henceforward rest perfectly contented. There remained some undivided land which was sold to accomplish it.

I am with great respect

Yours

Ph. V. Cortlandt.[1]

Mr. J. P. deLancey
Mamaroneck.

The following letter and certificate written by Gen. Philip Van Cortlandt explains fully this matter of the Quit Rents.

"The Comptroller is requested as soon as convenient to make out what amount of Quit Rent is due from the Manor of Cortlandt Pattent, which includes in its bounds, the Pattents granted to Stephen V. Cortlandt for lands on both sides of the Hudson, Dated March 16, 1685—John Knight, dated March 24 1686—and Hugh McGregory dated the 2d of April 1690—which became the property of the said Stephen Van Cortlandt, and no Q. Rent from them is expected to be paid as by the words expressed in the said Mannor Pattent, which is dated the 17th of June 1697, will appear.

"Of this a part to be sold—see below.

"A patent granted to Tennis DeKey and others altho within the said Manor was not the property of Said Stephen Cortlandt, and is subject to Q. Rent.

"This was mentioned to the Comptroller, and it was requested of him to wait a few days and the money should be paid. This the Comptroller must have forgot when the same was sold to Mr. Lawrence who is very willing to give up the same if agreeable to the Comptroller.

"This is to be paid and commuted for.

"There is another small Patent granted to Tennis Dekey, Sybout Harchie and Jacobus Harchie which is also included in the Manor and is subject to pay Q. Rent.

"Of this a part to be sold.

"There is about eighty acres called Parson's Point, which was left by the Proprietors of the Manor undivided and now is in the possession of the Dutch Minister—and if sold a title can be obtained, which can not be done without. Further information will be given by the Comptroller's.

Humble Serv[t]

Ph. V. Cortlandt."

"I do hereby certify that it appears from papers in my possession, that when the Manor of Cortlandt was divided in about the year 1732—there was left a piece of land said to contain about eighty, or a hundred acres, which I have always understood was originally intended by the Proprietors for a Parsonage, and which was not divided among the Heirs, although they all held an undivided right therein. After the Revolutionary War I obtained possession thereof and put the Dutch Reformed Congregation in possession. As they cannot obtain a complete title from the Heirs, I want it sold for the benefit of the said church, or as much thereof as will pay the Quit Rent now due from the said Manor of Cortlandt.

Ph. v. Cortlandt.[2]

Parson's Point is bounded on the West and South by Hudson's River, and on the East and North by Divided lands of said Manor of Cortlandt."

At the time of the first divisions of the Manor there were settlers upon all the lots more or less. The lots were divided up into farms averaging 250 acres in some parts of the Manor and 200 acres in others. Each farm numbered, and leased as "Farm No.——, in Great Lot No.——," and when described the tenants name was generally added, thus "and in possession of so and so." By 1750, the whole Manor had become populated, as appears by the list of farms and tenants names in the accounts still extant rendered to many of the heirs and their representatives. A very few farms here and there had been sold in fee. About 1770, as the tenants had prospered and their families increased, they began to acquire the "soil right" as they termed it by purchase from the landlords. The Revolution checked this movement entirely for the time being, nor was it till 1787 or 8 that it began again. But from that time it progressed continually, so that by 1847, there were only about 2500 or 3000 acres of "leased land," exclusive of the estate belonging to Gen. Pierre Van Cortlandt, left throughout the Manor. Of this about 1200 acres divided into five farms are, at this moment, still held, in the Great Lot, No. 6, south of Croton, by descendants of the heir to whom that lot fell at the original division. In Nine cases out of ten the tenants themselves acquired the fee of their own farms. And the result has been that in every township in the Manor, very many of the descendants of the original tenants still live, as owners in fee, upon the same lands which their ancestors originally took upon leases, and thus have held them for four, five, and sometimes six generations.

In all the townships there are a few instances where dishonest persons have by trick and chicanery acquired farms, by a series of "squattings" and fraudulent transfers and so-called sales of leases. But as a body the old tenants dealt honestly and squarely with the owners.

Some of the leases it may be said, provided for a partial payment of the rent fixed, in kind, as in wheat, in two or four fat fowls, and in so many

of his brother, Stephen de Lancey, in the town of North Salem. The latter died in 1795 without issue.

[1] MS. Letter.

[2] Original MS.

"days work with carriage and horses," meaning not "a carriage" in our sense of the word to-day, but a day's work with wagon and team. This latter was often spoken and written of as a "day's riding." These were all originally introduced as an easy way for the tenants in those times when there was very little money in the country to pay a part of the rents reserved in the leases, which as a rule ran from one or two, to ten pounds a year, New York currency. During the latter part of the last century, especially after the Revolution, the landlords and tenants made between themselves a private commutation, in money, for these rents in kind.

The Manor as far as the personal dignity of the Lord of the Manor was concerned, ended with the death of Stephanus Van Cortlandt in November, 1700. In all other respects manorial, parochial, civil, and political, it continued intact, until its final termination by being divided up into townships under the Act organizing the State into Townships in 1788.

The topography of the Manor is very remarkable, and very beautiful. The valley of the Croton lies almost wholly within its limits. The northernmost branches of that River rising in Putnam County and the easternmost, in Connecticut, each receiving in its course many small affluents, meet near its centre, and form the main stream of the Croton, which falls into the Hudson on the south side of the striking peninsula of Teller's, or Croton, Point. Five or six small streams, the largest of which, is "John Peaks Creek," now Peekskill (kill being the Dutch word for creek) also fall into the Hudson. These streams form deep sinuous valleys between the high, rocky hills through which they force their way to "The Great River of the Mountains. They take their rise in the range of hills dividing the valley of the Croton from that of the Hudson, which run nearly parallel to the latter at a distance to the east of it about three or four miles. From the eastern slopes of these hills to the Connecticut line extends the valley of the Croton proper, broken by lesser ranges of wooded hills, and high fertile ridges, into numerous smaller valleys, through which run perpetually, clear and winding streams. Notwithstanding this fair region has been the abode of a numerous and thriving population for more than a century and a half, it still possesses extensive forests, and rocky, wooded hills, amid which glisten, like diamonds, numbers of small transparent lakes. So many are they that only a few of the larger are to be found upon the Maps. This region so remarkably wooded and watered, formerly abounded in beaver, all kinds of deer, and the ever present foes of the latter, wolves. Many are the provincial statutes offering bounties for the destruction of the latter. The beaver lived on the streams and in the forests of Corelandt till early in this century, the last having been killed near Lake Waccabuc in 1837. To this day one beautiful branch of the Croton bears the name of "The Beaver Dam," and a high wooded ridge, not far from it is still called, "The Deer's Delight." There are two points, from which the greater part of this splendid region can be looked down upon almost as a whole. The first is "Knapp's Hill," or "Lounsberry Hill," just over the Manor line in Bedford, which was used as a military station of observation during the Revolution. The second, and the finer, is Prospect Mount in the eastern part of North Salem. It is just within the "Oblong," and though a part of North Salem since 1731, was not originally within the Manor. From its summit looking west the eye ranges over the whole twenty miles in length of the Manor of Cortlandt, the view being only terminated by the Rockland Mountains across the Hudson. The depression in which the latter lies is distinctly seen. Immediately in front of the spectator spreads the rich and affluent valley of the Titicus, the "Mughtiticoos" of the Indians, the eastern branch of the Croton, bounded on each side by high, irregular forest clad hills, the silver stream winding and gleaming through green smiling meadows till it falls into the Croton itself five miles away. Beyond it are seen the rich, rolling, fertile lands of Somers and Yorktown, the foot hills of the Highlands their northern boundary. And further still the fair heights of the eastern bank of the Hudson and above them the lofty High Tor upon its western side. No more splendid scene can be looked upon in America, than to witness from this Mount the setting of the sun on a clear summer evening. The whole twenty miles of the Manor, hill, valley, river, and forest, glowing in the most brilliant radiance beneath the deep red tints of a gorgeous sky, and then as the great luminary, tinting their peaks with gold, sinks behind the blue Rockland Mountains, the whole suddenly blotted out in a deep purplish sombre gloom.

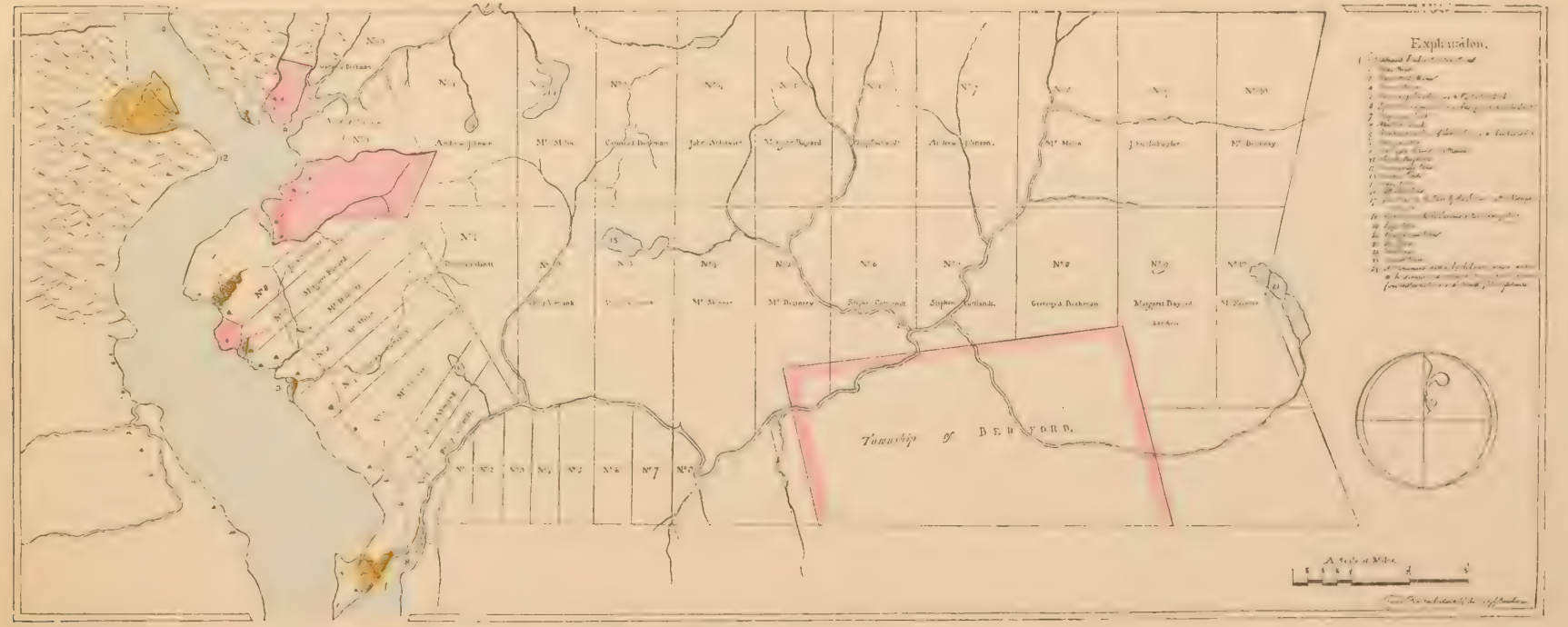
Upon the lower slopes of the height stands the old home of the Keelers, now the residence of Hobart Keeler, the fourth or fifth in a direct line who for a century and a half have always dwelt there. And yet it is so high, that from his dining room windows on a clear day, High Tor and the other Rockland mountains are plainly visible.

In the southeastern part of the Manor is a range of heights trending from northwest to southeast dividing the valley of the Croton from that of Long Island Sound, in which rise streams running southerly to the Sound the chief of which are the Myanos, now known as the Mianus, and the Armonck, or Byram River. Thus within the Manor are three distinct water-sheds, two carrying their waters into the Hudson, and one into the sound.

The origin of the name of the river, the great natural feature of the Manor, the waters of which supply the great city of New York by means of a magnificent aqueduct without a rival in Ancient or Modern times, is not certainly known. Different theories have been and are held upon this subject. What is

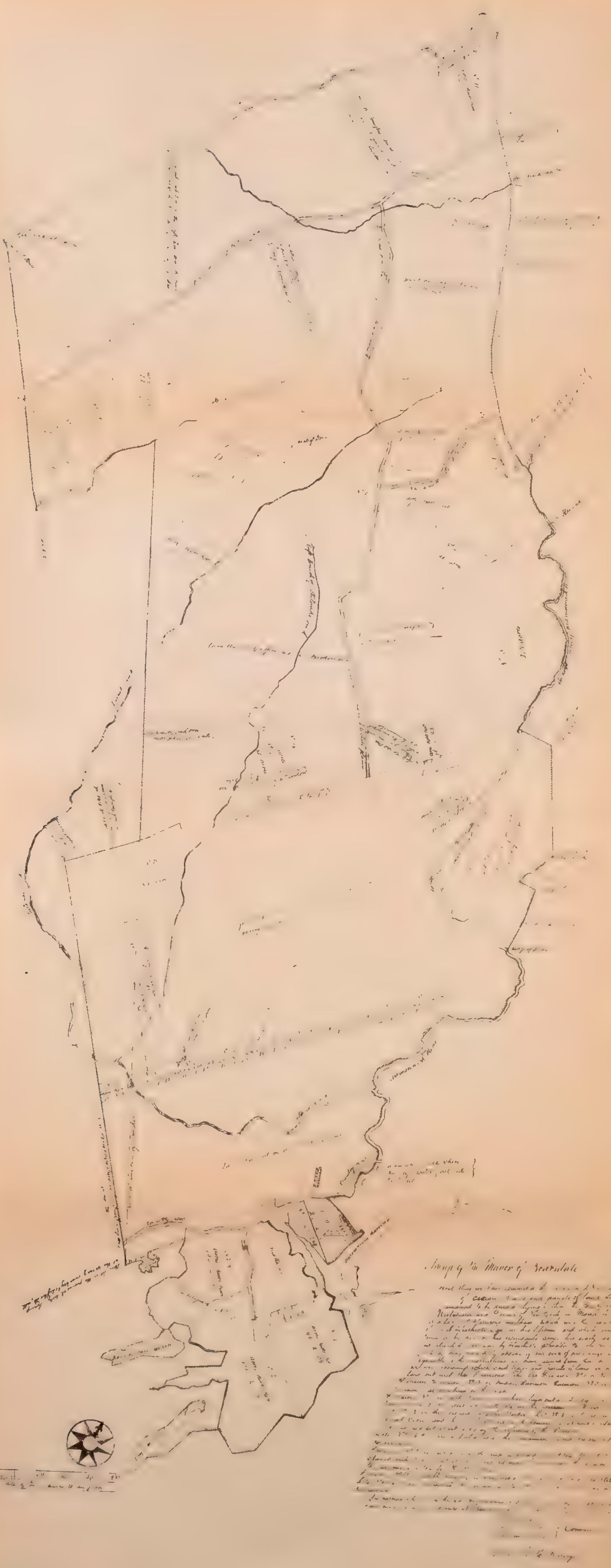
CORTLANDT MANOR MAP.

PREPARED EXPRESSLY FOR THIS WORK.



EXPLANATION.

1. Kightewank Creek or Groatan's River.
2. Tellers Point.
3. The Old Mill Stream.
4. Parson's Point.
5. The Neck of Land belonging to Philip Verplank.
6. Eighteen hundred Acres, now belonging to Hercules Lent, &c.
7. Magrigaries Creek.
8. John Peek's Creek.
9. Three hundred Acres of Land belonging to John Krankhyte.
10. Antonye's Nose.
11. Salsburge's Island and Meadow
12. Thunder Bergh Hill.
13. Magrigarie's Pond.
14. Crooked Pond.
15. Cedar Pond.
16. Call bergh Pond.
17. The Elbow of the River by the Indians called Kewightequack
18. Kiskow River by the Indians called Pepenighting.
19. Cross River.
20. Matsghtecoos River.
21. Long Pond.
22. Peach Pond.
23. Mescoot River.
24. A Monument erected by the Commissioners, and is to be deemed and esteemed twenty Miles distant from Cortlandt's Point, on the mouth of the Highlands.



certain is that the Indian name of "Kichtawank," or "Kightawong" is that given to the River in all the earliest Deeds and Patents. In Philip Verplancks survey and map made in 1732 the name he gives to it is the "Kightewank Creek or Groatun's River."[1] As Mr. Verplanck lived many years prior to 1732 in the Manor, and knew every one interested in it, from shortly after the death of Stephanus Van Courtland to his own death a period of about seventy years, his opportunities of knowing the English name of the stream were certainly better than those of any one of whom we now have knowledge. He was also a surveyor, and hence obliged to be particular in giving correct names to natural features. Now he called it on his map of 1732 "Groatun's River," hence at that date such was certainly its English name. Therefore the name must have originated between 1697 the date of the Manor Grant in which it is described by its Indian name and 1732, the date of the Manor Map, that is within the period of thirty-five years. But whether "Groatun" from which the change to "Croton" was very easy, was the name of an Indian or a Dutchman can never be known. The probability is that if there was such a man he dwelt near the mouth of the stream, and his name given to it at his dwelling-place was extended gradually throughout its entire length. But whatever the origin, "Croton" it has been for more than a century, and "Croton" it will forever remain.

14

The Manor of Scarsdale, Its Origin, Local History, Adjoining Patents and Manors, Its First Lord and his Family, Division and Topography.

Named by its Lord after that division of the beautiful county of Derby, nearly the geographical centre of England, in which the city of Chesterfield, crowning a lofty verdant height, sits like a queen upon her throne, the rivers Rother and Hipper flowing together at her feet, termed the "Hundred of Scarsdale," in which he was born, Colonel Caleb Heathcote proved at once his own good taste and his love for the ancient home of his fathers. The name describes equally well the English locality and its American namesake. "Scarrs" was the Saxon word for rocky crags, and "dale" for valley. The western and northwestern parts of the Hundred of Scarsdale are noted for the rocky heights and deep valleys which form that striking Derbyshire scenery immortalized in the "Peveril of the Peak" of Sir Walter Scott. The western and northwestern parts of the Manor of Scarsdale are overlooked by the hills and crags, half covered with forests, at the foot of which flows the river Bronx; while the vales and glades of the lower heights which separate the valleys of the Bronx and the Sound, upon one of which he dwelt in his earlier life, are also immortalized in the "Spy" of the Neutral Ground of Fenimore Cooper.

The Manor of Scarsdale was of irregular shape owing chiefly to the winding course of the Mamaroneck River, which formed a large part of its eastern boundary. By its terms the Manor-Grant included a tract embracing the present towns of Mamaroneck, Scarsdale, a small part of Harrison, with White plains, and a portion of Northcastle. But as a dispute existed with "some of y^e^ inhabitants of y^e^ town of Rye" as to White plains at the time of Colonel Heathcote's[2] purchase of the tract, the Manor-Grant expressly provided that it should give no further title to White plains to Colonel Heathcote than what he already had before it issued. Irrespective of White plains and the lands beyond, the length of the Manor was about nine miles by an average width of a little more than two miles. The following is the

MANOR-GRANT OF THE MANOR OF SCARSDALE.

WILLIAM THE THIRD by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, France & Ireland, King, Defender of the faith &c. To all to whom these presents shall come sendeth greeting; Whereas our loving subject CALEB HEATHCOTE, Esqr. hath petitioned the Hon.ble John Nanfan our Lt. Govern'r, & Comand^r^ in Cheif of the Province of New Yorke in America, & our Councill of the said Province, for a confirmation of a tract of land in the *County of Westchester, Beginning* at a marked tree by Mamoronack River w'ch is the eastermost side of the Northern bounds of Mamoronack Township, being about two miles from the country road & to run along the sd. River to the head thereof, & thence on a north line untill eighteen miles from the said marked tree is compleated; westerly, beginning at the marked tree or a great rock being the westermost part of the northern bounds of the aforesd. township, being about two miles from the country road, & thence to run northerly eighteen miles as the line on the eastermost side of the said land runeth, including in the sd. Mannor his eighth parte of the two miles laid out for the town of Mamoronack, with the lott he now liveth on, & the lott bought of Alice Hatfeild, w^th^ the lands & meadows below westerly to a path to him belonging by virtue of his deeds & conveyances, parte of w^ch^ land within ye bounds aforesd. was purchased by Jno. Richbell from ye Native Indian Proprietors w^ch^ sd. Jno. Richbell had a grant & confirmation for ye same from Coll. Fra.^cs^ Lovelace, late Gov^r^. of ye sd. Province, & the right of ye sd. Jno. Richbell therein is legally vested in the sd. Caleb Heathcote, & other parte has been purchased by ye sd. Caleb Heathcote of ye Native Indian Proprietors; & whereas ye sd. Caleb Heathcote hath further petitioned our sd. Lt. Governor & Councill that ye sd. tract of land may be erected into a Mannour by ye name of ye Mannour

[1] See the Manor map and his "explanations" appended to it.

[2] This name is properly pronounced as if spelled "Hethent," not "Heethcote," as often heard.

of *Scarsdale*, whereupon our sd. Lt. Govern^{r} by & wth ye advice of o^{ur} Councill Directed a Writt to ye high Sherrife of ye sd. County of Westchester to enquire to w^{t} damage such patent would be, w^{ch} writt issued accordingly, wth a proviso that it should not give ye sd. Caleb Heathcote any further title then which he already hath to ye lands called ye White Plains, w^{ch} is in dispute between ye said Caleb Heathcote & some of the inhabitants of the *town of Rye*, whereupon the sd. sherrife returned y^{t} the Jurors found that there is no damage to the King, or his subjects, in erecting the Mannour aforesd., except ye sd. white Plaines w.$^{ch.}$ are in dispute & contest between ye sd. Caleb Heathcote & the town of Rye, & excepting James Mott & the rest of ye freeholders of Mamoronack who have deed within the patent of Richbell; *Know yee* that of our special grace, certain knowledge, & meer motion, wee have given, granted, ratified, & confirmed, & by these presents, doe for us, our heires & successors, give, grant, ratifye, & confirme, unto ye sd. Caleb Heathcote, his heires, & assignes, All & every ye aforesd. tracts & parcells of land and meadow w$^{th.}$ in ye respective limits & bounds beforementioned & expressed, together w$^{th.}$ all & every ye messuages, tenem$^{ts.}$, buildings, barnes, houses, out-houses, fences, orchards, gardens, pastures, meadows, marshes, swamps, pools, ponds, waters, water courses, woods, underwoods, trees, timbers, quarries, runs, rivers, rivoletts, brooks, lakes, streames, creeks, harbores, beaches, bayes, islands, ferries, fishing, fowling, hunting, hawking, mines, mineralls, (royall mines excepted) & all the rights, members, libertys, privilledges, jurisdiccons, royaltys, hereditam.^{ts}, profitts, benefitts, advantages, & appurtenances, w^{t}soever, to aforesd. severall & respective tracts & parcels of land and meadow belonging, or in any wise appurteining, or accepted, reputed, taken, known, or occupied, as parte parcell or member thereof, To Have and to Hold all the aforesd. severall & respective tracts, & parcells of land & meadow & premises w.thin the respective limitts & bounds aforesaid, w.th all & every of their appurtenances, unto him the sd. Caleb Heathcote, his heirs, & assigns, to the only proper use & behoof of him the sd. Caleb Heathcote, his heires & assignes forever, provided that nothing herein conteined shall be construed, deemed, or taken, to give the sd. Caleb Heathcote any further title then what he now, by virtue of these our letters patents, lawfully hath to ye sd. white Plaines in dispute as aforesaid nor any jurisdiction wthin the sd. White Plaines untill the same shall happen to belong to the sd. Caleb Heathcote, and moreover, *Know yee* that of our further speciall grace, certain knowledge, & meer motion, wee have thought fitt to erect all the aforerecited tracts & parcells of land & meadow, wthin the limitts & bounds aforesaid, into a Lordship and Mannour, except as before excepted, and therefore by these presents wee doe for us, our heires, & success$^{rs.}$, erect make & constitute all the aforerecited tracts and parcells of land and meadow within the limits & bounds beforementioned (except as before excepted), together w.$^{th.}$ all & every the above granted premises, w.$^{th.}$ all, and every, of their appurtenances, into one Lordship or Mannour, to all intents and purposes, & it is our royal will and pleasure, that the sd. Lordship and Mannour shall from henceforth be called the Lordship and Mannour off Scarsdale; and *Know yee* that wee reposing especiall trust & confidence in the loyallty, wisdome, justice, prudence, & circumspection, of our sd. loveing subject, doe for us our heires & success.^{rs} give & grant unto the sd. Caleb Heathcote, his heires & assignes, full power & authority, at all times forever hereafter, wthin the sd. Lordship or Mannour, one Court Leet & one Court Baron, to hold, & keep, at such time & times, & so often yearly, as he or they shall think meet, & wee doe further give & grant to ye sd. Caleb Heathcote, his heires & assignes, all fines, issues, & amerciaments, at the sd. Court Leet & Court Baron to be holden within our said lordship or manor, to be sett, forfeited, or imposed, or payable, or happening, at any time to be payable, by any of the inhabitants of, or wthin, the said Lordshipp or Mannour of Scarsdale or the Limitts & bounds thereof, & also all & every power & powers, authority & authorityes, for the holding & keeping, the sd. court leet, & court baron, from time to time, & to award & issue out, the accustomed writts to be issued & awarded out of courts leet & courts baron, as also that the sd. court leet & court baron be kept by the sd. Caleb Heathcote his heires and assignes forever, his, or their, or any of their, stewards deputed & appointed, wth full & ample power & authority to distrain for the rents, services, & other sumes of money, payable by virtue of ye premises & all other lawful remedys & means for the haveing, possessing, levying, & enjoying the premises, & every parte & parcell of the same, & all waifes, estrayes, deodands, & goods of fellons, happening, or to happen, being or to be, forfeited, w.thin the sd. Lordship or Mannour of Scarsdale. And wee doe further give & grant unto the said Caleb Heathcote his heires & assignes, that all & singular ye tenants of him the sd. Caleb Heathcote, within the sd. Mannour, shall & may at all times hereafter meet together & choose assessors within the man.^{r} aforesd. according to such rules, wayes, & methods, as are prescribed for cities towns & counties within our sd. province, by ye acts of Generall of Assembly for defraying the publick charge of each respective city, town, & county, aforesaid, & all such sumes of money so assessed & levyed, to collect & dispose of, for such uses, as any act or acts of the sd. gener.^{ll} assembly shall establish & appoint, to have, hold, possess, & enjoy, all & singular the sd. Lordship or Mannour of Scarsdale & premises, with all & every of their appurtenances, unto ye sd. Caleb Heathcote, his heires & assignes, forever, and that the sd. Lordship or Man.^{r} aforesd. shall be & forever continue free & exempt from the jurisdicson

of any town, township, or Manour, whatsoever, to be holden of us, our heires & successors, in free & comon soccage according to the tenure of our Mannour of East Greenwich in the county of Kent, wthin our Kingdome of England, yielding rendering and *paying* therefore, *yearly*, & every year, forever, at our city of New Yorke, unto us our heires & successours, or to such officer or officers as shall from time to time be impowered to receive the same, *five pounds* currant money of New Yorke, upon the Nativity of our Lord, in lieu & stead of all services, dues, duties, or demands, whatsoever.

In testimony whereof wee have caused the great seale of our province of New Yorke to be hereunto affixed. Witness John Nanfan Esq.^{r} our Lt. Governour & Comander in Chief of our Province of New York & territories depending thereon, in America.

Given at fort William Henry in our city of New Yorke this 21st day of March in the fourteenth year of our reign Anno Domini 1701.

John Nanfan.

By his Hon^{rs} comand

M. Clarkson Secry.

I do hereby certify the aforegoing to be a true copy of the original record word & 5th line page 229 being obliterated and *or* interlined in its stead as in said record. Compared therewith by me.

Lewis A. Scott, *Secretary.*

State of New York,
Office of the Secretary of State. } *ss.:*

I have compared the preceding copy of *Letters Patent* with the record thereof in this office, in Book Number *Seven* of *Patents* at page 195 and I do hereby certify the same to be a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

Witness my hand and the seal of office of the Secretary of State, at the City of Albany, the 1*st* day of *September, one thousand eight hundred and eighty four.*

L.S.

Anson G. Wood
Deputy Secretary of State.

John Richbell who is stated in this Manor-Grant, to Colonel Heathcote (which expressly vested Richbell's title in the latter), to have been the purchaser of part of the Manor-land originally "from ye native Indian proprietors," was one of a family of Hampshire-men either in, or from the neighbourhood of the city of Southampton, in that County, in England. They were also merchants in London engaged in trade with America. In the seventeenth century a large trade was carried on between England, the West Indies, and the 'Plantations on the Maine' of America. Of this trade the central point in the West Indies was Barbadoes then, as now, a British Island. The voyages were from England to Barbadoes, thence to New York or Boston, and thence back to England. Hence the continual reference in the accounts and letters of that day to the "news from home *via* Barbardoes." Precisely when John Richbell left England is not known. He was a merchant in Charlestown, Massachusetts, according to Savage's Genealogical Dictionary in 1648. In an inventory of the estate of Robert Gibson of Boston, dated the 11th of August 1659, appears this item, "due from Mr. John Richbell for wages and wine £36, 4, 0, under date of 8th August 1656.[1] The next year 1657 he was apparently in the Island of Barbadoes. Prior to this latter date he was in the island of St. Christopher's, where he received from his mother-in-law Margery Parsons "certain goods formerly delivered and paid unto me by Mrs. Margery Parsons upon the Island of St. Christopher's."[2]

When in Barbadoes he met with two other Englishmen, Thomas Modiford a resident of that island, and William Sharpe of Southampton in England. The three entered into an agreement to undertake a business which the oppressive navigation laws of England tempted, and practically compelled, many Englishmen and Colonists to go into. These laws increased in extent, and vigorously enforced by Cromwell, bore harshly upon England's "Plantations in foreign parts" at that time just beginning to exist. Then began that illicit contraband trade in America which continued and increased from that time during the whole colonial period. And which proved, in consequence of the very stringent measures adopted by England late in the eighteenth century to suppress it, thereby injuring the business interests of the colonies, one of the potent, if not *the most potent*, of the causes which produced that great event, the American Revolution.

The "Instructions" to Richbell from his partners in relation to their business still exist in the public Archives of New York. The parties named, were "Thomas Modiford of Barbadoes, William Sharpe of Southampton [England], and John Richbell of Charlestown, New England, Merchants." All were in Barbadoes apparently at the date of the "Instructions," which, as clear and specific, as they are interesting and curious, are here given in full They are headed :—

"*Instructions delivered to Mr. John Richbell in order to the intended settlement of a Plantation in the south-west parts of New England, in behalf of himself and of subscribers.*"

They piously begin, and are in these words :—

"God sending you to arrive safely in New England, our advice is that you informe yourself fully by sober understanding men of that parte of [the] land which lyeth betwixt Connecticott and the Dutch Collony, and of the seacoast belonging to the same, and the Islands that lye betwixt Long Island and the Maine, viz. : within what government it is, and of what kinde that government is, whether very strict or remisse, who the Chiefe Magistrates are, on what termes ye

[1] N. E. Gen. Rec., p. 347.

[2] Recital in a deed to her of 14th Nov., 1668, in the writer's possession.

Indians stand with them, and what bounds the Dutch pretend to, and being satisfyed in these particulars, (viz.) that you may with security settle there and without offence to any. Then our advice is that you endeavour to buy some small Plantation that is already settled and hath an house, and some quantity of ground cleared and which lyeth so as you may enlarge into the woods at pleasure in each,—be sure not to fayle of these accommodations.

I. That it be near some navigable Ryver, or at least some safe port or harbour, and that the waye to it be neither long nor difficult.

II. That it be well watered by some running streame, or at least by some fresh ponds and springs, near adjoining.

III. That it be well wooded, which I thinke you can hardly misse of. That it be healthy, high, ground, not boggs or fens, for the hopes of all consists in that consideration."

Then after cautioning him to obtain a good title, and directing him how to begin and carry on the actual settling and planting of the location, the instructions, with a sharp eye to their main object, thus conclude;—"Lastly, we desire you to advise us, or either of us, how affairs stand with you, what your wants are, and how they may be most advantageously employed by us, for the life of our business will consist in the nimble, quiet, and full, correspondence with us; and although these instructions we have given you, clearly indicates [our views] yet we are not satisfied that you must needs bring in the place so many difficultyes, and also observe so many inconveniences, which we at this distance cannot possibly imagine; and therefore we refer all wholly to your discretion, not doubting but that you will doe all things to the best advantage of our designe, thereby obliedging your faithful friends and servants

Thos. Modiford
Barbadoes Sept. 18, 1657. Will. Sharpe.[1]

Certainly John Richbell carried out these "instructions" to the letter. No better description of the situation of Mamaroneck and its peculiar local characteristics could be written than they contain. Directly on the Sound, close to Connecticut and claimed by that Colony, yet within the Dutch jurisdiction, with a deeply indented harbour, and a fine ever running stream of fresh water falling over a reef directly into it, backed by high wooded hills, and skirted by the cleared planting fields of the Indians; and within a day's sail of the "Manhadoes," Richbell could not have found on the whole coast a locality better adapted to the "nimble" business of himself and his Barbadoes friends. There was only a single point in which it failed to meet their "instructions." It was not "already settled," and had no "house" already built. The Siwawoy tribe of Mohican Indians were its sole inhabitants when Richbell first saw Mamaroneck, and their Sachems were Wappaquewam and Mahatahan,[2] brothers in authority, but not in blood.

How soon Richbell left Barbadoes, after the date of his instructions, or when he arrived in New Netherland, or on Long Island, is not known. He purchased that beautiful peninsula, or a part of it, in Oyster Bay, afterwards, and still, known as Lloyd's Neck, on the 5th of September 1660, which six years later he subsequently sold.[3] He was a resident of Oyster Bay from 1660 to 1663 or 1664, and afterwards of Mamaroneck.

A year later, in September 1661, he made the first purchase of the Mamaroneck lands of the Indians, the deed for which is as follows:—

The Indian Deed to John Richbell.

Mammaranock, y^e^ 23^d^ Sept. 1661. Know all men by these presents;—That I Wappaquewam Right owner and Proprietor of part of this Land, doe by order of my brother who is another Proprietor & by Consent of the other Indyans doe this day Sell, Lett, & make over from mee my heyres and assignes forever, unto John Richbell of Oyster Bay his heyres & assignes forever, three Necks of Land, the Eastermost is called Mammaranock neck, and the Westermost is bounded with Mr. Pell's purchase: Therefore Know all men whom these presents concerne, that I Wappaquewam Doe this Day alienate and Estrange from mee, my heires, and assignes for ever unto John Richbell his heyres and assignes forever these three Necks of Land with all the Meadows Rivers and Islands thereunto belonging, Also the said Richbell or his Assignes may freely feed cattle, or cutt Timber Twenty miles Northward from the marked Trees of the Necks, ffor and in consideracion the said Richbell is to Give and Deliver unto the aforenamed Wappaquewam the goods hereunder mentioned, the one halfe about a month after the date here of, and the other halfe the next Spring following, as the Interpreters can Testifye, & for the true performance hereof I Wappaquewam doe acknowledge to have Received two Shirts & Ten Shillings in Wampum the Day and Date above Written.

The mark of
+
Wappaquewam,

Twenty Two Coats,
One hundred fathom of Wampum,
Twelve Shirts,
Ten paire of Stockings,
Twenty hands of powder,
Twelve barrs of Lead,
Two firelockes,
ffifteen Hoes,

[1] Deed book III., Sec. of State's off., 122, 126.

[2] In a single paper of the time, this name is spelled "Mathetuson," but in all the others "Mahatahan."

[3] See chapter on "Mamaroneck" for some details of Richbell and his residence in Oyster Bay.

ffifteen Hatchets,
Three Kettles.[1]

In the December following the execution and delivery of the foregoing deed one Thomas Revell also of Oyster Bay a merchant, and rival of Richbell attempted to claim the same lands under a deed from an Indian, for "two Necks" dated the 27th of October 1661. This led to an examination into the facts by the Dutch authorities when Richbell presented to them his memorial for a "grondbref," or permit to extinguish the Indian title, in December 1661. This examination shewed Revell's claim to be a fraud, and the Dutch Government accordingly issued their ground brief to Richbell, and later, their "Transport," or Patent. When the change of rule came and the English were in power and the Dutch Transports, or patents, had been confirmed by English ones under the Duke of York, Richbell had recorded with his English Patent, in the Secretary's office of the Province, the numerous affidavits made in 1661 and 1662 and laid before the Dutch authorities, on which they condemned Revell's Indian deed and claim, and decided in his own favor, together with another by an eye witness made in 1665,[2] and an Indian certificate of Confirmation of the foregoing Indian deed to him of September 23d, 1661.[3]

The latter is in these words:—

Indian Certificate of Confirmation to John Richbell.

"Recorded for Mr. John Richbell the 6th day of June 1666 this Indyan deed.

I Wampaquewam, together with my brother Mahatahan, being the right owners of three Necks of Land, lying and being Bounded on ye East side with Mamaranock River, and on ye West side with the Stony River which parts the said Land and Mr. Pells purchase, Now These are to certify to all and every one of whom it may concerne, That I Wampaquewam did for myselfe and in the behalfe of my aforesaid Brother Mahatahan, firm firmly Bargain and Sell to Mr. John Richbell of Oyster Bay, to him and his Heires forever, the above mentioned three Necks of Land, together with all other Priviledges thereunto belonging, Six weeks before I sold it to Mr. Thos. Revell. And did mark out the Bounds, and give Mr. Richbell possession of the said Land, and did receive part of my pay there in hand, as Witness my hand.

Witnesse — The mark of
Jacob Yough — +
Catharine Yough.[4] — Wampaquewam.

In December, 1661, John Richbell made his application to the Dutch Governor and Council for the grond-bref above alluded to. His memorial, dated the day before Christmas, 1661, is in these words:

JOHN RICHBELLS PETITION TO THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT FOR A PATENT.

Amsterdam in New Netherland, 24 Dec., 1661.

To the Most Noble, Great, and Respectful Lords, the Directors-General and Council, in New Netherland, solicits most reverently John Richbell, that it may please your Honours to grant him letters patent for three Necks of Lands, the east Neck being named Mammoranock Neck, the western with the adjacent Land by some named Mr. Pells Land, promising that all persons who with the supplicants permission or order would settle there with him, shall be willing to solicit letters patent for such a parcel of land as they may intend to settle. In the meantime he supplicates that your Honours may be pleased to grant him letters patent for the whole tract, which he is willing to enforce and instruct them of your Honours Government and will, in similar manner, on terms and conditions as are allowed to other villages. Hoping for your assent he remains, respectfully,

John Richbell.[5]

This memorial was read and considered by director Stuyvesant and his Council on the 19th of January, 1662, and the applicant was requested to explain more fully the extent and meaning of his proposal. Richbell subsequently did so, and on the 6th of the succeeding May (1662) there was granted him the annexed "grond-bref" or ground-brief signed by Stuyvesant himself.

Dutch Ground-Brief for Mamaroneck.

We, the Director-General and Council of State of New Netherland, doe declare by these presents, that we, upon the memorial or petition of Mr. John Rissebel and his friends, that he be under the protection of the high and subordinate Authority of this Province, upon terms and conditions that other inhabitants doe enjoy, may take up and posssess a certain Neck and parcel of Land called Mammarinikes, provided that the aforesaid Mr. John Rissebel, his associates, and every one that are now hereafter to come, in due and convenient time, shall present themselves before us to take the oath of fidelity and obedience,[6] and also as other inhabitants are used, to procure a transport of what they possess.

Given under our hand and seal the 6th day of May, 1662, in Fort Amsterdam in New Netherland.

P. Stuyvesant.[7]

[1] This deed is recorded in the Secretary of State's office at Albany, Book of Entries No. 4, p. 125; and is here printed from a copy certified by W. Bobin Depy Secy of the Province on 12th March, 1722, in the writer's possession. In the Books as now numbered at Albany, it is in Liber 2 of Deeds, p. 192. The mark of Wappaquewam is omitted in the record.

[2] As explained above in this essay.

[3] Liber 2 of Deeds, 192–199, Sec. of state's offe Albany.

[4] Liber Two of Deeds p. 128.

[5] Deed Book iii. 37, Sec. State's Office. See ante pp. 54–57 for the "terms and conditions" referred to in this document.

[6] As required by the charter of "Freedoms and Exemptions" mentioned above in part "4" of this chapter."

[7] The original in Dutch of this paper in the writer's possession, was a few years ago accidentally destroyed. It is recorded in vol. xx. of the State Records at Albany, 127.

The Dutch "Transport" which was formerly in the writer's possession was unfortunately destroyed by accident at the same time with the original Groundbrief as stated above. It vested the lands in Richbell absolutely.

The English Patent of Confirmation of the Transport to John Richbell was granted by Governor Francis Lovelace on March 16, 1668, and is as follows:—

The English Patent of Confirmation to John Richbell

Francis Lovelace, Esq., Governor General, under his Royal Highness, James, Duke of York and Albany, &c. &c., of all his territories in America, to all to whom these presents shall come, sendeth greeting. Whereas, there is a certain parcel or tract of land within this government, upon the main, contained in three necks, of which the eastermost is bounded with a small river, called Mamaronock river, being almost the east bounds or limits of this government upon the main, and the westermost with the gravelly or stony brook or river, which makes the east limits of the land known by the name of Mr. Pell's purchase. Having to the south, the sound, and running northward from the marked trees upon the said neck, twenty miles into the woods, which said parcel or tract of land hath been lawfully purchased of the Indian proprietors, by John Richbell of Mamaronock, gentleman, in whose possession now it is, and his title thereunto sufficiently proved, both at several courts of sessions, as also at the general courts of assizes, now for a confirmation unto him the said John Richbell, in his possession and enjoyment of the premises: *Know ye*, that by virtue of the commission and authority unto me given by his Royal Highness, I have given, ratified, and confirmed and granted, and by these presents do give and ratify, confirm and grant, unto the said John Richbell, his heirs and assigns, all the aforecited parcel or tract of land as aforesaid, together with all woods, beaches, marches, pastures, creeks, waters, lakes, fishing, hawking, hunting and fowling, and all other profits, immunities and emoluments to the said parcel or tract of land belonging, annexed, or appertaining with their and every of their appurtenances, and every part and parcel thereof, and in regard to the distance of the plantations already settled, or to be settled upon the said necks of land, from any town, the persons inhabiting, or that shall inhabit thereupon, shall have a petty constable chosen amongst themselves yearly, for preserving of the peace, and decision of small differences under the value of forty shillings, and they shall be excused from all common attendance at training or other ordinary duties at Westchester. But in matters of assessment and public rates, they are to be assessed by the officers of that town to which they do properly belong, being the nearest unto them, to have and to hold the said parcel and tract of land in the said three necks contained, and premises with all and singular the privileges and appurtenances to the said John Richbell, his heirs and assigns, to the proper use and behoof of the said John Richbell, his heirs and assignees forever, as free land of inheritance, rendering and paying as a quit rent for the same yearly, and every year, the value of eight bushels of winter wheat, upon the five and twentieth day of March, if demanded, unto his Royal Highness and his heirs, or to such governor or governors as shall from time to time be appointed and set over them. Given under my hand and seal, at Fort James, in New York, on Manhattans Island, the 16th day of October, in the twentieth year of the reign of our sovereign, Lord Charles the second, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c. &c., Anno Domini, 1668.

FRANCIS LOVELACE.[1]

The three Necks described in this patent, were called the "East" the "Middle," and the "West" Necks. The Middle Neck was sometimes styled the "Great Neck," from its longer extent of water front, which led to the supposition that its area below Westchester Path was greater than that of the East Neck. The "East Neck" extended from Mamaroneck River to a small stream called "Pipins Brook" which divided it from the Great Neck and is the same which now crosses the Boston Road just east of the house of the late Mr. George Vanderburgh; the "Middle Neck" extended from the latter stream westward to a much larger brook called "Cedar or Gravelly Brook," which is the one that bounds the land now belonging to Mr. Meyer on the west; and the "West Neck" extended from the latter to another smaller brook still further to the westward, also termed "Stoney or Gravelly Brook," which was the East line of the Manor of Pelham. A heated controversy arose between John Richbell and John Pell, as to which of the two brooks last named was the true boundary between them, Pell claiming that it was the former and that the "West Neck" was his land. After proceedings before Governor Lovelace and in the court of assizes the matter was finally settled on the 22d of January 1671 by an agreement practically dividing the disputed territory between them. This was approved by Governor Andros and permission given for a survey.[1]

For some reason not now known, the survey and division was not actually effected till 1677, when it was made by Robert Ryder the Surveyor-General as follows;—

"Whereas there hath been a difference between John Richbell and Mr. John Pell which by virtue of an order from the Right Honourable Major Edmund Andros Esqr. Governor Generall of New York, I have made a division of the within mentioned Neck of Land by and with the mutual consent of both parties,

[1] This patent is recorded in Book of Patents II. p. 75, at Albany.

[2] A cotemporary copy of this agreement signed by Pell, with Andros' permit annexed is in the writer's possession.

which is in manner and form as is hereafter expressed viz.[1] That the said Richbell shall extend from Cedar Tree Brook or Gravelly Brook, south westerly fifty degrees to a certain mark'd Tree, lying above the now comon Road thirty and four chains in length, marked on the east with R and on the west with P, thence extending south sixty three degrees East by certain marked Trees pfixed[1] ending by a certain piece of Meadow at the Salt creek which runs up to Cedar Tree Brook or Gravelly Brook, extending from the first marked Trees Nor Nor West to Brunkes's River by certain Trees in the said Line marked upon the west with P. and upon the east with R. performed the twenty second day of May 1677.

p[r] me Robert Ryder Surv.[yr]

The preceeding Surveyor above mentioned is mutually consented unto by the above mentioned Mr. John Richbell and Mr. John Pell in presence of us.

Thomas Gibbs
Walter Webbs
John Sharp
Joseph Carpenter.[2]

Thus was permanently settled the controversy regarding the West Neck, a settlement which finally determined the eastern boundary of the Manor of Pelham. As neither the Middle or Great Neck, nor the West Neck, formed any part of the Manor of Scarsdale, an account of them will not be given here, but will be found in the chapter on the Town of Mamaroneck as now erected.

In Richbell's Petition of the 24th of December 1661 to the Dutch Government for a ground-brief above given, he says the name of the "East Neck" is "Mamaranock Neck." A misreading by Mr. Bolton of the first of these two words in this document as recorded led to his stating in the first edition of his History of Westchester County issued in 1848, (vol. i. 282) that the "aboriginal name" of the East Neck was "Wanmainuck," and the error has continued in the second edition, (vol. i. 463). This has led subsequent writers to repeat the statement. It was however purely a mistake of Mr. Bolton. The true "aboriginal name" of the East Neck was "Mamaranock," the same as the river which formed its eastern boundary. This word was spelled in very many ways, in early days, by the Dutch and English in public and private letters, documents, and instruments, but all aiming at giving the original Indian sound. In the early part of the eighteenth century the present spelling "Mamaroneck" obtained and has ever since been used. It is the Indian name of the River flowing into the head of the Harbour.

Like most Indian names it is descriptive of a striking natural object and effect, and signifies "The Place where the Fresh water falls into the Salt." A short distance above the present bridge between the towns of Mamaroneck and Rye where the river bends suddenly to the east and then takes a northerly course, a rocky reef originally crossed it nearly at right angles, causing the formation of "rapids." It was high enough to prevent the tide rising over it at high-water, so that the fresh water of the river always fell directly into the salt water of the harbour, and at low water with a strong rush and sound. It was thus a striking and unusual occurrence in nature, and is the source of the Indian name of the River itself and of the East Neck of which it was the eastern boundary. No authority has been found for another signification "the place of the rolling stones" that has been ascribed to the word "Mamaroneck" by Mr. Bolton. Rolling stones are not found anywhere in the neighborhood, the rocks being what the geologists call *in situ*, and the boulders of huge size and weight.

Richbell's Patent of confirmation from Governor Lovelace is dated October 16th, 1668. On the 14th of the ensuing November, twenty-eight days later, he conveyed the East Neck to Margery Parsons, his wife's mother, "for valuable consideration of certaine goods formerly delivered and paid unto me by Mrs. Margery Parsons upon the Island of St. Christopher's in America.[3] Two days afterward, on the 16th of November 1668 Margery Parsons conveyed to her daughter Mrs. Richbell the East Neck "for that singular and dear affection I have and bare to my most dear daughter Mrs. Ann Richbell wife of the said Mr. John Richbell for her dutiful observance towards me."[4] By way of making this provision for his wife more secure, John Richbell settled the same East Neck upon her as a jointure, by a deed in trust to John Ryder dated 23d of April, 1669, "in consideration of a marriage long since had and solemnized between the said John Richbell and Ann his present wife," and therein describes the Neck as follows, "All that parcell or neck of Land where he now Lives called the East Neck, and to begin at the Westward part thereof at a certaine creeke lying, being, and adjacent by and betwixt y[e] Necks of Land commonly called y[e] Great Neck, and the East Neck, and so to run eastward as farr as Momorononeck River, including therein betwixt the said two lines, all the land as well North into y[e] woods above Westchester Path twenty miles, as the lands belowe the Path southward towards the Sound."[5]

John Richbell died the 26th day of July 1684,[6] leaving his widow him surviving, in whom his entire real estate vested in fee absolutely under the above deeds and jointure, except what little he and his wife had together conveyed in his lifetime.

[1] So in the original.

[2] From a cotemporary copy of the original in the writer's possession.

[3] Ancient copy of the deed in writer's possession. It is also Recorded in Secr[s] office and in West. Co.

[4] Ancient copy of this original in the writer's possession, original not recorded.

[5] Ancient copy in writers possession. Also recorded in book A, 236 &c West. Co.

[6] West. Co. Records Lib. A. p 34.

On the 23d of December 1697 Mrs. Ann Richbell conveyed the entire East Neck and all her right, title and interest therein and thereto, by a full covenant warranty deed, in consideration of £600 New York currency, to "Coll. Caleb Heathcote, Mayor of the Borough of Westchester," his heirs and assigns forever in fee simple absolute, excepting only a small tract previously deeded as a gift to James Mott and his wife in 1684, and another small piece deeded as a gift to John Emerson on the 30th of Sept 1686, which latter was subsequently conveyed by Emerson to Mott by deed dated 25th of June 1690, the wives of both being daughters of Mrs. Richbell. The deed to Colonel Heathcote also provided that "this Deed of Sale shall not obliedge the said Ann Richbell to make good to the said Caleb Heathcote any of the outlands within the Two Miles further than her right and title therein." With these exceptions Ann Richbell's entire right title and estate under the deeds and Patents of her husband John Richbell was conveyed to, and vested absolutely in, Colonel Caleb Heathcote.[1]

The above reservation to Mott referred to a small piece of upland at the entrance to that portion of the East Neck, subsequently, and to this day, called "De Lancey's Neck," of about thirty acres deeded by Mrs. Richbell to Mary and James Mott on the 8 August 1684, which from Mott's heirs finally became vested in the late Giles Seaman after whose death it passed by sale to the late Isaac Hall, who sold it in his lifetime to its present owner, who built upon the premises the fine summer hotel now called, from his own name, the "Rushmore."

The last and only other reservation in the above deed to Col. Heathcote related to some lands which Richbell and his wife in his lifetime had sold in small parcels which he called "Alottments or House Lotts." It will be recollected that Richbell's object was to establish a quiet place for trade at Mamaroneck. In his application to the Dutch Director and Council for leave to purchase the Indian title and their groundbrief, above given, authorizing him so to do, mention is made of some persons who, with his permission, would settle there with him, and for whom he made himself, and was held to be, responsible. These appear to have been persons from Oyster Bay on Long Island and Manussing Island in Rye, between which places a sort of ferry communication across the Sound then existed. Nothing remains to show whether the trade of Modiford Sharpe and Richbell was, or was not, profitable. If the latter, it could not have been so very long, for the English conquest of New Netherland in 1664, three years after Richbell's purchase of Mamaroneck, put an end to its advantages for a contraband business. After his controversy with Pell was terminated in 1671 as shown above, Richbell did little or nothing practically towards settling Mamaroneck. His English Patent was issued October 16, 1668. A few months later he apparently set apart a strip adjoining the north side of the old Westchester path or road from the crossing of Mamaroneck river down to and along the shore of the harbour westward for what he termed, "Alottments or House Lotts" eight in number. The first deed from himself and wife was, it is believed, made to one John Bassett on the 4th of March 1669, for number "four" of these "House Lotts." It was a deed of gift, the consideration being "the Good opinion and Good affection we beare to Mr. John Bassett." It was bounded east by No. three, and west "with my own house lot named No. five." It reserved a rent of "one bushel of winter wheat payable annually on the 25th of March," and "one day's work each yearly harvest;" and prohibited any sale of the land "but by and with the consent and approbation of the said John Richbell or Ann his wife." Of the other six "House Lotts" those which were sold were conveyed in a similar manner and with similar reservations, except that the consideration was in money. To each "House Lott" was appurtenant an undivided eighth part of a tract in the rear of the "House Lotts," which, with, and including, the latter, extended two miles "northwards into the woods."[2] Later with the consent of his grantees he had a survey made of this tract, by Robert Ryder the Surveyor-General of the Province. The original is in the writer's possession, and is in these words:

THE FIRST SURVEY OF MAMARONECK.

"These may certifie all whom it may conserne y^t^ by a mutual consent agreed on betweene Mr. John Richbell & the inhabitants of Momoronacke I have runn out a certaine tract of Land w^ch^ is in partnership betweene the said Inhabitants and the said Mr. Jo.^n^ Richbell, beginning at Momaronacke [River] running thence southwesterly fifty degrees along the harber ninety and two chains: to a certaine runn or Swamp called Dirty Swamp: running thence to the ffalls of Sheldrake River including the said ffalls within the said line: N. W. 20 degrees: forty and five chaine: running thence upon a N. W.ly [line] 45 degrees to a certaine Rocky hill being upon the Southermost pt. of the greate plaine, one hundred twenty and two chaines: running thence by pt. of the edge of the plaine & threw the woods to Momoronacke River one hundred twenty & seaven chaines: ffrom thence running by the side of the River to the Going over of the said River: one hundred & sixty chaines. & in testimony hereof I have hereunto sett my hand this 16^th^ ffeb: 167⅞. Ro. Ryder Surueye^r^:"[3]

[1] This deed was acknowledged by Ann Richbell March 22^d^ 1697 before "Joseph Theal Justice" and was recorded in Lib. B, of West. Co. Records; p 371 &c June 15^th^ 1698.

[2] These details are taken from a copy of the deed to Bassett, in the writer's possession. It does not appear on the Westchester Records nor on those of the town, which begin only in 1697.

[3] This survey was subsequently on the 11^th^ of August, 1687, recorded in West^r^. Co Lib A, 149.

Richbell's Patent of 1668 ran according to its terms North Northwest twenty miles into the woods, its eastern boundary being the Colony line fixed December 1st 1664 by Governor Nichols, and Commissioners Cartwright and Mavericke on the part of the Duke of York and Gov. Winthrop Secretary Allyn, and Messrs. Richards, and Gold, on the part of Connecticut. That line these Commissioners thus officially describe in their formal treaty between the two Colonies ;—" We order and declare that the creeke or river called Mamoroneck which is reputed to be about thirteen miles to the east of Westchester, and a line drawn from the east point or side where the fresh water falls into the Salt at Highwater-Mark North Northwest to the line of the Massachusetts to be the western bounds of the said Colony of Connecticut." This line remained unchanged till 1683, nineteen years later, when the boundary was fixed at the mouth of Byram River as its starting point. Consequently the direction of the lines of Richbell's Patent being the same as that of the Colony line of 1664,they could not be legally set aside or successfully disputed in a Court of law. But certain " Ryemen " being of Connecticut origin did make a claim to Richbell's lands in the Whiteplains, as belonging to them by virtue of a deed from an Indian named Shapham, and several other Indians to " the Town of Rye " dated 22d Novemb. 1683—twenty-two years after Richbell's purchase of the lands in September 1661. But this deed was not obtained, nor the claim under it made by the " Ryemen," until Richbell was about to dispose of his lands in Whiteplains. What a perfect " Yankee trick " this claim was is shown by the fact that it describes the Whiteplains as being "within the town bounds of Rye," when six days *after* its date the then pending public negotiations fixed the boundary line at Byram River, and Rye ceased to be a part of Connecticut, as she claimed to be and from which she got her " town bounds." It was obtained in a hurry so as to base on it a claim for the land as a part of Connecticut. Smart as it was, it proved, in the end a complete failure. The claim of the " Rye Men " was simply a claim under the charter of Connecticut, which they insisted took in every part of Westchester County across to the Hudson River. Richbell at once brought the matter before Governor Dongan by the following complaint and petition for redress :

RICHBELL'S PETITION AGAINST THE CLAIM OF RYEMEN TO WHITEPLAINS.

To the Right hono:^{ble} Coll Tho Dongan Leiv^{t} Govern^{r} and vice admirall under his Roy^{ll} high^{ss} of N. Yorke and Dependences in America &c. And to the hono^{ble} Councell.

The humble Peticon of John Richbell of Momoroneck Gentl.

Humbly Sheweth That whereas your Petition^{r} hath been for Severall years Possessed and Enjoyed of a Certain Tract or Parcell of Land within this Governm^{t} upon the maine, Contained with a small River Commonly called Momoroneck River being also the East bounds or Limitts of this Governm^{t} upon the maine, and the Westermost with the gravelly or Stony brooke, or river which makes the East limitts of the Land knowne by the name of W^{m} Pell's Purchase haveing to the south the sound and runing northward from the marked Trees upon the said Neck's twenty miles into the woods the which said Parcell or Tract of Land hath been heretofore Lawfully purchased of the Indian Proprietors by the said John Richbell Gentl and his Right and Title thereunto Sufficiently Proved as ℔ his Pattent from Governour Lovelace bareing Date the 16th of October in the 20th yeare of his Ma^{r} Reigne Anno Dom 1668.

Relation being thereunto had will more fully & at large appeare. Butt now soe it is may it please your hono^{r} and the hono^{ble} Councell haveing a Desire to dispose of some Quantity of said Land which is Called the Whiteplaines and is mençoned within said Pattent to Severall Persons whose names[1] are Subscribed to a writeing hereunto annexed for the better Improvem^{t}. And manureing the same & to Settle thereon with themselves and familyes is wholly Obstructed and hind^{d} by Ryemen haveing made a greate Disturbance amongst them and Pretends a right to the Same therefore Cannot dispose of any part or p'cell thereof till your hono^{r} will be pleased to grant an Order to Cleare the Same.

Therefore humbly pray and beseech your hono^{r} and the hono^{ble} Councell that you will bee pleased to take the Premises into your serious consideration and grant an order to Cleare the same Accordingly Desireing only the privlidges as farr as his Pattent doth Extend. And shall pray &c John Richbell.

This petition came up for hearing before the Governor on the 17th of March 1684, and the people of Rye were summoned to show cause at the next Court of Assize why John Richbell was not the true owner of the lands in question. But before the next Court sat, Richbell passed from earth, his death occurring on the 26th day of July 1684. He left his widow Ann and three daughters, Elizabeth, second wife of Adam Mott, of Hempstead, Mary, the wife of Capt. James Mott and Anne, the wife of John Emerson, of Maryland, his only children him surviving. The Rye claim however did not die, but remained a source of annoyance to his widow. In 1694 the matter came to a head. Mrs. Richbell served the following Protest upon the Rye people at a town meeting, and subsequently began a suit at law to test the question.

PROTEST OF MRS. RICHBELL AGAINST RYE.[2]

" To all Xt^{ian} People to whome this present Protest

[1] These names do not appear upon the record at Albany.

[2] From the original in the writer's possession. It is recorded in Lib. A West. Co. Records, 168.

shall Come Greeting: Know yee that whereas I Ann Richbell of Momorronock in the County of Westchest[r] in the province and Colony of New yorke the Widdow and Relict of Jn°. Richbell Esq[r]., Deceased Am Credebly Informed that Humphry Underhill and severall other persons belongeing to the Towne of Rye have made a forcable Entry: and are further proceeding in the Like Manner Upon and into Severall parcells and Tracts of Land within the pattent Right of me the said Anne Richbell as may and dos Appeare by the Grand Pattent Granted under the hand and Seale of Coll Frances Lovelace the then Geverno[r] of this Province: it Contrary to y[e] Peace of their Maj[ties] & Therefore know Yee y[t] I Ann Richbell of Momorronock aforesaid being the true & Absoelute Owner of the said Tracts or parcells of Land doe Protest Against & forbidd any Person whatsoever for making any forcable Entry upon the same or any part or parcell thereof and likewise do warne and desire all such persons that have already made such forceable entry thereon or upon any part or parcell of the said Pattent as aforesaid that they expell and forthwith remove therefrom, and further do protest ag[t] the Register of the County and doe forbid him at his perrill no[t] to enter any of their privite agreem.[ts] or writing in the Records of the County in presence of James Mott Justice of the peace and Benjamin Collier Esq[r] High Sheriff of the said County: In Consideration whereof I doe hereby obleidge myselfe and my heirs Execut[rs] and Administrators firmly by these p[e]sents: to Indemnifie and Keepe harmless the said Register concerning y[e] Premises aforesaid In wittness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seale this twenty sixth day of February in the sixth year of their Maj[ties] Reigne Annoq[e] Domj 169¾ Acknowledged before us by the above Ann Richbell to be her Act & deed the day and date above written.

Ann Richbell L.S.

James Mott Justis Pece.
Joseph Lee Pub. Not[e].

This Instrum[t] was Read at a publick Towne meeting at y[e] Towne house of Rye the day and date above written, and their Answer was if they did not meddle or make with any Lands that belongs to M[rs] Richbells Patent But at the same Time they was makeing a Generall Agreem[t] to Lay out and devide a parcell of Land the said M[rs] Richbell Layeth Clame Too by virty of her said Pattent.

Test Joseph Lee t[h] Comitt.
Westchest[r]."

This Instrum[t] is Recorded in the Records of the County of Westchest[r] in Booke N° B. Foleo, 168: 169.

The suit referred to was tried at the then County town of Westchester in December 1696 and resulted in favor of Mrs. Richbell. The following is the verdict, which is printed from a copy certified by the Court clerk at the time, now in the writer's possession. It is believed to be the only Westchester County Court document of the kind of the seventeenth century which has come down regularly to a present representative in interest of one of the parties to the original action. Its form being somewhat different from that now used, and showing the names of the Judges, Jurors, and Counsel, and the summary of the evidence, gives it great and curious interest.

Verdict for Mrs. Richbell.

" Westcheste[r]
Countys Ss. Att a Court of Pleas held at Westchester for the said County Dec. y[e] 3[rd], & fourth in the Eight year of his Majestie's Reigne, Annoq[e] Domj. 1696.

Present

The Honob[le] James Graham, Judge, John Pell, John Hunt, Wm Barnes, Thos Pinkney, Esq[rs].

Maddam Richbell by Peter Chock Atturney Read the Pattent & Joynt[e][1] &c.

Upon which the Jury was Impanneld & Swore, viz.

Edm[d]. Ward	Thomas Bedient
Jno. Bayly	Robt. Hustice Jun[r]
Gabriell Leggatt	Wm Davenport
Joseph Hunt, Sen[e]	John Barrett
Thomas Baxter	Roger Barton
Charles Vincent	Thomas Shuite

Mr. Underhill Reads an ord[r] about the Line betweene this Province and Canniddecott and Pleads the Land in question not within this Governm[t] but in Canniddecott.

Mr. Peter Cock[2] Pleads that Joseph Lee[3] might be swore to give what Report he cann about the Surveigh of the now Surveyo[r] Generall, who upon oath, saith, that he begun his Survey at or about Momoronock Bridge:[4] and soe Runn up by the River till till he Came where Umphry Underhill Lives, who made opposition with Gunns, Stones, &c. and soe went no further.

(vert.)

The Pattent with the rest of Papers needfull Given to the Jury, and the Sherrife Sworne to Keepe them from fire and candles &c. untill they bringe in their verdict,

viz.

The Jury find that Momorronack River is the bounds of Richbells Pattent where the ffresh water ffals into the salt in said River, and from thence a northerly line into the woods: and if the Tenn[t] in Possession be on the West side of said Line then wee find for the plaintive, otherwise for the Defendant.

Joseph Lee, Cl."

It would have been of more interest still at this

[1] Jointure.
[2] So in the original.
[3] The County Register, and also Clerk of the Court.
[4] The original bridge, which was some distance north of the present bridge, the location of which was only made in 1800, by the Westchester Turnpike Company under their charter of that year.

day, had it given the exact location of the premises for which the suit was brought. It is believed to have been the land of one Hunt, son-in-law of Underhill, who lived above and adjoining him on the upper part of Mamaroneck River; but this is only a surmise.

This decision finally established the east boundary of Richbells Patent and settled the legal as well as actual direction of both the east and the west boundary lines of that Patent. In the next century two controversies arose regarding the location of the dividing line between the east and the Middle Necks of Richbell's Patent, one in 1731 and the other in 1768, both of which were decided in favor of the Proprietors of the Manor of Scarsdale, which included the East Neck, the particulars of which belong more appropriately to the history of Mamaroneck as a town under the Act of 1788.

We now turn to Colonel Heathcote's title to the part of the Manor which he obtained directly from the Indians. This was the portion between Hutchinson's River and the Bronx, bordering to the south on the Eastchester Patent, now a part of the town of Scarsdale, a tract which in the Colony days bore, and to a certain extent still bears, the local name of "The Fox Meadows." It is thus described in the Indian deed from Patthunke, Beopo, Cohawney, and Wapetuck to Colonel Heathcote, "To begin on the west side at southermost end of a ridge known by the name of Richbell's or Horse-Ridge at a great Rock and so to run a north-northwest line to Broncks's River, and on the eastermost side from Mamaroneck River, and from the head thereof to Broncks's River." [1]

Nearly a year later, another deed was executed to Colonel Heathcote by three of the above named Indians, Pathunke, Wapetuck, and Beopo, for that part of the land lying between the above tract and the Eastchester Patent line in which it is thus described, "butted and bounded as followeth Eastwardly by the marked trees or westermost bounds of a certain tract of Land sold by the said Beopo Patthunke Wapetuck & Cohawney to the said Heathcote bearing date the thirtieth day of March one thousand seven hundred and one, northwardly by Bronxe's River Southwarcly and Westwardly by Henry Fowler's purchase and others." [2] Thirty years afterward, in the first of the two suits above alluded to instituted by the then proprietors of the Manor of Scarsdale against one Quimby for trespass, Henry Fowler gave the following account of the circumstances of this purchase of Colonel Heathcote, in the form of an affidavit;—"Memorandum that on y^e^ Sixth day of May 1731 in the fourth year of his Majesties Reign Annoq. Dom. 1731, Henery ffowler Sen^r^ of Eastchester in y^e^ County of Westchester and Collony of New York, yeoman, of full age Being sworne on ye Holly Evangelist of Almighty God, Saith;—that about the time Coll. Caleb Heathcot was lying out the purchase which is commonly called the fox meadow purchase, Coll. Heathcott Desired said Henery Fowler, this Deponent, to show him said Coll. Heathcott the bounds of the Indian purchase, that the said Henery ffowler this Deponent had purchased of the Indians Ann Hook, Woupatopas, &c. for himself and others his neighbours · this Deponent further saith that Coll. Heathcott further said to him, I have purchased a tract of Land of the Heathen Joyning to your bounds; this Deponent further saith that he went along with Coll. Heathcott and showed him his bounds of the land he had purchased of the Heathens for himself and neighbours, which was from the Head of Hutchinsons River a straight course to Brunksis River to a marked tree, which Coll. Heathcott acknowledged to be his Bounds of his Indian Purchase, and this Deponent further Saith that he hath no claim to any parts of the lands in y^e^ Indian purchase or lands therein contained which the said Henery ffowler purchased for himself and neighbours adjoining to Coll. Heathcotts; and that he Doth not now Declare this truth either in hopes of loss or gain, or through any fear, or in hopes of gaining any favour or affection of any person whatsoever, and further this Deponent saith not.

Henery ffowler.

This Deponent being
about Seventy four years
of age was sworn
before me ye date aforesaid.
Sworn before me one of his
Majesties Justices of the peace
for Westchester County.

John Ward, Justice.[3]

In 1696, the year before Colonel Heathcote purchased from her the Mamaroneck lands, he obtained from Mrs. Richbell her written consent to his getting the usual deeds of Confirmation[4] from the then Indians of the neighborhood for the lands formerly bought from Wappaquewam and other Indians by her husband John Richbell. The above deeds seem also to have been obtained to remove any possible claim to the Fox meadows from any parties whatever whether Indians or whites. He also obtained on the eleventh of June 1701 from the same Indians Patthunke, Beopo, and Wapetuck a similar deed of confirmation for Richbells Mamaroneck two miles tract.[5]

In the course of the same year and the next he obtained, with others in interest, similar Indian deeds of Confirmation for all the lands in the great "West," "Middle" and "East Patents" which together covered all the county between the Manors of Cortlandt on the north, Philipsburgh on the west, Scarsdale on the south, and the Connecticut line on the east,

[1] From the original deed dated 30 March 1700-1.

[2] Original deed in the writer's possession dated 24 Feb. 1701-2.

[3] From an ancient copy of the original in the writer's possession.

[4] Before explained in this essay.

[5] West. Co. Records Lib. D 52.

a short account of which will be given in another connection.

At the time of his purchase from Mrs. Ann Richbell of the entire estate and rights in her Mamaroneck and Scarsdale lands, in 1697, Colonel Heathcote was residing at Westchester, which the year before, through his influence, had been created a Borough-Town, with all its municipal privileges of a Mayor and Aldermen and Assistants, and the additional one of a representative of its own in the Assembly of the Province,[1] its charter, by which he was named its first Mayor, bearing date April 16th, 1696. He was a merchant in New York, where he also had a town residence, and a member of the Council of the Province. He had been a property holder in both Westchester and Eastchester, from about the time of his coming from England to New York, which was in 1691. Being a man of education and means and of affable manners, he took a prominent part in the affairs of both settlements. and, in accordance with the popular wish, was appointed Colonel of the Military of the whole County. Hence the title of "Colonel," by which he was ever afterwards known, and spoken of, notwithstanding the many higher and more distinguished positions and appointments he afterwards held, one of which was the judgeship of Common Pleas of the County, which he filled at the same time he was colonel of its militia.

Succeeding to all the Richbell estate in the East Neck, including the proprietary rights in the township tract of Mamaroneck, after obtaining the Indian confirmations and other deeds for the lands, and acquiring those from the head of Hutchinson's River to the Bronx, he had the whole erected into the Manor of Scarsdale under the Manor Grant above set forth in 1701.

Upon an eminence at the head of Mamaroneck harbor, overlooking the two beautiful peninsulas forming its eastern and western sides, the blue waters of the wide Sound into which it opens, and the distant hills of Long Island, called from him to this day, "Heathcote Hill," Colonel Heathcote erected a large double brick Manor-House in the English style of that period, with all the usual offices and outbuildings, with the purely American addition, however, of negro quarters, in consonance with the laws, habits, and customs of that day. Here he dwelt during the remainder of his life.

The people then living at Mamaroneck were very few. One of the first movements of Colonel Heathcote was to obtain the confirmation deed from the then Indian chiefs for Richbell's two-mile township tract above referred to. This instrument, dated June 11th, 1701, not quite three months after he obtained his Manor-Grant of Scarsdale, gives us the names of the then owners of the tract which was divided into eight house or home lots. It is executed by two Indian chiefs, Patthunk and Wapetuck, and confirms the tract "unto Collon.[e1] Caleb Heathcote, Capt. James Mott, William Penoir,[2] John Williams, Henry Disbrough, Alice Hatfield, John Disbrough and Benjamin Disbrough.[3]" Henry Disbrough's deed from John and Ann Richbell, of 16th of February, 1676,[4] for his eighth part gives us the precise boundaries of this tract, which it terms "Mammaroneck limmits," "being in length two miles and in Breadth one mile a half and Twenty-eight rods."[5] The object was to show that no difficulty with the natives might be apprehended by persons desirous of settling at Mamaroneck. Colonel Heathcote established a grist mill on the Mamaroneck River near the original bridge crossed by the "old Westchester Path," and a saw mill high up on that river, now the site of the present Mamaroneck Water Works, upon which site there continued to be a mill of some kind until it was bought two years ago to establish those works. He made leases at different points throughout the Manor, but did not sell in fee many farms, though always ready and willing to do so, the whole number of the deeds for the latter on record being only thirteen during the twenty-three years or thereabout which elapsed between his purchase from Mr. Richbell and his death. Some of these farms, however, were of great extent. He did not establish as far as now known any Manor Courts under his right to do so. The population was so scant, and the Manor like all others in the county, being subject to the judicial provisions of the Provincial Legislative acts, there was really no occasion for them. He personally attended to all duties, and matters, connected with his Manor and his Tenants, never having appointed any Steward of the Manor. Papers still in existence show that his Tenants were in the habit of coming to him for aid and counsel in their most private affairs, especially in the settlement of family disputes, and he was often called upon to draw their wills. But space will not permit mention of incidents and facts of only personal or local interest, or of details of his general management of the Manor, or his agricultural management of his demesne lands, which included besides those attached to his Manor House the whole of that portion of the East Neck below the old Westchester Path now called De Lancey's Neck.

Colonel Heathcote died very suddenly in the city of New York from a stroke of apoplexy on the 28th of February, 1720–21. In the *Philadelphia American Weekly Mercury* of March 11, 1721, is a letter from New York, under date of March 6th, which says, "On the 28th day of February last, died the Honorable Caleb Heathcote, Surveyor-General of His Majesty's

[1] It and Schenectady were the only "Borough-Towns" erected in the Province of New York. Both were perfect exampies of the old English Borough-Towns in every respect.

[2] Penoyer was really this name.

[3] Ancient copy in the writer's possession. Rec. Lib. C, West. Co., p. 52.

[4] Lib. A, 33, West. Co. Rec.

[5] The length was north and south, and the breadth east and west.



Caleb Heathcote

Reproduced from the Engraving from the Original Painting in possession of the
Rt. Rev. W. H. De Lancey, Bishop of Western New York.

Customs for the Eastern District of North America,[1] Judge of the Court of Admiralty for the Provinces of New York and New Jersey and Connecticut, one of His Majesty's Council for the Province of New York, and brother of Sir Gilbert Heathcote of London.

"He was a gentleman of rare qualities, excellent temper, and virtuous life and conversation, and his loss lamented by all that knew him, which on the day of his death, went about doing good in procuring a charitable subscription in which he made great progress." He was buried in his "family burial-place" in Trinity church yard, where his widow and three of his children who died young are also buried. His grave was in the church yard, almost beneath the southwest window of the *second* Trinity Church.[2] His widow Martha survived him till August 18th, 1736, when she died, and was buried in the same place the evening of the next day.[3] She was the daughter of Colonel William Smith, of St. George's Manor, Long Island, Chief Justice and President of the Council of New York. He had previously been Governor of Tangiers, in Africa, while it was an appanage of the British crown, where his daughter, Martha Heathcote, was born on the 11th of September, 1681.

Colonel Caleb Heathcote was the sixth son of Gilbert Heathcote, Mayor of Chesterfield, Derbyshire, England, by his wife, Anne Chase Dickens. He was born in his Father's house in that city, still standing, in 1665. He was the sixth of seven sons who lived to maturity—Gilbert, John, Samuel, Josiah, William, Caleb and George. Of these, who all became successful merchants in England and foreign countries, three—John, William and George—died unmarried, the latter at sea in 1678, in his thirtieth year. Josiah's family line became extinct in August, 1811, while the families of Gilbert, Samuel and Caleb continue to this day, but the latter only in the female line. Gilbert, the eldest, was Lord Mayor of London, Member of Parliament, one of the founders and the first Governor of the Bank of England, knighted by Queen Anne, and created a Baronet in 1732 by George II. His grandson of the same name was raised to the Peerage in 1856, as Baron Aveland, of Aveland, in the County of Lincoln, and his great grandson is the present Lord Great Chamberlain of England. Samuel, the third son, who made a large fortune at Dantzic, was the ancestor of the Heathcotes, Baronets, of Hursley Park, in the County of Hampshire; his son William having been created a Baronet in 1733, and his great grandson was the late Right Honorable Sir William Heathcote, Bart., of the Privy Council, late Member of Parliament for the University of Oxford, the pupil and warm friend of the poet Keble, whom he preferred to the Rectorship of Hursley, which will ever be as famous as that of George Herbert at Bemerton, and father of Sir William Heathcote, the sixth and present Baronet.

Caleb, the sixth son, left six children—Gilbert and William and four daughters: Anne, Mary, Martha and Elizabeth. Three of these—William, Mary and Elizabeth—died young. Gilbert, while a youth of twenty, completing his education in England under the care of his Uncle Gilbert, took the small pox and died, and is buried in that city. Anne, the eldest daughter, married James de Lancey (born 1703, died 1760), eldest surviving son of Etienne—in English Stephen—de Lancey, the first of that family in America, subsequently Chief Justice and Governor of the Province of New York, of whom the late Rt. Rev. William Heathcote de Lancey (born 1797, died 1865) was the eldest surviving grandson, and the father of the writer of this essay. Martha, the only other child of Colonel Caleb Heathcote, who came to maturity, married Lewis Johnston, of Perth Amboy, New Jersey, and left two sons—John L. and Heathcote—and two daughters—Anne and Margaret. The line of Heathcote Johnston is now extinct, and that of John L., it is said, is now extinct in the males. Anne married William Burnet, son of Governor Burnet of New York, and grandson of the famous Bishop Burnet of King William's and Queen Anne's day, but this line is also extinct. Margaret, the other daughter of Martha Heathcote Johnston, married Bowes Read, a prominent and distinguished public man of New Jersey, and her grandson was the late Rt. Rev. Charles P. McIlvaine, Bishop of Ohio, who has many descendants.

The Father of Colonel Heathcote, Gilbert the Mayor of Chesterfield, was a Roundhead in the English Civil War, and served with credit in the Army of the Parliament against King Charles the First. He died in 1690 and lies in the burial place of the Heathcotes on the north side of the altar rails, in the ancient Parish Church of Chesterfield, the cruciform church 600 years old, with the central twisted spire 230 feet high and 14 feet out of the perpendicular, yet perfectly secure, which, like the Leaning Tower of Pisa, is a puzzle whether it was or was not so erected originally. Against the wall of the chancel arch is a very handsome mural monument in the ornamented style of the 16th century, erected jointly by all his sons to his memory bearing this inscription;

At the foot of this here lieth,
in hopes of a blessed resurrection,
the body of Gilbert Heathcote
late of this town, Gentleman,
who departed this life the 24th April, 1690,
in the 69th year of his age.

[1] The commission appointing him to this office is in the writer's possession. It is an enormous parchment document dated, 1715.

[2] This fact was told the writer by his Father, the Rt. Rev. William H. De Lancey, who was told it and shown the place by his father, John Peter De Lancey, of Mamaroneck, a grandson of Colonel Heathcote. All stones were destroyed when the First Trinity was burned, Sept. 15, 1776.

[3] *New York Gazette*, No. 564, of 23 Aug., 1736.

By his wife Ann,
daughter of Mr George Dickens of this town
he had eight sons and one daughter, viz.
Gilbert, John, Samuel,
Elizabeth, Josiah, William
Caleb, George, and Thomas;
of which Elizabeth and Thomas died in their infancy;
but he had the particular blessing to
see all the rest Merchants adventurers,
either in England or in foreign parts.
This was erected by his sons,
as well to testify their gratitude,
as to perpetuate the Memory
of the best of fathers.
Here also lieth interred
the body of Ann, his said wife,
who departed this life
the 29th of November, 1705
in the 76th year of her age.

The family was an ancient one, the first of whom there is authoritative mention having been a Master of the Mint under Richard II. The Arms were Argent, three Pomeis, each charged with a cross or. And for Crest, on a wreath of the colours, a mural coronet azure surmounted with a Pomeis charged with a cross or, between two wings displayed, ermine. Motto: Habere et Dispertiri.[1]

Colonel Heathcote singularly enough was Mayor of the City of New York in 1711 to 1714 at the same time that his elder brother Gilbert was Lord Mayor of London. He was one of the strongest and most active Churchmen of his day. To him was the Church of England in New York and in Westchester County indebted for its foundation and growth more than to any other one man. He formed an organization of a few churchmen in the City of New York termed the Managers of the Church of England in New York, of which he was the chairman.

This was the body which took the earliest steps to establish an English Church in that city which eventually became the well known "Parish of Trinity Church," subsequently the Mother Church of all the earlier churches in the city and to a large extent of those in the State of New York. Heathcote was the moving spirit and the active man in the whole movement, a fact which being fully admitted by them has drawn down upon him the ire of many writers of dissenting bodies of Christians. He also was the leading man in founding the parishes of Westchester East Chester, and Rye, in the County of Westchester to all of which he contributed his efforts and his means. His Manor of Scarsdale and Mamaroneck formed one of the precincts of the Parish of Rye,[2] of which he was elected by the inhabitants a warden and vestryman. And from it he and the Rector of Rye, the Rev. George Muirson, went forth upon those Missionary tours which first brought the knowledge of the Church of England into the then benighted Colony of Connecticut, of which he has left us reports so full that to them friends and foes have gone for the most authentic account of men and affairs at that day in that Colony. So strong was the opposition and savage the threats, that he always went fully armed to defend both Muirson and himself.

In consequence of the death of all his children except Ann, Mrs. de Lancey and Martha, Mrs. Johnston, his entire estate, real and personal, descended to those ladies in equal shares. By Indentures of lease and release dated the 1st and 4th days of July 1738 Lewis Johnston and Martha his wife conveyed her undivided half part of her Father's estate to Andrew Johnston a relative of her husband. And he by deed dated July 7th 1738 reconveyed it to Lewis Johnston and his heirs in fee. This was for the easier management only. By James de Lancey and wife and Lewis Johnston jointly, were all the lands in the Manor sold and conveyed, or leased, up to the death of James de Lancey on the 30th of July 1760. He died intestate, and Mrs. de Lancey's share of the Manor thereupon reverted to her alone absolutely in fee. From that time to 1774 all deeds and leases ran jointly in the names of Anne de Lancey and Lewis Johnston, they holding the estate jointly in fee. During this period a great deal of the Manor was sold, both to tenants and strangers. The former were always given the first right to purchase their farms in fee, and no farm was ever sold to strangers except with the tenants' assent, notwithstanding the proprietors were not bound to do so.

In 1773 Anne de Lancey and Lewis Johnston determined to have a partition of all the lands in the Manor that remained unsold, and proceedings to that end were begun under the act of the Provincial Legislature of 1762, for that purpose. But before they had gone very far Dr. Johnston died. The Proceedings were therefore begun anew in the names of Anne de Lancey and the Heirs of Lewis Johnston.

These Proceedings in Partition were instituted under "An Act for the more effectual collection of his Majesty's Quit-rents in the Colony of New York and for the Partition of Lands in order thereto" passed the 8th of January 1762, and of another amendatory Act passed the 30th of December 1768. The original Petition was in the name of Lewis Johnston; after his death his children were substituted in his place. They were Heathcote Johnston, John Burnet, Anne Burnet, Bowes Reed and Margaret Reed. The other party in both Petitions was of course, Anne de Lancey. The Commissioners to make the partition were, Philip Pell, Jacobus Bleecker, and William Sutton, "all of the County of Westchester."

[1] On the 2d of December, 1708, at the request of Gilbert and his brothers, these arms were confirmed, with the change of the shield from argent to ermine, by the Herald's College of England.

[2] See ante p. 99 for the facts of the establishment of the Church of England and its parishes in Westchester County.

After the proper advertisements had been published the proper time in Rivington's New York Gazetteer and Holt's New York Journal, two of the newspapers of the day, the Commissioners met to organize "at the house of Thomas Besly in New Rochelle" on the 5th of April 1774. Philip Pell, Jr, was appointed clerk. The Commissioners and clerk were sworn in by Judge Thomas Jones of the Supreme Court[1] who attended for the purpose, and delivered to each a certificate of their appointment, signed by himself. The Commissioners ordered a notice that they would proceed to make the survey and partition on the 6th of June 1774, to be published, and also to be served on Alexander Colden, Surveyor-General. This notice, with a full description of the lands, was published weekly for six weeks in Rivington's New York Gazetteer and Holt's New York Journal. On the 6th of June 1774 the Commissioners met at the house of William Sutton, on what is now De Lancey's Neck, accordingly. William Sutton was the leading man of his day at Mamaroneck. He was one of the Commissioners, and had been the tenant of De Lancey's Neck for a great many years previously and continued such to his death about the close of the Revolutionary war. He knew every one of note in the County, and was as thoroughly acquainted with the Manor lands in general as he was with those he himself had in cultivation. Jacobus Bleecker was a prominent resident and land holder of New Rochelle, and the grandfather of the late Anthony J. Bleecker, the well known Real Estate Auctioneer of New York. Philip Pell was of the old manorial family of the Pells of Pelham, and Philip Pell, Jr., the clerk was his oldest son. All were persons thoroughly acquainted with the extent, situation, and value, of the Heathcote estate, and the Manor of Scarsdale.

"Sutton's House" long the farm house of the Neck, stood near, and a little south west of, the new farm house built about 1844, by the late Mr. Thomas J. de Lancey, which is now a part of the house standing at the angle of Mamaroneck and Long Beach Avenues, recently bought of the James Miller estate by Mr. J. A. Bostwick. At the meeting at Sutton's on the 6th of June 1774, the clerk reported that he had served Surveyor-General Colden with notice on the 2nd of the preceding May. The Commissioners then appointed Charles Webb, at that time and for thirty years after, one of the best Surveyors of the Province and State, Surveyor to make the Survey under oath, which was duly administered to him, and also to Joseph Purdy and Gilbert Robinson as chain bearers and Doty Doughty as "flagg carrier," and then they adjourned to the next day, the 7th. when the survey was begun. It was carried on daily till near the middle of the following August, on the 16th of which month, Maps, Field books, and Journals of the Commissioners, were duly signed in triplicate, one copy of each of which was filed in the office of the Secretary of the Province, one in the clerk's office of Westchester County, and one retained by the owners. On the 25th of August notice of the filing, and appointing the 11th of October 1774 as the day of balloting for the lots as surveyed, was ordered advertised in the papers. On the 4th of October notice to John Harris Cruger to attend the balloting as one of the Council of the Province was served. On the 11th of October the Commissioners and Cruger met in New York at Hull's Hotel, in Broadway, on the site of which now stands the "Boreel Building," and the drawing took place. The Survey and Map, a reduced copy of the latter of which is annexed, divided all the unsold lands then, in 1774, remaining in the possession of Colonel Heathcote's heirs, into three divisions, the North, the Middle, and the South Divisions, designated by the number of the respective lots in each. The balloting was thus effected, a boy blindfolded, one John Wallis by name, was appointed to draw the numbers of the lots, and the names of the parties to whom they fell. He drew the lots in the different divisions seriatim, beginning at the north division, taking out first a ticket with the number of the lot, and then one with the name of an owner. The latter tickets bore either the name of "Anne de Lancey," or the words "The Heirs of Lewis Johnston." After the whole was completed the proceedings were duly certified to in triplicate, by the Commissioners, and each copy duly approved by the signature of John Harris Cruger, as the Councillor of the Province, present.

The Map gives the perimeter of the whole Manor, and those of some of its interior parts, besides the unsold portions included in the partition, necessary to a right understanding of the latter. The portions left blank are those parts of the Manor which had previously been sold by the Proprietors. It also shows the "Great Lotts" or the "Long Lotts" being those in the northern part of the township Tract which Colonel Heathcote and the other owners had so laid out in 1706, in the former's lifetime, and also the short lots at their southern end, all of which took up the whole of that tract northward and beyond the home lots, to the township line. The latter are not shown. Colonel Heathcote had in 1708, and in 1716 long after his Manor-Grant, and at other later times, bought several parts and parcels of the original home lots as Richbell had laid them out, which in the course of time had been divided up by their owners. All these were either owned separately in 1774, by his heirs, or had been previously disposed of by them, the two extremely small ones fronting on the Westchester path or Boston road being all that were in joint ownership at the date of the partition. The accompanying map being on so small a scale gives only a very general idea of the Manor, without showing the details on the original maps, which are all very large.

From the respective owners who received their particular lots under this final partition of the Manor

[1] The author of the "History of New York during the Revolutionary War."

Lands of Scarsdale in fee, have those lands passed to the great number of parties now owning and occupying them, with, of course, all the rights and privileges of all lands granted by the Crown of England prior to the 14th of October 1775, and guaranteed and confirmed by all the successive constitutions of New York, both as an Independent Sovereignty, and as one of the United States.

The Topography of the Manor of Scarsdale is peculiar, the Bronx and the Hutchinson rivers flow southwesterly from its northwestern part, the Mamaroneck river with its main affluent the Sheldrake, and its uppermost branches flows southeasterly into the Sound. It is well watered, hilly, and has singularly enough among the hills two or three extensive flat fertile plains. The valleys between the hills are beautiful and some of them very deep. The country is well wooded and the "Saxton Forest," formerly 300 acres, though much reduced in size, is still one of the largest single forests in the county. The drives are exceedingly fine, abounding with great and varied beauty. The soil is fertile and yields abundantly.

In closing this chapter the writer regrets that space will not permit specific local details of the other Manors in the county, as was the original intention, but having assented to the editor's request to permit a portion of the pages allotted him to be employed by others, it cannot be done.

The manor grants for them are therefore only given.

MANOR GRANT OF PELHAM.

THOMAS DONGAN, Captain General and Governor-in-chief in and over the province of New Yorke, and the territories depending thereon in America, under his most sacred Majesty, James the Second, by the grace of God Kinge of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.,—to all to whom these presents shall come, sendeth greeting: Whereas, Richard Nicolls, Esq., late governor of this province, by his certaine deed in writing, under his hand and seale, bearing date the sixth day of October, in the eighteenth year of the reigne of our late sovereigne lord, Charles the Second, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Kinge, defender of the faith, &c., and in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand six hundred sixty and six —did give, grant, confirme and rattefye, by virtue of the commission and authoritye unto him given by his (then) royal highness, James, Duke of Yorke, &c., (his now Majesty,) upon whome, by lawful grant and pattent from his (then) Majesty, the propriety and government of that part of the maine land, as well of Long Island and all the islands adjacent. Amongst other things was settled unto Thomas Pell, of Onkway, alias Fairfield, in his Majestye's colony of Connecticut—gentleman—all that certaine tract of land upon the maine lying and being to the eastward of Westchester bounds, bounded to the Westward with a river called by the Indians Aquaconounck, commonly known to the English by the name of Hutchinson's River, which runneth into the bay lyeing betweene Throgmorton's Neck and Anne Hooke's Neck, comonly caled Hutchingson's Bay, bounded on the east by a brooke called Cedar Tree Brooke, or Gravelly Brooke; on the south by the Sound, which lyeth betweene Longe Island and the maine land, with all the islands in the Sound not before that time granted or disspossed of, lyeing before that tract of land so bounded as is before expresst; and northward to runne into the woods about eight English miles, the breadth to be the same as it is along by the Sound, together with all the lands, islands, soyles, woods, meadows, pastures, marshes, lakes, waters, creeks, fishing, hawking, hunting and fowling, and all other proffitts, commodityes and heridetaments to the said tract of land and islands belonging, with their and every of their appurtenances, and every part and parcel thereof; and that the said tract of land and premises should be forever thereafter held, deemed, reputed, taken and be an intire infranchised towneshipp, manner and place of itself, and should always, from time to time, and at all times thereafter, have, hold and enjoy like and equall priviledges and immunities with any towne infranchised, place or manner within this government, &c., shall in no manner of way be subordinate or belonging unto, have any dependance upon or in any wise, bounds or the rules under the direction of any riding, or towne or townesshipps, place or jurisdiction either upon the maine or upon Longe Island—but should in all cases, things and matters be deemed, reputed, taken and held as an absolute, intire, infranchised towneshipp, manner and place of itselfe in this government, and should be ruled, ordered and directed in all matters as to government, accordingly, by the governour and Councell, and General Court of Assizes—only provided, always, that the inhabbitants in the said tract of land granted as aforesaid, should be oblidged to send fforwards to the next townes all publick pachquetts and letters, or hew and cryes coming to New Yorke or goeing from thence to any other of his Majestie's collonys; to have and to hold the said tract of land and islands, with all and singular the appurtenances and premises, togaither with the privilidges, imuneties, franchises, and advantages therein given and granted unto the said Thomas Pell, to the proper use and behoofe of the said Thomas Pell, his heirs and assigns for ever, ffully, ffreely and clearely, in as large and ample manner and forme, and with such full and absolute imunityes and priveledges as before is expresst, as if he had held the same immediately ffrom his Majesty the Kinge of England, &c., and his suckcessors, as of the manner of East Greenwich, in the county of Kent, in free and common sockage and by fealtey, only yealdeing, rendering and payeing yearely and every yeare unto his then royall highness, the Duke of Yorke and his heires, or to such governour or governours as from time to time should by him be constituted and appoynted as an acknowledgement, one lambe on the

first day of May, if the same shall be demanded as by the said deede in writeing, and the entrey thereof in the bookes of records in the secretarie's office for the province aforesaid, may more fully and at large appeare. *And whereas*, John Pell, gentleman, nephew of the said Thomas Pell, to whom the lands, islands and premises, with appurtenances, now by the last will and testament of him, the said Thomas Pell, given and bequeathed, now is in the actual, peaceable and quiett seazeing and possession of all and singular the premises, and hath made his humble request to mee, the said Thomas Dongan, that I would, in the behalf of his sacred Majesty, his heirs and suckcessors, give and grant unto him, the said John Pell, a more full and firme grant and confirmation of the above lands and premises, with the appurtenances, under the seale of this his Majestie's province: *Now Know Yee*, that I, the said Thomas Dongan, by virtue of the commission and authority unto me given by his said Majesty and power in me being and residing, in consideration of the quitt rent hereinafter reserved, and for divers other good and lawfull considerations me thereunto mouving, I have given, rattefied and confirme and by these presents do hereby grant, rattefie and confirme unto the said John Pell, his heirs and assigns for ever, all the before mentioned and rented lands, islands and premises, with the heridatements and appurtenances, priveledges, imuneties, ffranchises and advantages to the same belonging and appertaining, or in the said before mentioned deede in writing expresst, implyed or intended to be given and granted, and every part and parcell thereof, together with all that singular messuages, tenements, barnes, stables, orchards, gardens, lands, islands, meadows, inclosures, arable lands, pastures, feedeings, commons, woods, underwoods, soyles, quarreys, mines, minnerally, (royall mines only excepted,) waters, rivers, ponds, lakes, hunteing, haucking, ffishing, ffowleing, as alsoe all rents, services, wasts, strayes, royaltyes, liberties, priviledges, jurisdictions, rights, members and appurtenances, and all other imunityes, royaltyes, power of franchises, profitts, commodeties and heredatements whatsoever to the premises, or any part or parcell thereof belonging or appertaining: and further, by vertue of the power and authority in mee being and residing, I doe hereby grant, rattefie and confirme, and the tract of land, island and premises aforesaid are, by these presents, erected and constituted to be one lordship and manner—and the same shall henceforth be called the lordshipp and manner of Pelham; and I doe hereby give and grant unto the said John Pell, his heirs and assigns ffull power and authority at all times hereafter, in the said lordshipp and manner of Pelham aforesaid, one court leete and one court barron, to hold and keepe at such times so often yearly as he and they shall see meete, and all sines, issues and amerciaments at the said court leete and court barron, to be holden and kept in the manner and lordship aforesaid, that are payable from time to time, shall happen to be due and payable by and from any the inhabitants of or within the said lordshipp and manner of Pelham abovesaid; and also all and every the powers and authorities herein before mentioned, for the holding and keepeing of the said court leete and court barron, ffrom time to time, and to award and issue forth the costomary writts to be issued and awarded out of the said court leete and court barron, and the same to beare test and to be issued out in the name of the said John Pell, his heirs and assignes, and the same court leete and court barron to be kept by the said John Pell, his heirs and assignes, or his or their steward, deputed or appoynted; and I doe further hereby give and grant unto the said John Pell, his heirs and assignes, full power to distraine for all rents and other sums of money payable by reason of the premises, and all other lawful remedys and meanes for the haveing, receiving, levying and enjoying the said premises and every part thereof, and all waifts, strayes, wrecks of the sease, deodands and goods of ffellons, happening and being within the said manner of Pelham, with the advowson and right of patronage of all and every of the church and churches in the said manner, erected and to be erected—to have and to hold all and singular the said tract of land, islands and manner of Pelham, and all and singular the above granted or mentioned to be granted premisses, with their rights, members, jurisdictions, privileidges, heredaments and appurtenances, to the said John Pell, his heirs and assignes, to the only proper use, benefitt and behoofe of the said John Pell, his heirs and assignes forever; to be holden of his most sacred Majestye, his heirs and successors, in free and common soccage, according to the tenure of East Greenwich, in the county of Kent, in his Majestye's kingdom of England, yielding, rendering and praying therefore yearly and every year forever, unto his said Majestye, his heirs and successors, or to such officer or officers as shall from time to time be appointed to receive the same—twenty shillings, good and lawful money of this province at the citty of New Yorke, on the five and twentyth day of the month of March, in lieu and stead of all rents, services and demands whatsoever.

In testimony whereof, I have signed these presents with my handwriting, caused the seale of the province to be thereunto affixed, and have ordained that the same be entered upon record in the Secretary's office, the five and twentyeth day of October, in the third yeare of the Kinge Majestye's reigne, and in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred eighty and seven.[1]

THOMAS DONGAN.

MANOR-GRANT OF MORRISANIA.

William the Third, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the

[1] Alb. Book of Pat. No. ii. 306., Co. Rec. Lib. A., 240.

Faith, &c., to all to whom these presents shall come, sendeth greeting: Whereas, the Hon'ble Edmond Andross, Esq., Seigneur of Sausmarez, late governor of our province of New York, &c., by a certain deed or patent, sealed with the seal of our said province of New York, bearing date the 25th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1676, pursuant to the commission and authority then in him residing, did confirm unto Col. Lewis Morris, of the Island of Barbadoes, a certain plantation or tract of land laying or being upon the maine over against the town of Haerlem, commonly called Bronckse's land, containing 250 margin or 800 acres of land, besides the meadow thereunto annexed or adjoining, butted and bounded as in the original Dutch ground brief and patent of confirmation is set forth; which said tract of land and meadow, having been by the said Col. Lewis Morris long possessed and enjoyed, and having likewise thereon made good improvement, he, the said Edmond Andross, late governor of our said province, did further, by the said deed or patent, sealed with the seal of our said province, and bearing date as aforesaid, we grant and confirm unto the said Col. Lewis Morris, for his further improvement, a certain quantity of land adjacent unto the said tract of land—which land, with the addition, being bounded from his own house over against Haerlem, running up Haerlem River to Daniel Turner's land, and so along this said land northward to John Archer's line, and from thence stretching east to the land of John Richardson and Thomas Hunt, and thence along their lands southward to the Sound, even so along the Sound about southwest through Bronck's hill to the said Col. Lewis Morris' house—the additional land containing (according to the survey thereof) the quantity of fourteen hundred and twenty acres, to have and to hold the afore-recited tract of land before possessed by him, and the additional land within the limits and bounds aforesaid, together with the woods and meadows, both salt and fresh waters and creeks, belonging to the said lands, unto the said Col. Lewis Morris, his heirs and assignees forever, under the yearly rent of four bushels of good winter wheat, as by the said deed or patent, registered in our secretary's office of our said province of New York, &c.,—relation being thereunto had—may more fully and at large appear. And whereas, our loving subject, Lewis Morris, (nephew unto the said Col. Morris, lately deceased, his sole and only heir,) who is now, by right of descent and inheritance, peaceably and quietly seized and possessed of all the aforesaid tracts of land and premises within the limits and bounds aforesaid, hath, by his petition, presented unto our trusty and well beloved Benj. Fletcher, our Captain General and Governor-in-chief of our said province of New York and territories dependent thereon in America, &c., prayed our grant and confirmation of all the afore-recited tracts and parcels of land and premises within the limits and bounds aforesaid; and likewise that we would be graciously pleased to erect the said tracts and parcels of land, within the limits and bounds aforesaid, into a lordship or manor, by the name or title of the manor or lordship of Morrisania, in the county of Westchester; and whereas, it is publicly manifest that the said Col. Lewis Morris, deceased, in his lifetime, and our said loving subject, his nephew and sole and only heir since his decease, have been at great charge and expense in the purchasing, settling and improving of the said tracts and parcels of land, whereon considerable buildings have likewise been made; and our said loving subject, being willing still to make further improvements thereon—which reasonable request, for his further encouragement, we being willing to grant; and know yee, that we, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, we have given, granted, ratified and confirmed, and by these presents do for us, our heirs and successors give, grant, ratify and confirm unto the said Lewis Morris, his heirs and assignees, all the aforesaid tracts and parcels of land within the limits and bounds aforesaid, containing the quantity of one thousand, nine hundred and twenty acres of land, more or less, together with all and every the messuages, tenements, buildings, houses, out houses, barns, barracks, stables, mills, mill dams, mill howles, orchards, gardens, fences, pastures, fields, feedings, woods, underwoods, trees, timber, meadows, (fresh and salt) marshes, swamps and pools, ponds, waters, water courses, brooks, rivulets, baths, inlets, outlets, islands, necks of land and meadow, peninsulas of land and meadow, ferries, passages, fishing, fowling, hunting and hawking, quarries, mines, minerals, (silver and gold mines excepted,) and all the rights, liberties, privileges, jurisdictions, royalties, hereditaments, benefits, profits, advantages and appurtenances whatsoever to the afore-recited tracts, parcels and necks of land, and mill, within the limits and bounds aforesaid belonging, adjoining, or in any way appertaining, or accepted, reputed, taken, known or occupied, as part, parcel or member thereof, to have or to hold all the aforesaid recited tracts and parcels of land within the limits and bounds aforesaid, containing the quantity of one thousand nine hundred and twenty acres of land, more or less, together with all and every the messuages, tenements, buildings, houses, out houses, barns, barracks, stables, mills, mill dams, mill houses, orchards, gardens, fences, pastures, fields, feedings, woods, underwoods, trees, timber, meadows, fresh and salt, marshes, swamps, pools, ponds, waters, water courses, brooks, rivers, rivulets, streams, creeks, coves, harbors, bridges, baths, strands, inlets, outlets, islands, necks of land and meadow, peninsulas, land and meadow, ferries, passages, fishing, fowling, hunting and hawking, quarries, mines and minerals, (silver and gold mines excepted,) and all the rights liberties, privileges, jurisdictions, royalties, hereditaments, tolls, and benefits, profits, advantages, and appurtenances whatsoever, to the afore recited tracts, parcels and necks of land and mill within the limits and bounds aforesaid be-

longing, adjoining, or in any appertaining or accepted, reputed, taken, known unto him, the said Lewis Morris, his heirs and assinees, to the sole and only proper use benefit and behoof of him the said Lewis Morris, his heirs and assinees forever, and moreover, that if our further special grace, certain knowledge, and mear motion, we have brought it according to the reasonable request of our said loving subject to erect all the the aforerecited tracts and parcels of land and premises within limits and bounds aforesaid into a lordship and manor, and therefore, by these presents, we do, for us, our heirs and successors, erect, make and constitute all the afore-recited tracts and parcels of land within the limits and bounds aforementioned, together with all and every the above granted premises, with all and every of their appurtenances, unto one lordship or manor, to all intents and purposes, and 'tis our royal will and pleasure, that the said lordship and manor shall from henceforth be called the lordship or manor of Morrisania; and know yee, that we reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, wisdom, justice, prudence, and circumspection of our said loving subjects, do, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said Lewis Morris and to the heirs and assignees of him the said Lewis Morris, full power and authority at all times forever hereafter, in the said lordship or manor, one court leet, and one court-barron, to hold and keep at such time and times, and so often yearly as he or they shall see meet, and all fines, issues and amerciaments, at the said court-leet and court barron, to be holden within the said lordship or manor, to be set, forfeited or employed, or payable or happening at any time to be payable by any of the inhabitants of or in the said lordship or manor of Morrisania, or the limits and bounds whereof, and also all and every of the power and authority therein-before mentioned, for the holding and keeping the said court-leet and court barron from time to time, and to award and issue out the said accustomary writs, to be issued and awarded out of the said court-leet and court barron, to be kept by the heirs and assinees of the said Lewis Morris, forever, or their or any of their stewards deputed and appointed with full and ample power and authority to distraine for the rents, serveses, and other sums of money, payable by virtue of the premises and all other lawful remedies and means, for the having, possessing, recovering, levying and enjoying the premises, and every part and parcel of the same, and all waifes, estrages, meeks, deadodans, goods or felons, happening and being forfeited within the said lordship or manor of Morrissania, and all and every sum and sums of money to be paid as a post fine, upon any fine or fines to be levied, of any bounds, tenements or hereditaments within the said lordship or manor of Morrissania, together with the advowson and right of patronage, and all and every the church and churches erected or established, or thereafter to be erected or established within the said manor of Morrissania, and we do also give and grant unto the said Lewis Morris, his heirs and assinees, that all and each of the tenants of him the said Lewis Morris, within the said manor, may at all times hereafter, meet together and choose assesors, within the manor aforesaid, according to such rules, ways and methods, as are prescribed for cities, towns and counties within our province aforesaid, by the acts of general assembly for the defraying the public charge of each respective city, town and county aforesaid, and all such sums of money assesed or levied, to dispose of and collect for such uses as the acts of the general assembly shall establish and appoint, to have and to hold, possess, and enjoy, all and singular the said lordship or manor of Morrissania and premises, with all their and every of their appurtenances, unto the said Lewis Morris, his heirs and assinees forever, to be holden of us, our heirs and successors, in free and common socage, according to the tenure of our manor of East Greenwich, in our county of Kent, within our realm of England, yielding, rendering and paying therefor, yearly and every year, on the feast day of the Annunciation of our blessed virgin, unto us, our heirs and successors, at our city of New York, the annual rent of six shillings, in lieu and stead of all former rents, dues, services and demands whatsoever, for the said lordship and manor of Morrissania, and premises: *in testimony* whereof, we have caused the great seal of the said province to be affixed. Witnesse our trusty and well beloved Benjamin Fletcher, our capt. gen. and gov. in-chief of our province of New York, and the territories and tracts of land depending thereon, in America, and vice-admiral of the same, our lieutenant commander-in-chief of the militia and of all the forces by sea and land within our colony of Connecticut, and of all the forts and places of strength within the same, in council at our fort in New York, the 8th day of May, in the ninth year of our reign, Anno Domini, 1697.[1]

By command of his excellencey.

BEN. FLETCHER.

David Jamieson, Sec'y.

MANOR-GRANT OF FORDHAM.

Francis Lovelace, Esq., one of the gentlemen of his Majestie's Hon'ble Privy Chamber, and Governor-General under his Royal Highness, James, Duke of York and Albany, and of all his territories in America, to all to whom these presents shall come, sendeth greeting: Whereas, there is a certain parcel or tract of land within this government, upon the main continent, situate, lying and being to the eastward of Harlem River, near unto ye passage commonly called *Spiting Devil*, upon which land ye *new dorp or village is erected known by the name of Fordham*—ye utmost

[1] Lib. vii. of Patents, Albany.

limits of the whole tract or parcel of land beginning at the high wood land that lyes due northwest over against the first point of the main land to the east of the island *Pepiriniman*—there where the hill *Moskuta* is—and soe goes alongst the said kill, the said land striking from the high wood land before mentioned east southeast, till it comes to Bronk's, his kill; soe westward up alongst ye main land to the place where Harlem Kill and Hudson River meet, and then forth alongst Harlem Kill to the first spring or fountain, keeping to the south of *Crabb Island;* soe eastward alongst Daniel Turner's land, the high wood land, and ye land belonging to Thomas Hunt; and then to Bronk's Kill afore mentioned, according to a survey lately made thereof by the surveyor-general—the which remains upon record; all which said parcel or tract of land before described being part of the land granted in the grand patent to Hugh O'Neal, and Mary his wife, purchase was made thereof, by John Archer, from Elyas Doughty, who was invested in their interest as of the Indian proprietor, by my approbation, who all acknowledge to have received satisfaction for the same: and the said John Archer having, at his own charge, and with good success, begun a township in a convenient place for the relief of strangers, it being the road for passengers to go to and fro from the main, as well as for mutual intercourse with the neighboring colony, for all encouragement unto him, the said John Archer, in prosecution of the said design, as also for divers other good causes and considerations: know yee, that by virtue of ye commission and authority unto me given by his royal highness, upon whom, by lawful grant and patent from his majestie, the propriety and government of that part of the main land, as well as Long Island, and all the islands adjacent, amongst other things, is settled, I have given, granted, ratified and confirmed, and by these presents do give, grant, ratify and confirm to ye afore mentioned John Archer, his heirs and assignees, all the said parcel or tract of land butted and bounded as aforesaid, together with all the lands, soyles, woods, meadows, pastures, marshes, lakes, waters, creeks, fishing, hawking, hunting and fowling, and all ye profits, commodityes, emmoluments and hereditaments to the said parcel or tract of land or premises belonging or in any wise appertaining, and of every part and parcel thereof; and I doe likewise grant unto ye said John Archer, his heirs and assignees, that the house which he shall erect, together with ye said parcel or tract of land and premises, shall be forever hereafter held, claimed, reputed, and be an entire and enfranchised township, manor and place of itself, and shall always, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, have, hold and enjoy like and equal privileges and immunities with any town enfranchised or manor within this government, and shall, in no manner of way, be subordinate or belonging unto, have any dependence upon, or in any wise be under the rule, order or direction of any riding, township, place or jurisdiction either upon the main or Long Island, but shall, in all cases, things and matters, be deemed, reputed, taken and held as an absolute, entire, enfranchised township, manor and place of itself in this government, as aforesaid, and shall be ruled, ordered and directed, in all matters as to government, by ye governor and his council, and ye general court of assizes, only always provided that the inhabitants of the said town, or any part of the land granted as aforesaid, shall be obliged to send forward to ye next town or plantation all public pacquetts and letters, or hue and cryes, comming to this place or going from it towards or to any of his majestie's colonies; and I do further grant unto the said John Archer, his heirs and assignees, that when there shall be a sufficient number of inhabitants in the town of Fordham aforementioned, and the other parts of ye manor capable of maintaining a minister, and to carry on other public affairs; that then the neighboring inhabitants between the two kills of Harlem and Bronk's be obliged to contribute towards the maintenance of their said minister and other necessary public charges that may happen to arise, and likewise that they belong to the said town, according to the direction of the law, although their said farms and habitations be not included within this patent, to have and to hold ye said parcel and tracts of land, with all and singular the appurtenances and premises, together with the privileges, immunities, franchises and advantages herein given and granted unto the said John Archer, his heirs and assignees, unto the proper use and behoof of him, the said John Archer, his heirs and assignees forever, fully, truly and clearly, in as large and ample manner, and from and with such full and absolute immunities and privileges as is before expressed, as if he held the same immediately from his majesty, the King of England, and his successors, as of the manor of East Greenwich, in the county of Kent, in free and common soccage and by fealty, only yealding, rendering and paying yearly and every year unto his royal highness, the Duke of York and his successors, or to such governor and governors as from time to time shall by him be constituted and appointed, as all acknowledgment and quit rent, twenty bushels of good peas, upon the first day of March, when it shall be demanded. Given under my hand, and sealed with the seal of the province at Fort James, in New York, on the island of Manhattan, this thirteenth day of November, in the twenty-third year of the reign of our sovereign lord, Charles the Seccond, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and Anno Domini, 1671.

FRANCIS LOVELACE.

MANOR-GRANT OF PHILIPSEBOROUGH.

William and Mary, by the grace of God, &c., king and queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland,

defenders of the faith, &c., to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting: whereas, the Honorable Richard Nicolls, Esq., late governor of our Province of New York, &c., by a certain deed or patent, sealed with the seal of our said Province, bearing date the 8th day of Oct., in the year of our Lord, 1666, pursuant to the authority in him residing, did give and grant unto Hugh O'Neale and Mary his wife, their heirs and assigns, all that tract of land upon the main, bounded to the north by a rivulet called by the Indians, Meccackassin, so running southward to Nepperhan, from thence to the kill Shorackkapock and to Paparinnomo, which is the southermost bounds, then to go across the country, eastward by that which is commonly known by the name of Bronx's river, together with all the woods, marshes, meadows, pastures, waters, lakes, creeks, rivulets, fishing, hunting and fowling, and all other profits, commodities and emoluments to said tract of land belonging, with their and every of their appurtenance, to have and to hold unto the said Hugh O'Neale and Mary his wife, their heirs and assigns forever, as by the said deed or patent, relation being thereunto had, may more fully and at large appear, and whereas, the said Hugh O'Neal and Mary his wife, by their certain deed or writ, dated 30th day of Oct., in the said year of our Lord, 1666, did sell, alien, assign and set over all and singular their right and title and interest of in and to the aforenamed tract of land and premises, unto Elias Doughty of Flushing, in the Co. of York, on Long Island, unto the said Elias Doughty, his heirs and assigns forever, as by the said deed or writing, relation being thereunto had, as may more fully and at large appear, and whereas, the said Elias Doughty by his certain deed or writing, bearing date 29 day of Nov., in the year of our Lord, 1672, for the consideration therein expressed and mentioned, did assign and set over, all and singular his right and title and interest, of, in and to the aforementioned tract of land and premises unto Thomas Deleval, Esq., Frederick Philips and Thomas Lewis, mariner, to hold to them, their heirs and assigns forever, as by the said deed or writing relation being thereunto had, may more fully and at large appear; and whereas, the said Thomas Deleval, in and by a certain codicil annexed unto his last will and testament in writing, bearing date the 10 day of June, in the year of our Lord, 1682, amongst other things did devise unto John Deleval his only son, all that his interest in the aforementioned land and premises, his one full, equal and certain third thereof, as by the said codicil in writing, relation being thereunto had, may more fully and at large appear; and, whereas, the Hon. Col. Thomas Dongan, late gov. of our said province &c., and as by a certain deed or patent, sealed with the seal of our said province, &c., and bearing date the 19th of Feb., in the year of our Lord, 1684-5, pursuant to the authority in him then residing, for the consideration therein expressed, did further grant, ratify and confirm, unto the said Thomas Deleval, Frederick Philips, Geertje Lewis, relict of the said Thomas Lewis, due their heirs and assigns, all the aforesaid tract and parcel of land beginning at a small rivulet known and called by the Indians, Makakassin, from thence into the woods due east by a great rock stone and a lyne of marked trees, to Bronx's river, and thence by said river, four miles and something more, to a marked white oak tree upon the middle of a great ledge of rocks, which is the north-east corner of the land of Francis French & Co., in the mile square formerly sold out of the aforesaid patent, then by the said land, west, 35 deg. northerly, 1 mile or 80 chains from thence east 35 deg. southerly to Bronx's river to a marked tree, which is the south-east corner of the mile square, excepted out of the said patent, from thence by Bronx's, his river, 89 chains to a marked tree, which is the north-east corner of Wm. Betts and George Tippets, and then by a certain lyne of marked trees due west 30 chains to the marked tree or south-east corner of the purchase of John Heddy, then due N. 34 chains, from thence due west by their purchase, 90 chains to the north-west corner of the 300 acres, then due south 16 chains to the north-west corner of the 20 acres purchased of John Heddy, thence and by the said land west 12 chains to the north-west corner, then by the side of the kill, south 18 chains to the land of Wm. Betts and George Tippetts, from thence by a lyne of marked trees due west 79 chains, to a white oak tree standing on the bank of Hudson's river, to the south of Dog-wood brook 16 chains and ½ and then northerly by the Hudson's river to Nepperha, which is near the Yonkers mills, and so continue by Hudson's river to the first mentioned small rivulet, Maccakassin, the whole being bounded to the north with a lyne of marked trees and a great rock stone, to the east by Bronx's river and the land of Francis French and Co., to the south by the land of Wm. Betts, George Tippets and Thomas Heddy, to the west by Hudson's river, containing in all, 7,708 *acres*, together with all and singular the messuages, tenements, buildings, barns, stables, orchards, gardens, pastures, meadows, mills, mill-dams, runs, streams, ponds, rivers, brooks, woods, under-woods, trees, timber, fencing, fishing, fowling, hunting, hawking, liberties, privileges, hereditaments and improvements whatsoever, belonging or in any way appertaining, to have and to hold all the aforementioned tract and parcel of land, with all and singular the aforementioned premises, unto the said John Deleval, Frederick Philips, Geertje Lewis, their heirs and assigns forever, as by the said deed or patent registered in our secretary's office of our province of New York aforesaid, relation being thereunto had, may more fully and at large appear; and, whereas the said Thomas Deleval, by a certain deed of indenture, sealed with the seal, and bearing date the 27th day of August, in the year of our Lord, 1685, did, for the consideration therein mentioned, grant, bargain and

sell, all that one full third part of all and singular the said tract of land, afore recited, described and bounded within the limits aforesaid unto him the said Frederick Philips one of the parties aforesaid, together with all that one full and equal third part of all and singular the houses, out-houses, barns, stables, mills, mill-dams, buildings, fences and edifices thereon erected and built, and likewise one full third part of all and singular the waters, water-courses, streams, woods, underwoods, fishing, fowling, hawking, hunting, hereditaments and appurtenances to the same belonging, or in any way appertaining, to have and to hold unto the said Frederick Philipse, his heirs and assigns forever, as by the said deed or indenture, relation being thereunto had, may more fully and at large appear; and whereas, the said Geertje Lewis, executrix of the last will and testament of Thomas Lewis, late of New York, mariner, her late husband, deceased, and Lodivick Lewis, Barrent Lewis, Leonard Lewis, Katharine Lewis and Thomas Lewis the children and co-heirs of said Thomas Lewis and Geertje his wife, by a certain deed of indenture, sealed with the seal bearing date the 12 day of June, in the year of our Lord 1686, did, for the consideration therein mentioned, grant, bargain and sell, all that the full one-third part of all and singular the said tract of land afore-recited, described and bounded with the limits aforesaid, unto him, the said Frederick Philips, one of the parties aforesaid, together with all that one full and equal third part of all and singular the houses, out-houses, barns, stables, mills, mill-dams, buildings, fences and edifices thereon erected and built, and likewise one full third part of all and singular the water, water-courses, streams, woods, underwoods, fishing, fowling, hunting, hawking, hereditaments and appurtenances to the same belonging or in any wise appertaining, to have and to hold unto the said Frederick Philips, his heirs and assigns forever, as by the said deed or indenture, relation being thereunto had, may more fully and at large appear, and whereas, the Hon. Sir Edmund Andross, late governor of our said province of New York, &c., by a certain writing or patent, sealed with the seal of our said province, bearing date the first day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1680, pursuant to the authority in him then residing, did give and grant unto the said Frederick Philips, a certain tract or parcel of land, beginning at a creek or river called by the Indians, Pocanteco or Wackandeco, with power thereon to set a mill or mills, with a due portion of land on each side, adjoining unto the said river, lying within the bounds of the Indians land at Wickers creek, on the east side of the Hudson river, which said Indian land was by the said Frederick Philips purchased from the said native Indian proprietors thereof, by the licence and approbation of the said Sir Edmund Andross and the said Indian proprietors did, in the presence of Sir Edmund Andross aforesaid, acknowledge to have received full satisfaction of him the said Frederick Philips for the said land adjoining, to each syde of the creek or river aforesaid, which said land is situate, lying and being on each side of the said creek or river, north and south 1600 treads or steps which at 12 ft to the rod, makes 400 rod and runs up into the country so far as the said creek or river goeth, with this proviso or restriction that if the creek or river called by the Indians, Nippiorha, and by the charters Yonkers creek or kill shall come within the space of land of 400 rods on the south side of the aforenamed creek or river, that shall extend no farther than the said creek or river of Nippiroha, but the rest to be so far up into the country on each side of the said creek or river called Pocanteco as it runs, being about north-east, to have and to hold all the aforesaid recited tract or parcel of land unto him the said Frederick Philips, his heirs and assigns forever, as by the said grant or patent registered in our secretary's office of our province of New York, &c., aforesaid, relation being thereunto had may more fully and at large appear, and whereas the Honorable Thomas Dongan late gov. of our province of New York, &c., aforesaid, by virtue of the power in him then residing hath, by another grant or patent sealed with the seal of our said province of New York, and registered in our secretary's office of our province aforesaid, bearing date 23d of September, in the year of our Lord 1684, given, granted, ratified, and confirmed, unto said Frederick Philips, his heirs and assigns, several tracts and parcels of land with the limits and bounds hereafter mentioned, that were according to the usage, custom, and laws of our said province purchased by the said Frederick Philips from the native Indians and proprietors, in manner and form following, (that is to say,) all those certain parcels and pieces of land lying about the Wigquaskeek that was on the 24th day of October, in the year of our Lord, 1680, purchased by the said Frederick Philips of the Indian Goharius, brother of Weskora, sachem of Wigquaskeek, for himself and by the full order of Goharius, which certain parcel or parcels of land are lying about Wigquaskeek to the north syde and tending from the land of the aforesaid Frederick Philips running along the North river to the north of the small creek called by the Indians Sepackena creek, as far as it goeth into the woods, and coming to the end of the aforesaid creek, then shall the aforesaid pieces or parcels of land have their line north-east, or if the creek Pocanteco Wackandeco upon which at present[1] stands the mills of the said Frederick Philips, shall run upon a north-east lyne, then the said land shall run along the said creek Pocanteco, or Weghkandeco, into the woods as the said creek or kill shall go, and there shall be the end or utmost bounds of the said certain pieces of land, as by the said writing or Indian deed, relation being thereunto had may more fully and at large ap-

[1] 12 June, 1693.

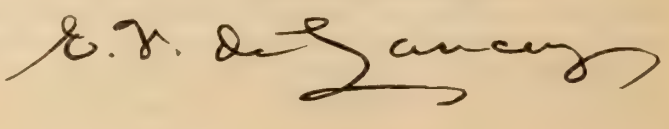
pear, as likewise another tract or parcel of land on the east side of Hudson's river that was by said Frederick Philips purchased of the Indians Goharius, Cobus, and Togquanduck, on the 23d day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1681, which tract or parcel of land being situate on the east side of the North or Hudson's river, beginning at the south side of a creek called Bissigktick, and so ranging along the said river northerly to the aforesaid land of the aforesaid Frederick Philips, and then alongst the said land north-east and by east until it comes to and meets with the creek called Nippiorha, if the said creek shall fall within that lyne, otherwise to extend no further than the head of the creek or kill called Potanteco, or Puegkanteko, and southerly alongst the said river Neppiorha if the same shall fall within the said line as aforesaid, or else in a direct lyne from the head of the said creek or kill called Pocanteco Puegkandico, untill it comes opposite to the said first mentioned creek called Bissightick, and from thence westwardly to the head of the said creek and alongst the same to the North or Hudson's river, being the first station, as by the said writing or deed, relation being thereunto had, may more fully and at large appear, as also another certain tract or parcel of land on the east syde of the said Hudson's river that was by the said Frederick Philips purchased of the native Indians Armaghqueer, Seapham alias Thapham, on the 8th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1682, which certain tract or parcel of land is situate, lying, and being on the east side of the North or Hudson's river to the south of the land formerly bought by the said Frederick Philips, of the said Indians, beginning at the south side of a creek called Bissightick, and so ranging along the said river southerly to a creek or fall called by the Indians Weghquegsik, and by the Christians Lawrences's plantation, and from the mouth of the said creek or fall upon a due east course to a creek called by the Indians Nippiorha, and by the Christians the Yonkers kill, and from thence alongst the west side of the said creek or kill as the same runs to the before mentioned land, formerly bought by the said Frederick Philips of the sayd Indians, and so along that land to the first station, as by the said writing or Indian deed, relation being thereunto had, may more fully and at large appear, as also another tract or parcel of land on the east side of Hudson's river that was by the said Frederick Philips purchased of the native Indians Warramanhack, Esparamogh, Anhock, &c., on the 6th day of September, in the year of our Lord, 1682, which certain tract or parcel of land is situated, lying, and being on the west side of the North or Hudson's river, beginning at the north side of the land belonging to the Yonkers kill, Nipperha, at a great rock called by the Indians Meghkeckassin, or the great stone, (as called by the Christians,) from thence ranging into the woods eastwardly to a creek called by the Indians Nipperha aforesaid, and from thence along said creek northerly till you come to the eastward of the head of a creek called by the Indians Wegquiskeek, being the utmost bounds of the said Frederick Philips's land, formerly bought of the Indians, and from thence westwardly along the said creek Wegqueskeek to Hudson's river aforesaid, as by the said Indian deed, relation being thereunto had, may more fully and at large appear, and also another tract or parcel of land that was by the said Frederick Philips purchased of the native Indians Sapham, Ghoharius, Kakingsigo, on the 7th day of May, in the year of our Lord, 1684, which tract or parcel of land is situate, lying, and being to the eastward of the land of the said Frederick Philips between the creek called Nippiorha, or the Yonkers kill, and Bronk's river, beginning on the south side at the northerly bounds of the Yonkers land, and from thence along the aforesaid creek, Nippiorha, however it runs, till you come to the most northerly bounds of the said Frederick Philips's lands, and from thence north-east into the woods unto Bronk's river, as it runs southerly to the eastward of the Yonkers land aforesaid, and from thence with a westerly lyne to the aforenamed Yonkers kill, or Nippiorha, as by the said Indian deed, relation being thereunto had, may more fully and at large appear, all which several tracts and parcels of land within the several respective limits and bounds aforementioned, and purchased by the said Frederick Philips of all and every the respective native Indians aforesaid, in manner aforesaid, were by the said Thomas Dongan, late gov. of our province under the seal of our said province, bearing date as aforesaid, given, granted, ratified, and confirmed unto him, said Frederick Philips, his heirs and assigns, together with all and singular the houses, buildings, messuages, tenements, and hereditaments, mills, mill-dams, rivers, runns, streams, ponds, with liberty to erect other mills or dams, or places convenient, woods, underwoods, quarries, fishing, hawking, hunting, and fowling, with all liberties, priviledges, and improvements whatsoever to the said land and premises belonging or in anywise appertaining, to have and to hold all the aforesaid tract and tracts, parcel and parcels of land and premises with their and every of their appurtenances unto said Frederick Philips, his heirs and assignees forever, as by the said grant or patent sealed with the seal of our said province, and registered in our secretary's office of our said province bearing date 23d day of December in the year of our Lord 1684, relation being thereunto had, may more fully and at large appear, and whereas the aforesaid Thomas Dongan late Gov. of our said province, by virtue of the said power and authority in him residing hath moreover by another grant or patent sealed with the seal of our said province and registered in our secretary's office aforesaid bearing date the 11th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1686, given, granted, ratified, and confirmed unto Philip Philips, eldest son, of him the said

said moiety or equal half part of the said meadows and premises with the appertinences unto the said Frederick Philips, his heirs and assigns forever, as by the said grant or patent, sealed with the seal of our said province and registered in our secretary's office aforesaid, bearing date the said 27th day of June, in the year of our Lord, 1687, and as by the said deed of conveyance, under the hands and seals of the said George Lockhart and Janet his wife, bearing date 20th day of February, in the year of our Lord, 1685, relation being thereunto had respectively may more fully and at large appear; and whereas Augustine Grayham our surveyor general for our said province of New York, &c., hath by warrant bearing date the 11th of February, in the fourth year of our reign, surveyed and laid out for the said Frederick Philips, a certain small parcel of salt meadows situate and being on the north side of Tappan creek in the county of Orange, beginning at a certain stake set on the east side of the said creek, and from thence run east 37° 40 min. northerly to Hudson's river six chains and ninety links, thence along the said river twelve chains and ninety links south one degree, westerly to the mouth of the aforesaid creek, and from thence along the said creek west five degrees thirty-five minutes, northerly eleven chains, thence north twelve degrees, eastwardly two chains and forty links, thence east forty degrees, southerly three chains forty-five links along the said creek, thence east eleven degrees thirty minutes, southerly two chains twenty links, thence north six degrees twenty-five minutes, seven chains and seventy links, to the stake where the line first began, being bounded on the north-west by a certain parcel of Frederick Philips all that tract or parcel of land commonly called by the Indians Sinck Sinck, and situate, lying, and being on the east side of Hudson's river by the northermost part of the land purchased by the said Frederick Philips, and so running alongst Hudson's river to a certain creek or river called Kichtawan, and from thence running alongst the said creek two English miles, and from thence running up the country upon a due east lyne untill it comes unto a creek called Nippiorha, by the Christians Yonkers creek, and so running alongst the said creek untill it comes unto the northerly bounds of the said land of Frederick Philips aforesaid, and from thence alongst the said land untill it comes to Hudsons river, together with all manner of rivers, rivulets, runns, streams, feedings, pastures, woods, underwoods, trees, timbers, waters, water courses, ponds, pools, pits, swamps, moors, marshes, meadows, easements, proffits and commodities, fishing, fowling, hunting, hawking, mines, minerals, quarries, (royal mines only excepted) and all royalties, profits, commodities, hereditaments and appurtenances whatsoever to the said tract or parcel of land within the bounds and limits aforesaid, belonging or in any ways appertaining, to have and to hold the said tract or parcel of land and all and singular other the premises with their and every of their appurtenances, unto the said Philip Philips, his heirs and assigns forever, as by the said grant or patent, relation being thereunto had, may more fully and at large appear, and whereas the said Philip Philips did by mean assurance in the law, sell, alienate, enfeoff, and confirm unto his said father Frederick Philips all the afore-recited tract or parcel of land within the limits and bounds above mentioned and expressed, together with all and singular the premises with their and every of their appertinences, to have and to hold unto him the said Frederick Philips, his heirs and assigns forever, as by his deed of conveyance under his hand and seal bearing date the ——— day of ——— in the year of our Lord 168–, relation being thereunto had more fully and at large appear; and whereas the aforesaid Thomas Dongan, late Gov. of our said province, by virtue of the said power and authority in him residing hath, by another grant or patent sealed with the seal of our said province and registered in our secretary's office aforesaid, bearing date the 27th day of June, in the year of our Lord, 1687, given, granted, ratified, released and confirmed unto the said Frederick Philips all that the moiety or one equal half part of a certain entire parcel of meadow ground, situate, lying, and being at a certain place called Tappan near Hudson's river, bounded to the north by a certain creek called or known by the name of Tappan creek, to the east by Hudson's river aforesaid, to the west by a certain parcel of upland now in possession of George Lockhart, and to the south by Hudson's river aforesaid, the said moiety or equal half part of the said meadows to be laid out along the side of Hudson's river aforesaid throughout the whole length of its bounds upon said river from Tappan creek aforesaid, and to be bounded to the north by Tappan creek, to the east by Hudson's river, to the west by the other moiety or half part of the said meadows, still running to the said George Lockhart's, and so to run southerly to the end of the said meadows, nothing excepted or reserved thereof, to the said George Lockhart, his heirs or assigns, but one cart or waine way through the said moiety or half part of the meadow aforesaid, which moiety or equal half part of the meadow aforesaid was by mean assurance in the law conveyed to the said George Lockhart and Janet his wife unto the said Frederick Philips, his heirs and assigns, to have and to hold the

meadow said to belong to Cornelius Claater, on the east by Hudson's river on the south and west by the said creek, containing in all six acres three roods and eight perches, as by the return of the survey, bearing date the 19th day of April, in the said fourth year of our reign, and in the year of our Lord, 1692, relation being thereunto had may more fully and at large appear, all which several tracts or parcels of land lying together, and bounded and limited in manner hereafter expressed and mentioned, (that is to say) all the said tract and parcels of land that are on the east side of Hudson's river are bounded to the northward by a creek or river commonly called by the Indians Kightowank and by the English Knotrus river, and now belonging to Stevanus van Cortlandt, Esq., and so eastward into the woods along the said creek or river two English miles, and from thence upon a direct east line to Bronxes river, and so running southward along the said Bronxes river as it runs until a direct west line cutteth the south side of a neck or island of land at a creek or kill called Papparinemo which divides York island from the main, and so along the said creek or kill as it runs to Hudson's river, which part of the said creek is called by the Indians Shorackhappok, and continues dividing the said York island from the main, and so from thence to the northward alongst Hudson's river untill it comes into the aforesaid creek or river called by the Indians Kightawank and by the English Knotrus river and the salt meadow ground on the west side of Hudson's river, are bounded and limited as here before is plainly mentioned and expressed. And whereas our loving subject the said Frederick Philips, one of the members of our council of our said province of New York, and the territories depending thereon in America, hath by his petition presented to Benjamin Fletcher, our captain-general and governor-in-chief of our said province of New York, &c., prayed our grant and confirmation of all and every the tracts and parcels of land within the limits and bounds aforesaid, and that we would likewise erect all the said tracts and parcels of land within the limits aforesaid into a lordship or manor of Philipsborough, and that we would further grant unto our said loving subject a certain neck or island of land called Paparinemo adjoining to the land aforesaid, with the salt meadows thereunto belonging, together with power and authority to erect a bridge over the water or river commonly called Spiten devil ferry or Paparinemo, and so receive toll from all passengers and droves of cattle that shall pass thereon according to rates hereinafter mentioned; and whereas it is manifest that our said loving subject hath been at great charge and expense in the purchasing and settling of the aforerecited tracts of land, whereupon considerable improvements have been made, and that he is likewise willing at his own proper cost and charge to build a bridge at the ferry aforesaid for the benefit and accommodation of travellers, which reasonable request for his future encouragement we being willing to grant, *Know ye*, that of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, we have given, granted, ratified, and confirmed, and by these presents do, for us, our heirs and successors, give, grant, ratify, and confirm unto said Frederick Philips, his heirs and assigns, all and every the aforerecited tracts and parcels of land and meadow ground within the limits and bounds before mentioned and expressed, and likewise the aforesaid neck or island of land called Paparinemo, and the meadow thereunto belonging, with power, authority, and privilege to erect and build a dam bridge upon the aforesaid ferry at Spitendevil or Paparinemo, and to receive rates and tolls of all passengers and for droves of cattle according to the rates hereafter mentioned, (that is to say,) three pence current money of New York for each man and horse that shall pass the said bridge in the day time, and three pence current money aforesaid for each head of neat cattle that shall pass the same, and twelve pence current money aforesaid for each score of hogs, calves, and sheep that shall pass the same, and nine pence current money aforesaid for every boat, vessel, or canoe that shall pass the said bridge and cause the same to be drawn up, and for each coach, cart, or sledge, or waggon that shall pass the same the sum of ninepence current money aforesaid; and after sunset each passenger that shall pass said bridge shall pay two pence current money aforesaid, each man and horse six pence, each head of neat cattle six pence, each score of hogs, calves, and sheep two shillings, for each boat or vessel or canoe one shilling and six pence for each coach, cart, waggon or sledge one shilling and six pence current money aforesaid, together with all the messuages, tenements, buildings, barns, houses, out-houses, mills, mill-dams, fences, orchards, gardens, pastures, meadows, marshes, swamps, moors, pools, woods, under-woods, trees, timber, quarries, rivers, runs, rivulets, brooks, ponds, lakes, streams, creeks, harbours, beaches, ferrys, fishing, fowling, hunting, hawking, mines, minerals, (silver and gold only excepted,) and all the other rights, members, liberties, priviledges, jurisdictions, royalties, hereditaments, proffits, tolls, benefits, advantages and appurtinances whatsoever to the aforesaid tracts and neck or island of land and meadows, ferry, bridge, and mills belonging or in any ways appertaining, or accepted, reputed, taken, known, or occupied as part, parcel, or member thereof; and moreover, *know ye*, that of our further special grace, certain knowledge,

and mere motion, we have thought fit, according to the request of our said loving subject, to erect all the aforesaid recited tracts and parcels of lands and meadows with the limits and bounds aforesaid, into a lordship or manor, and, therefore, by these presents we do erect, make, and constitute all the aforesaid recited tracts and parcels of land and meadows, within the limits and bounds aforesaid mentioned, together with all and every the afore granted premises with all and every of the appertinances into a lordship or manor, to all intents and purposes; and it is our royal will and pleasure that the said lordship and manor shall from henceforth be called the lordship or manor of Philipsborough, and the aforesaid bridge to be from henceforth called Kingsbridge in the manor of Philipsborough aforesaid. And *know ye*, that we, reposing special trust and confidence in the loyalty, wisdom, justice, prudence, and circumspection of our loving subject, do, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said Frederick Philips, and to the heirs and assignees of him the said Frederick Philips, full power and authority at all times forever hereafter in the said lordship or manor, one court leet and one court baron to hold and to keep at such times, and so often, yearly and every year, as he or they shall see meet; and all fines, issues, and amercements as the said Court Leet or Court Baron to be holden within said lordship or manor to be sett, forfeited, or employed, or payable, or happening at any time to be payable by any of the inhabitants of or within the said lordship or manor of Philipsborough, in the limits and bounds thereof, as also all and every of the power and authority herein before mentioned, for the holding and keeping the said Leet and Court Baron from time to time, and to award and issue out the customary writs to be issued and awarded out of the said Court Leet and Court Baron to be kept by the heirs and assignees of the said Frederick Philips forever, in their or every of their stewards deputed and appointed, with full and ample power and authority to distrain for the rents, levies, or other sums of money payable by virtue of the premises, and all other lawful remedies and means for the having possession, receiving, levying, and enjoying the premises and every part and parcel of the same, and all waifes, estrays, wrecks, deodans, and of the fellons happening and being furnished within the said lordship and manor of Philipsborough, and all and every sum and sums of money to be paid as a parte fine upon any fine or fines to be levied of any lands, tenements or hereditaments with in the said lordship or manor of Philipsburgh, togather with the advowson and right of patronage of all and every the church or churches erected or to be erected or established or hereafter to be erected or established within the said manor of Philipsborough; and we do also further give and grant unto the said Frederick Philips, his heirs and assignees, that all and singular the tenants of the said Frederick Philips, within the said manor shall and may at all times hereafter meet together and choose assessors within the manor aforesaid, according to such rules, ways, and methods as are prescribed for the cities, towns, and counties within our province aforesaid by the acts of General Assembly, for the defraying the publick charge of each respective city, town, and county aforesaid, and such sums of money so assessed or levied to collect and dispose of for such uses as the acts of General Assembly shall establish and appoint, to have and to hold, possess, collect, and enjoy all and singular the said lordship or manor of Philipsborough, togather with the aforesaid halls and premises, with all their and every of their appertinances, unto the said Frederick Philips, his heirs and assignees, to the only proper use, benefit, and behoof of him, the said Frederick Philips, his heirs and assignees forever, reserving unto us, our heirs and successors, free egress and ingress of all our and their forces, horse or foot, of our and their coaches, waggons, stores of war, ammunition, and expresses, that shall from time to time pass the said bridge for our or their service, or any thing contained to the contrary herein in any ways notwithstanding, to be holden of us, our heirs and successors, in free and common soccage according to the tenure of our manor of East Greenwich within our county of Kent in our realm of England, yealding, rendering, and paying therefor, yearly and every year, on the feast day of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, at our fort at New York unto us, our heirs and successors, the annual rent of £4 12s. current money of our said province in lieu and stead of all former rents, services, dues, duties, and demands for the said lordship or manor of Philipsborough and premises. In testimony whereof we have caused the seal of our province of New York to be hereunto affixed. Witness Benjamin Fletcher our captain-general and governor-in-chief of our province of New York aforesaid, province of Pennsylvania and county of New Castle, and the territory and tracts of land depending thereon in America, at Fort William Henry, the 12th day of June, in the fifth year of our reign, and in the year of our Lord, 1693.[1]

[1] Lib. vii. Sec. of State's offᵉ, Albany.



A PLAN
OF THE
MANOR of PHILIPSBURG
IN THE
COUNTY OF WESTCHESTER,
IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK
surveyed agreeable
to the order and instructions
of Isaac Stoutenburg SP to V Cortlandt
unto John Hill
1 93

With the addition of the Southern end
of
L E N D O N C K

NOTE

This portion of Hill's original Map of the Manor North [illegible] East of the [illegible] up
around this Divisional Spot having been omitted out
until the north [illegible] to Manor to where [illegible] and
to the Head of the Bronx and that River and
due [illegible] according to the County Map issued by
Simeon DeWitt the State Surveyor General in 1[illegible]

The act of 17[illegible] erecting the County into
Townships provides that the [illegible] Rear
Bounds of the Township of Morrisania
thereby created shall be the [illegible] North and
East lines of the Manor of Philipsburgh and
as such they were in DeWitt's County Map
and are here represented. The interior
Divisions and Topography of the [illegible]
cannot be represented [illegible]
hereafter [illegible] of the explanation
given in lieu thereof.

NORTH RIVER.

EAST RIVER.

HARLEM RIVER

NORTH

HUDSON'S

EAST CHESTER TOWNSHIP.

SOUTHERN END OF COLEN-DONCK

CHAPTER V.

THE COLONIAL PERIOD.

BY REV. WILLIAM S. COFFEY, M.A.

General History from 1683 to the Revolution—Chief Families—Trade—Mails—Newspapers—Modes of Travel—Rise of Churches—Influence of the Clergy—Relations of the County to the Colony—Early Census.

In 1683, nine years after the surrender by the Dutch Government to the English of its Province of New Netherlands, the Duke of York (afterwards James the Second) sent over Colonel Thomas Dongan, brother of the Baron of that name in the Irish peerage, and himself afterwards Earl of Limerick, to be Governor of the colony, henceforward to be styled "New York."

In the instructions to Dongan are to be noted, first, the naming of Frederick Philipse and Stephen Van Cortlandt, large landed proprietors in Westchester County, as members of his Council, and, second, the order to assemble eighteen representatives of the freeholders of the colony to consult with the Governor and his Council. Dongan arrived in August, and, in less than a month, summoned the people to elect representatives to the first Assembly, which he ordered to meet on the 17th of October, in the city of New York. Westchester County, being one of the three Ridings of Long Island, returned two members to this body, whose names, unfortunately, are not known, the acts of the old New York Assembly being, "for the most part, rotten, defaced or lost."[1] An important law passed by this Assembly was the division of the province into twelve counties. The County of Westchester is marked out as "East and West Chester, Bronxland, Fordham and all as far eastward as the province extends" and northward along the Hudson to the Highlands. Acts bearing upon the interests of this County were passed, establishing courts, repealing rate laws, for defraying expenses, for the destruction of wolves, and providing for damages by swine, and also settling that Westchester should henceforth have two representatives in the Assembly.[2]

In the latter part of November, after an intimation from the Governor, that, unless there was an abatement of her claims, he would proceed to extremities, a delegation from Connecticut was sent to New York to settle the boundary line between the two provinces. In the previous determination, in 1664, the understanding drawn up in formal manner was, that the dividing line should run about twenty miles from any point on the Hudson River, and, as Mamaroneck Creek was, on the assurance of the Connecticut commissioners, discovered to be at that distance from the nearest locality on that river, an amendment was made that the western bounds of Connecticut should find there their starting-point, and proceed in a straight direction north-northwest to the Massachusetts line. Little did the New York commissioners imagine into what a blunder, in their confidence, they were being led. The mistake or deception was found out, and hence the necessity now for a new conference and decision. The commissioners present were the two Governors, Dongan and Treat, with Messrs. Brockholst, Philipse, Van Cortlandt and Younge for New York, and Messrs. Gold, Allyn and Pitkin for Connecticut. The mouth of the Byram River was settled as the boundary point, and, as not less than five towns (always regarded in Connecticut) would be thrown out of it by following this line, an equivalent tract, quantity for quantity (ever since called the "Oblong"), was, in consideration, assigned in lieu of the towns, to New York.[3] These lines, partitions, limits and bounds, it was resolved, should be run during the next October and the whole matter transferred to the King and Duke of York for their approval.

The disposal of them thus made was exceedingly distasteful to the people of Rye and Bedford, and, notwithstanding a letter to them from the Connecticut government urging the propriety of submission, was positively resisted. A summons of Governor Dongan to appear in New York and show title to their lands was disobeyed, and, eventually, an open request to the General Court of Connecticut for recognition as belonging to the latter colony was made, the approval of the home government to the agreement being for years delayed. The result of this dissatisfaction was an open rupture on the occasion of the election of a member of the General Assembly, in 1697, in which the sheriff's authority was disputed and an armed force from Connecticut interposed to prevent the accomplishment of the election. The course of these towns and the government of Connecticut received a practical rebuke when, in 1700, King William confirmed the agreement of 1683 and the action of the surveying party of the next year. The Assembly of Connecticut thereupon ordered that information of the fact be sent to the inhabitants of Rye and Bedford, and that they are freed from duty to that government, but are henceforth under the government of New York.[4]

In the management of the affairs of the Province Dongan seems to have displayed the greatest energy and ability amid difficulties and disadvantages which sorely taxed his powers. One of his troubles, because it gives us a chance to look into Westchester, we recall: The Duke of York's Collector (Santen) seems to have been so lax with his deputies that several of them were defaulters. Among these was one Collins, receiver of the revenue in Westchester County, from

[1] *Vide* Brodhead, Hist. of N. Y., vol. ii. p. 382.

[2] *Vide* Dunlap, Hist. of N. Y., vol. ii. Ap. N. xliii.

[3] "Boundaries of the State of New York." Report of the Regents of the University, pp. 24–58.

[4] Baird's Rye, p. 118. Public Records of Connecticut, vol. iv. p. 335.

whom no returns having been made, Santen was compelled to be satisfied with two bonds, payable in the succeeding March. These Governor Dongan looked upon to be of no value and all the revenue of that county lost, "the man having hardly bread to put into his mouth."

The Acts of the New York Assembly of 1783 were duly transmitted for approbation to the Duke of York; but although they were, with some amendments, approved by him and his Commissioners, and although the documents were signed and sealed which were to declare this, the death of Charles II., in the succeeding February, changed the whole current of action. The Duke ascended the throne as James II. The approving papers were never returned, and the King, after issuing new instructions to Dongan nullifying much that had been done, soon determined to merge the different provinces north of the Delaware into one government. Dongan was recalled, and Sir Edmund Andros made Governor of what His Majesty was pleased to call "our Territory and Dominion of New England in America." A council of forty-two of the principal inhabitants was named by the King, to whom was assigned the making of laws and imposing of taxes. In the list of these counselors we again find the names of Philipse and Van Cortlandt, who were far from being pleased with the change. In a letter of theirs to the Board of Trade they join with Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson and Mr. W. Bayard in saying "how fatall it hath been to this city and the Province of New York for to be annexed to that of Boston, which, if it had continued, would have occasioned the totall ruin of the Inhabitants of said Province."[1] It must easily appear that these changes, with the consequent thwarting of their political hopes, produced much dissatisfaction among the people of this county. Ruled by a King who differed with them in religion, with no voice in the legislation by which to protect themselves, and now even their colonial existence destroyed, they were loud in their denunciations and threats. But the effect of this act of union the people had but a short time, in murmuring mood, to consider, as the great Revolution at the close of the year 1688 compelled James to abdicate his power, and placed upon the throne his daughter Mary and her husband, the Prince of Orange. This event brought out the glad sympathies of the English as well as the Dutch-descended inhabitants of the whole colony of New York. But, strange to say, instead of a united congratulation, the anxiety on the part of the populace for the change, and dread lest it should miscarry, combining with the untoward situation of things, the absence of any accredited representative of the higher power and of any official information of the accession of William (which would have been followed by a public proclamation of it), caused in New York one of the saddest and most absurd illustrations of that state of affairs when "the people furiously rage together and imagine a vain thing."

The news of the insurrection in Boston, in which Governor Andros was seized and imprisoned, reached New York on the very day that word also came that France, whither James had fled, had commenced war with England and Holland. The fears of the people were aroused. It was immediately determined by the city authorities that as the Royal garrison of the town was very weak, the militia should be summoned to share in the defense of the Fort. Colonel Bayard accordingly assigned the six companies of the city, which he commanded, to mount guard in turn. So deep was the suspicion of Mr. Bayard and of the other citizens who, as members of the Council, had been associated with Dongan and Andros in the adminstration of affairs, and who now, with Nicholson, having indeed no orders, were delaying the proclamation of William and Mary, that the captains of the train-bands, induced by Jacob Leisler, one of their number, took possession of the Fort, and declared their determination to protect the province until the coming of the accredited Governor to be sent by William.

Besides the six captains and four hundred men of New York, a company of seventy men from East Chester seems to have been present on this 3d of June and subscribed to the following declaration:

"*Whereas*, our intention tended only but to the preservation of the protestant religion and the fort of this city, to the end that we may avoid and prevent the rash judgment of the world in so just a design, we have thought fit to let every body know by these public proclamations that till the safe arryval of the ships that we expect every day from his royal highness, the prince of Orange, with orders for the government of this country in the behalf of such person as the said royal highness had chosen and honored with the charge of a Governor, that as soon as the bearer of the said orders shall have let us see his power, then and without any delay execute the said orders punctually, declaring that we do intend to submit and obey not only the said orders but also the bearer thereof committed for the execution of the same.[2] In witness hereof we have signed these presents the third of June, 1689.

It appears also that there was a company of soldiers from New Rochelle, commanded by Captain Cottomear. When it is remembered that it was at this very time that the French settlers of New Rochelle obtained through Leisler their lands in that town from John Pell, and when also the rumors industriously circulated are presented, which pictured the French as having, among other designs in taking New York, one to seize their countrymen, the Huguenots, and torture them or ship them back to France,[3] it will be obvious how easy it was for Leisler to involve them in his designs, as subserving thereby their own safety. The interest of Westchester in these proceedings also appears in the fact that when, after the destruction of Schnectady, Leisler sent an expedition against the French and the Indians, there is no doubt that there was, for its size, a large representation of the County in these troops.[4]

[1] N. Y. Col. Mans., vol. iii. p. 576.

[2] *Vide* Smith's New York, 2d Ed., 1792, p. 74.

[3] Instructions to Count de Frontenac. N. Y. Doc. Hist. vol. i., p. 295.

[4] N. Y. Doc. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 12–15. Baird's Rye, p. 48 and 198. N. Y. Col. Mans.

When Leisler took possession of the fort at New York, Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson without delay set sail for England, leaving the government in charge of the Council, the members of which were, Philipse, Van Cortland and Bayard. Of course, the public confidence was still more diminished. Leisler, taking advantage of this state of things, invited from each of the counties a delegation of two to meet in convention, and also two men from each to guard the fort.

This convention, which met June 26, 1689, and in which Westchester was represented, authorized ten of their number to be a committee of safety, who, in their turn, commissioned Leisler to exercise the powers of commander-in-chief of the Province. In this committee were Richard Panton and Thomas Williams, of this County, who seem to have been most active supporters of Leisler.

Some months afterwards a letter from King William to Nicholson was intercepted by Leisler, who appropriating its directions to himself, set up the claim that "he had received a commission to be their Majesties Lieutenant-Governor," and then proceeded to appoint his Council, among whom was Thomas Williams, of Westchester.

The new Governor, Sloughter, did not appear until March 9th, but meanwhile acts of lawlessness and tyranny, rashness and demagogism abounded in the city and other parts of the colony, in which Leisler and members of his Council and their followers were the most active.

In a suit tried at Westchester in 1693, Williams, then sixty-two years of age, deposed that "the first reason of this difficulty was a big look violently from me. Captain Panton commanded him (Leggett, the plaintiff) to hold his peace, but he still continued abusing the defendant, and said, 'here comes the father of rogues' and many scurrilous words, upon which I got a warrant against him." Williams lived in West Farms, and Gabriel Leggett was, as appears by a deed of March 3, 1695, his near neighbor.[1]

Upon the arrival of Sloughter, Leisler and his associates, who, with mad infatuation, held on to their usurped authority after three different demands from the Governor, were immediately upon their surrender arrested and confined on the charge of treason. Upon indictment they were soon tried, and upon conviction sentenced to death.

In the order of the King to Sloughter, appointing his Council, we find again the names of Philipse and Van Cortlandt, who, with their associates, were now sworn into office.

Sloughter, reports to England that many of Leisler's followers "were well enough affected to their Majesties Government, but through ignorance were put upon to do what they did," and advises as an example, the execution only of the ringleaders.

[1] Court of Sessions Journal. Bolton's "Hist. of Westchester County," vol. ii. p. 183.

The first Assembly of the province, which the new Governor summoned, met on the 9th of April, 1691, and the member from Westchester County was John Pell. The position taken by this Assembly was that the acts passed in 1683, not having received the approbation of Charles the Second nor the Duke of York were null and void, and it proceeded to enact some of the laws supposed by the people to be in force. An act making a division of the province into twelve counties, as intended in 1683, was passed. In addition, the following laws for Westchester County were enacted: "An act for settling a ministry and raising a maintenance for them in Westchester County. An act for settling the militia. An act offering twenty shillings for a grown wolf killed by a Christian in Westchester County, and ten shillings for such a wolf killed by an Indian; one-half that sum respectively for a whelp. An act for the further laying out and regulating and better clearing public highways throughout this Colony," in which Adolph Philipse, Esq., Caleb Heathcote, Esq., Mr. Joseph Drake, Mr. John Stevenson and Mr. John Haitt are made commissioners to take a review of the roads. These and the other acts of this Assembly were sent to England for approval.

After much delay and hesitation, and under circumstances not too strongly to be reprehended, the execution of Leisler and his son-in-law and confederate, Jacob Milborne, was ordered and took place on the 16th of May, 1691. The punishment of Williams and his associates was deferred. But little more than two months passed when Sloughter himself, after an illness of only two days, died under circumstances at first deemed suspicious, but afterwards differently regarded. His death occurred on the 26th of July, 1691, and after a disadvantageous interregnum of thirteen months, his successor, Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, landed in New York. The day after his arrival his commission and the names of members of his Council were proclaimed. Some changes of this body, which was substantially that under Sloughter, were afterwards deemed necessary, which introduced Colonel Caleb Heathcote, of the Manor of Scarsdale, and thus gave Westchester additional weight in the Province.

In the succeeding March, 1693, the Assembly met the County being represented by John Pell and by Joseph Theale, of the town of Rye. From the report of Governor Fletcher to the home government, in April of this year, we extract the following from his list of those employed in civil office in the province of New York:

The justices in Westchester County were Col. Caleb Heathcote, Judge of Common Pleas, Joseph Theale, Wm. Barnes, Daniel Strange, James Mott, John Hunt, Wm. Chadderton, Thomas Pinkney, Esqrs.; Benjamin Collier, Esq., Sheriff; Joseph Lee, Clerk of the county.[2]

[2] N. Y. Col. Mans, London Doc. IX. vol. iv, p. 27.

Theale, Strange and Collier were of the town of Rye; Barnes and Hunt, of Westchester; Chadderton and Pinkney, of East Chester; Mott, of Mamaroneck, and Lee in all likelihood, from Yorktown. In the same report the militia of the county is represented to consist of six companies of foot, commanded by Colonel Caleb Heathcote, and to number two hundred and eighty-three men.

In the following September a new Assembly was convened by Fletcher, and Pell is again a member of the House, and has as his colleague, in place of Theale, Humphrey Underhill, also of Rye. At this session of the Colonial Legislature the act was passed, which, after approval, was carried out, in reference to the maintenance of religion in the province. The bill provided for good, sufficient Protestant ministers to officiate and have the care of souls. It required that there should be two ministers in the county of Westchester, one of whom should have care of Westchester, East Chester, Yonkers and the Manor of Pelham, and the other of Rye, Mamaroneck and Bedford, and that fifty pounds should be raised for each of the incumbents; and also whatever sum might be necessary for the maintenance of the poor, which amounts were to be levied by the wardens and vestrymen, for whose election the act also provided.[1] It appears that the Governor took the deepest interest in the spiritual welfare of the colony. He was a man of great earnestness and promptness, and made himself felt to the general advantage. The Indians, in their appreciation of him, styled him Cayenguirago, or the "great swift arrow." What he counseled and did reached directly the difficulty. The necessity for his anxiety as to religion will appear from the strictures upon our county, contained in a letter of Colonel Heathcote, written in 1704,—

"I first came among them . . . about twelve years ago. I found it the most rude and heathenish country I ever saw in my whole life, which called themselves Christians, there being not so much as the least marks or footsteps of religion of any sort. Sundays were only times set apart by them for all manner of vain sports and lewd diversion, and they were grown to such a degree of rudeness that it was intolerable. I having then command of the militia, sent an order to all the captains . . . that in case they would not in every town agree among themselves to appoint readers and to pass the Sabbath in the best manner they could . . . that the captains should every Sunday call their companies under arms and spend the day in exercise." [2]

It was a matter of great satisfaction to the many of all parties in the province when the news was received about this time that the King had wisely granted a full pardon to Williams and the others with Leisler, who all this while, though released on bail, yet remained under sentence of death. Their course had awakened no little enthusiasm in their determined refusal "to own their liberty a favor," or depart "from the justification of their crimes." "What they did was for King William and Queen Mary."[3] It was determined in England very properly, for the sake of harmony, to waive the point of humility and grant a full release to all concerned.

In 1695 the Assemblymen from Westchester County were Joseph Purdy, of Rye, and Humphrey Underhill; but in April, 1697, Underhill, for non-attendance, was expelled, and Joseph Theale returned in his stead. In 1698 the Earl of Bellamont succeeded Fletcher in the Governorship, and in the new Assembly Joseph Purdy, and John Drake of East Chester, appear for Westchester County. A complaint of undue election was made to the House by Henry Fowler, of East Chester, and Josiah Hunt, of Westchester; but after thorough consideration Purdy and Drake were unanimously declared to have been duly elected. Mr. Drake was chosen again in 1699, with John Hunt, of Westchester, as his associate. From a table of the different regiments in the province of New York, it would seem that that of Westchester County had greatly diminished in strength by 1700. It is reported as consisting of only the three companies in Eastchester, New Rochelle and Mamaroneck, and of not more than one hundred and fifty-five men.[4] In 1701, at the election in midsummer, while Mr. Drake was again chosen, the other seat for the county was in dispute between Joseph Purdy and Henry Fowler, of East Chester. The matter having been referred to a committee on the petition of Fowler, David Provoost, from this committee, reported that it had sent for several persons and papers and had found that Henry Fowler was elected a member of the House. The report was approved, and the clerk of the crown was ordered before the House to amend the returns by putting out the name of Joseph Purdy and putting in that of Henry Fowler, who, by direction, went then before the Governor and took the oath of office.[5]

But a more serious matter at this same session was the expulsion of Mr. John Drake, who, with others, violently withdrew, refusing to act with the Speaker (Governeur) on the ground of his being an alien and disqualified for public office. A new election was ordered, and William Willett, of Westchester, chosen, who, after ten days' occupation of his seat, was expelled for representing the organization of the House illegal, Mr. Willett assuming the same position on the question as Mr. Drake. Another election was ordered, and Colonel Heathcote was now chosen, who, after taking the oath, would not sit. Another election was ordered for the next spring, but the Assembly was itself dissolved on the 3d of May.

On the 30th of September, 1701, as signers of a petition to King William from the Protestants of New York, evidently anti-Leislerians, appear the names of Caleb Heathcote, John Horton, Joseph Purdee, John Drake, William Willett and William Barnes, who

[1] Baird's Rye.
[2] Dunlap's "History of New York," vol. i. p. 217.
[3] New York Col. Mans., vol. iv. pp. 55, 83.
[4] New York Col. Mss., vol. iv. pp. 807, 810.
[5] Journal of New York Assembly.

speak, they say, for themselves and two-thirds of the freeholders and inhabitants of Westchester County. In this paper they complain of unjust proscription and imputations and profess most thorough submission and loyalty.[1] The same names are found subscribed to an address of welcome to Lord Cornbury, the newly-appointed Governor. This paper is dated October 2, 1702, and in it they again state that they represent two-thirds of the inhabitants and freeholders of the county of Westchester.[2] We safely gather from these papers, legislative proceedings and elections the high state of political feeling throughout the colony, in which the people of Westchester thoroughly shared. The course of Lord Bellamont and of his temporary successor, Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan, had been in the interest of the friends of Leisler. Abraham Governeur, who had married Leisler's widowed daughter, Mrs. Milborne, was the head of the faction, and they had succeeded in placing him in the Speaker's chair. Drake, Purdy, Willett and Heathcote were pronounced opponents of these radicals, whose representative in this county evidently was Henry Fowler, of East Chester. Is it not probable that John Drake,—Lieutenant of the militia company in East Chester, which went down to aid Leisler, took the gauge of this ambitious and arrogant man from dealings with him at the Fort, and hence easily fell into line with those who made common cause with the friends of law and order, rather to resist the aspirations of the new man, when his claims for consideration above others heretofore leaders were only his own presumption and self-importance?

At the election of 1702, upon Lord Cornbury assuming the reins of government, Joseph Purdy and William Willett were chosen to the Assembly from Westchester County. The resolution of this body is recalled to mind, which declared that any bills passed when an alien is Speaker are not binding on the subject. This action, of course, vindicates the conduct of Drake and Willett, who would not countenance Governeur as Speaker. Mr. Willett, with the exception of two years, held a seat in the Assembly consecutively for the next thirty odd years. Mr. Edmund Ward, of East Chester, was his colleague from 1705 to 1712, Mr. John Hoit held the place for a year, and Mr. Joseph Budd, of Rye, from 1716 to 1722, when Mr. Adolph Philipse was elected and also became Speaker of the Assembly. In 1709, Joseph Purdy and John Drake, and in 1715, Josiah Hunt and Jonathan Odell were returned. In 1726, Frederick Philipse accepted the position, which he held until his death, in 1751, and which his son, of the same name, held after him until the Revolution. From 1739 to 1743, Daniel Purdy, of Rye, and from 1743 to the Revolution, Judge John Thomas, of the same town, was the other member from the county. The courtesy of Mr. Willett and the election of Lewis Morris in 1733 will be spoken of hereafter.

During the first fifty years of its existence Westchester County steadily increased in population and material prosperity. Large areas of land were placed under cultivation. The public advantages of churches, schools, highways, mills, tanneries, etc., were greatly multiplied, and the harsh life of the pioneer was moderating into the regulated one of the sturdy yeoman. In the numerous measures necessary for the development of its resources and the increase of its facilities, privileges and comforts, its inhabitants exhibit quickness to devise, and zeal and perseverance to prosecute to the needed accomplishment. By petitions, representations and remonstrances to the Assembly, to the Council, to the Governor, the various towns made their wants and wishes, even if not always answered, pressingly known. And so in all questions of rights, no communities in the province appear more sensitive and determined. "Our representatives," says Smith, "agreeable to the general sense of their constituents, are tenacious in their opinions that the inhabitants of this colony are entitled to all the privileges of Englishmen; that they have a right to participate in the legislative power, and that the session of Assemblies here is wisely substituted, instead of a representation in Parliament."[3] And yet this same historian is inconsistent enough to charge "that the views of these representatives seldom extend further than to the regulation of highways, the destruction of wolves, wild-cats and foxes, and the advancement of the other little interests of the particular counties which they were chosen to represent."[4] How much more correct the first statement is, if not seen from what has already been offered, will be abundantly manifest, as we now turn to record the excitements and troubles which commenced with the second third of the eighteenth century.

Upon the death of Governor Montgomery, Mr. Rip Van Dam, the president of the Council, assumed the duties of the position until a successor should be appointed, which was immediately done upon the receipt of the news in England. Colonel William Cosby, formerly Governor of Minorca, was commissioned for New York, but remained in England nearly a year before embarking for his position, under the declared motive of preventing the passage of a bill, called the Sugar Bill, which was disastrous to the interests of the New York colony. Very early after his arrival a pecuniary disagreement sprang up between the Governor and Van Dam, growing out of this delay, which it was found necessary to offer to the courts for settlement.

The case was brought before Chief Justice Lewis Morris and his associates, De Lancey and Philipse. The decisions of the Chief Justice in the prelimin-

[1] New York Col. Mans., vol. iv. p. 938.
[2] New York Col. Mans., vol. iv. p. 1007.
[3] Smith's "History of New York," part vi. chap. v. Carey Ed. p. 260.
[4] Smith's "History of New York," part vi. chap. v. Carey Ed. p. 262.

ary proceedings greatly exasperated the Governor. The suit was not further pressed, *but* the most bitter animosities were engendered between these two high functionaries, and two violent parties arose in the province. The Governor, having in the spring written home and presented a number of points against the general conduct of the Chief Justice and declared his intention to remove him, proceeded in the summer of 1733 to the step. To the vacant office the Governor appointed the First Associate Judge, James De Lancey, who, with Judge Adolph Philipse, had not justified the course of Morris. The excitement in this matter extended to Westchester County. To allow of the election of Chief Justice Morris to the Assembly, William Willett, his friend and townsman, resigned his seat in that body. The person named to oppose the Judge was William Forster, Clerk of the County, who had held the office for many years and was greatly respected. The election took place on the 29th of October, and the following from the *New York Weekly Journal*, of the 24th of December, is a full detail of the event, under the coloring given to it by the successful party. It is described as an election of great expectation, and that the Court and County's interest was exerted to the utmost: [1]

[1] *New York Weekly Journal*, 1733.

"WEST CHESTER, OCT. 29TH, 1733.

"On this day Lewis Morris, Esq., late chief justice of this province, was, by a majority of voices, elected a representative from the county of Westchester. Nicholas Cooper, Esq., high sheriff of the said county, having, by papers affixed to the church of East Chester and other public places, given notice of the day and place of election without mentioning any time of the day when it was to be done, which made the electors on the side of the late judge very suspicious that some fraud was intended—to prevent which about fifty of them kept watch upon and about the green at East Chester (the place of election), from 12 o'clock the night before till the morning of that day, the other electors beginning to move on Sunday afternoon and evening, so as to be at New Rochelle by midnight—their way lay through Harrison's Purchase, the inhabitants of which provided for their entertainment as they passed each house in their way, having a table plentifully covered for that purpose. About midnight they all met at the house of Wm. Le Count, at New Rochelle, whose house not being large enough to entertain so great a number, a large fire was made in the street, by which they sat till daylight, at which time they began to move. They were joined on the hill at the east end of the town by about seventy horse of the electors of the lower part of the county, and then proceeded towards the place of election in the following order, viz.: First rode two trumpeters and three violins; next, four of the principal freeholders, one of which carried a banner, on one side of which was affixed, in gold capitals, 'King George,' and on the other, in golden capitals, 'Liberty and Law;' next followed the candidate, Lewis Morris, Esq., late chief justice of this province; then two colors; and at sunrising they entered upon the green of East Chester, the place of election, followed by above three hundred horse of the principal freeholders of the county, (a greater number than had ever appeared for one man since the settlement of that county.) After having rode three times round the green, they went to the houses of Joseph Fowler and —— Child, who were well prepared for their reception, the late chief justice was met, on his alighting, by several gentlemen who came there to give their votes for him. About 11 o'clock appeared the candidate of the other side William Forster, Esq., schoolmaster, appointed by the Society for Propagation of the Gospel, and lately made, by commission from his Excellency (the present Governor), Clerk of the Peace and Common Pleas in that county, which commission, it is said, he purchased for the valuable consideration of one hundred pistoles, given the Governor; next him came two ensigns, borne by two of the freeholders; then followed the Honorable James De Lancey, Esq., chief justice of the province of New York, and the Honorable Frederick Philipse, Esq., second judge of the said province and baron of the exchequer, attended by about a hundred and seventy horse of the freeholders and friends of the said Forster and the two judges. They entered the green on the east side, and, riding twice round it, their word was 'No Land Tax!' As they passed, the second judge very civilly saluted the late chief justice by taking off his hat, which the late judge returned in the same manner, some of the late judge's party crying out 'No Excise!' and one of them was heard to say(though not by the judge) 'No Pretender!' upon which Forster, the candidate, replied, 'I will take notice of you.' They after that retired to the house of —— Baker, which was prepared to receive and entertain them. About an hour after, the high sheriff came to town, finely mounted, the housings and holster-caps being scarlet, richly laced with silver, belonging to —— ——. Upon his approach, the electors on both sides went into the green, where they were to elect, and, after having read his majesty's writ, bid the electors proceed to the choice, which they did, and a great majority appeared for Mr. Morris, the late judge; upon which a poll was demanded, but by whom is not known to the relator, though it was said by many to be done by the sheriff himself.

"Morris, the candidate, several times asked the sheriff upon whose side the majority appeared, but could get no other reply but that a poll must be had; and, accordingly, after about two hours' delay in getting benches chairs and tables, they began to poll. Soon after, one of those called Quakers, a man of known worth and estate, came to give his vote for the late judge. Upon this Forster and the two Fowlers Moses and William, chosen by him to be inspectors, questioned his having an estate and required of the sheriff to tender him the book to swear in due form of law, which he refused to do, but offered to take his solemn affirmation, which, both by the laws of England and the laws of this province, was indulged to the people called Quakers, and had always been practiced from the first election of representatives in this province to this time, and never refused; but the sheriff was deaf to all that could be alleged on that side; and, notwithstanding that he was told by the late chief justice and James Alexander, Esq., one of his Majesty's counsel and counseller-at-law, and by William Smith, Esq., counseller-at-law, that such a procedure was contrary to law and a violent attempt of the liberties of the people, he still persisted in refusing the said Quaker to vote, and in like manner did refuse seven-and-thirty Quakers more,—men of known and visible estates. This Cooper, now high sheriff of the said county, is said not only to be a stranger in that county, but not having a foot of land or visible estate in it, unless very lately granted, and it is believed he has not where withall to purchase any. The polling had not been long continued before Mr. Edward Stephens, a man of very considerable estate in said county, did openly, in the hearing of all the freeholders there assembled, charge William Forster, Esq., the candidate on the other side, with being a Jacobite and in the interest of the Pretender, and that he should say to Mr. William Willet (a person of good estate and known integrity, who was at that time present and ready to make oath to the truth of what was said), that true it was, he had taken oaths to his Majesty King George and enjoyed a place in the Government under him which gave him bread; yet, notwithstanding, that should James come into England he should think himself obliged to go there and fight for him. This was loudly and strongly urged to Forster's face, who denied it to be true and no more was said of it at that time. About eleven o'clock that night the poll was closed, and it stood thus,—

For the late chief justice	231
Quakers	38
	269
For William Forster, Esq	151
For difference	118
	269

So that the late chief justice carried it by a great majority without the Quakers. Upon closing the polls the other candidate (Forster) and the sheriff wished the late chief justice much joy. Forster said he hoped

The conduct of the sheriff with reference to the Quaker vote was for some time afterward the subject of ardent denunciation on the one side and of determined defense on the other. It was also made a matter of complaint against Cosby, who had appointed Cooper. The Governor, replying to the home government, justified the action of the sheriff as

strictly conforming to the letter of the law, and defended him and the defeated candidate, Mr. Forster, from all aspersions. In this vindication of these gentlemen, the Council, with much spirit, joined. In course of time provision was made by special enactment,[1] by which, where the usual form of oath could not conscientiously be taken, affirmation should be allowed. Thus future misunderstanding was prevented. The excitement that characterized this special election did not, it would seem, attend that of the next year, when Frederick Philipse and Judge Morris were re-elected. In 1738, the Judge resigning, Mr. Willett was again restored.

Perhaps no subjects more engaged the thoughts of the New York colonist in the decade before 1763 than the encroachments of the French upon the frontiers of several of the English colonies, his own included, and then the seven years' war which was the consequence. Every county and town cheerfully made up its contingent. The names on the muster-rolls, which have been so wonderfully preserved, indicate how largely Westchester County contributed to swell the armies sent forth in the several campaigns. As the fortunes of the several battles, sieges and marches varied, the firesides of these country homes were illumined or darkened. When, for example, the capitulation of Fort William Henry, in August, 1757, was reported (seven officers and fifty men of the garrison, all New Yorkers, thereby becoming prisoners of war), a deep thrill of indignation stirred every breast,[2] but the feeling was more intense when the word came that "the French General Montcalm, under his own eyes and in the face of about three thousand of his regular troops, suffered his Indian allies to rob and strip officers as well as men of all they had, and left most of them naked."

On the other hand, when the French surrendered Niagara in 1759, Montreal in 1760 and Canada in 1763, that the joy was almost immoderate may well be imagined. The various muster-rolls of companies raised in Westchester County for this war, to which allusion has been made, offer a suggestion or two worthy of notice. The existence of a well-organized militia force at this period is established by the designation of the captains of the companies to which the recruits belonged. Captains Theale, Griffin, Lockwood, Crain, Holmes, Dennis, Embury, Israel Underhill, Secord, Vermilye and at least twenty others are mentioned. Christian Marks, a German, twenty-seven years of age, five feet seven inches in stature, with dark eyes and hair, is described to be "of the Troop." Can it be that Benedict Arnold, born in Connecticut, eighteen years of age, a weaver, five feet seven inches, with light eyes and black hair, is he of infamy unequaled, and has this county then the stigma of having introduced him into a military career whose later chapters he made so foul and dark?

Another remark comes from the number of foreigners enlisted. So large is the proportion of such that it would appear that the County during this period was receiving large accessions to its population from other nations and other colonies. Ireland, "Old England" and Connecticut are frequently indicated as the place of nativity. We find also that more than half of these soldiers were under twenty-five years of age. A result of these military experiences was to prepare these men, by the knowledge gained, for that other and much more serious contest, which, though less thought of in that time of danger than before it, was imminent and inevitable.

The twelve years before the Revolution which succeeded the Peace of Paris were, however, to develop to the proportions necessary for action the antagonism of which the wilful assumptions of the mother-country was the occasion. Had untrammeled legislation for the interest of the colonies been allowed, it is possible that the military successes just obtained might have been turned into a matter of national pride among the people on this side of the Atlantic, as well as the other. But with an indifference to their welfare ever apparent, an interference was carried on even farther than a concern for her own manufacturing and other industries required. And the consequence, as was to be expected, was deep and universal discontent. And when this is said, it is but just to remember that in those years the most thoroughly loyal were exasperated with the course pursued by the home government, and deemed it neither wise nor fair. Some of these were pronounced enough; others there were who took perhaps too much account of the excitable elements which the war especially had thrown into society,[1]

the late judge would not think the worse of him for setting up against him, to which the judge replied he believed he was put upon it against his inclinations, but that he was highly blamable, and who did or should know better, for putting the sheriff, who was a stranger and ignorant in such matters, upon making so violent an attempt upon the liberty of the people, which would expose him to ruin if he *were* worth £10,000, if the people aggrieved should commence suit against him. The people made a loud huzza, which the late chief judge blamed very much, as what he thought not right. Forster replied, he took no notice of what the common people did, since Mr. Morris did not put them upon the doing of it. The indentures being sealed, the whole body of electors waited on their new representative to his lodgings, with trumpets sounding and violins playing, and in a little time took their leave of him. Thus ended the West Chester election to the general satisfaction."

"NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 5TH.—On Wednesday, 31st October, the late chief justice, but now representative for the county of Westchester, landed in this city about five o'clock in the evening, at the ferry-stairs. On his landing he was saluted by a general fire of the guns from the merchant-vessels lying in the road, and was received by great numbers of the most considerable merchants and inhabitants of this city, and by them with loud acclamations of the people as he walked the streets conducted to the Black Horse tavern, where a handsome entertainment was prepared for him at the charge of the gentlemen who received him, and in the middle of one side of the room was fixed a tablet with golden capitals, 'King George, Liberty and Law!'"

[1] New York Col. MSS., vol. v, p. 983.

[2] N. Y. Col. MSS., vol. vii, p. 274.

[1] The truth is that the cessation of hostilities had set adrift a large number of reckless men, to whom were added, as influenced by their example and fortunes, many of the young men of each community. In his letter to the Lords of Trade, November 5, 1765, speaking of a mob in New York City, which it was thought might storm the fort, Lieutenant-Governor Colden says, "Probably it might be attended with

and were balancing the after all inconsiderable, however unquestionable, ills they were suffering against those of outrage and violence which might follow. Indeed, as in the city, so in the county of Westchester itself, there had been already displays of lawlessness. What must have been the consternation in the lower towns as, in May, 1765, five hundred men—country levelers they are called—at first reported to be two thousand strong, marched down to Kingsbridge, and sent into town the threat to Mr. Van Cortland, that unless he would give them a grant forever of his lands, they would enter the city and pull down his house, and also one belonging to Mr. Lambert Moore.[1]

The arrest and condemnation of the ringleaders in these disturbances were satisfying and quieting, but it is not reasonable to suppose that they would allay the apprehension that like outrages would follow should there be a breach with the mother-country.

A glance at the action of the four Westchester representatives at this time of excitement would seem to show at first entire accord with their fellow-members in the Assembly, in their regret at the Stamp and Tariff Acts, in their assertion of the right of the Colonial Assembly of each province exclusively to impose taxes upon its inhabitants, in the lawfulness of intercommunication between the Legislatures of the several colonies and of united petitions to the King "in favor of the violated rights of America."[2]

But the journal of the House in March, 1775, evidences the differences that had developed.

In the preparation of an address to the King, Mr. Clinton (afterward Governor George Clinton), the Assembly having before it for approval the words, "We, in many instances, disapprove of the conduct of that province (Massachusetts)," moved to substitute in place of them the following strong assertion: "The ill-policied scheme of colonial administration pursued by your Majesty's ministers since the close of the late war has been productive of great warmth in every part of your empire, nor can we avoid declaring that we view those acts with that jealousy which is the necessary result of a just sense of the blessings of freedom, and abhor the principles they contain as establishing precedents subversive of the rights, privileges and property, and dangerous to the lives of your Majesty's American subjects." Mr. Van Cortlandt and Mr. Thomas voted aye on this amendment, and Mr. Philipse and Mr. Wilkins voted nay.[3] And yet although this was the last Colonial Assembly of New York, this session lasting but a few days after the adoption of this address to the King, yet how little its members realized the dangers which were so near at hand! This is shown in the following action, within a month previous, bearing upon the interests of the east side of the county. A petition from Joseph Rodman and one hundred and twenty-six others, freeholders and inhabitants of the Manor of Pelham, East and Westchester and New Rochelle, in the County of Westchester, having been presented to the House and read, praying that Joshua Pell, Jr., may have leave to bring in a bill to enable him to erect a bridge across the old creek, so-called, that runs between the said Manor of Pelham and Eastchester, ordered That the members of Kings and Queens Counties, together with the members for the borough of Westchester, or the major part of them, be a committee to view the premises and report their opinion to this House *within fourteen days after the beginning of the next session thereof*, and that the clerk of this House serve Philip Pell, Esq., and Stephen Ward with a copy of the said petition and of this order.[4]

Chief Families.—In any review of the history of this period, memory will easily recall the names of Pell, Philipse, Morris, De Lancey, Van Cortlandt as of families possessing large influence in the county of Westchester. To these may be added the Bartows, Wards, Drakes, Fowlers, Hunts, Purdys, Guions, Pinkneys and Thomases as families which, for intelligence, wealth, public spirit and valuable services in the foremost positions, have been held in the highest estimation. In them are found the leaders of thought and action in religion, in the State and in society. The judicial, executive and legislative functions of government were being exercised by members of these families during the colonial period. How largely the production of its prosperity is to be attributed to the thoughtfulness and energy of the original Patentees of Westchester County may readily be conceived when the faithfulness which they displayed and the high respect continually accorded to them is considered. If to their successful exertions for the common material advantage be added the example afforded in the whole range of moral excellences, no portion of the province of New York was more favored.

The first member of the Pell family in the county was Thomas, to whom several patents from the English crown and sales by the Indians were made. Dying without issue, in his will he made his nephew, John Pell, his heir, who then resided in England, but removed to this country in 1670. He became a Judge of the county and was returned for the first session of the Colonial Assembly of the province of New York. He married "Rachel Pinckney" and died about the year 1700, leaving a number of children and grandchil-

much bloodshed, because a great part of the mob consists of men who have been privateers and disbanded soldiers, whose view is to plunder the town."

[1] Journal of Captain John Montressor, N.Y. Hist. Soc. Col., 1881, p. 363.

[2] "this House doth Concur with and adopt the resolutions of the House of Burgesses of the Dominion of Virginia."—N. Y. Assembly Journal, May 16, 1769.

[3] Of course in not suggesting before this, the able political pamphlets under the name of *A. W. Farmer*, written by Mr. Wilkins, the member of the General Assembly from the Borough of Westchester, we have no intention to ignore his determined opposition to all efforts beyond those of remonstrance; and yet we read those papers amiss, and his speeches, and his vote, with all his earnestness of diction, if we are not justified in saying that, beneath, is all the wounded spirit of one who feels the wrongs of his brethren, whom a selfish and imprudent parent has provoked to wrath.

[4] Journal of Gen. Assembly of New York, February 24, 1775.

dren. The family intermarried in the eighteenth century with the Eustises, Honeywells, Bartows, Sands, Wards, Treadwells, Archers, Snedens, Lawrences, Pinkneys and other families of the County. At the commencement of the Revolutionary period the following members of the Pell family were living in Pelham and towns adjacent: Thomas Pell, who married Margaret Bartow, and who lived at the homestead in Pelham, now known as the residence of Robert Bartow; John Pell, who lived on what is now the Schuyler Place; Joshua, Jr., who married Abigail Archer, and who lived on what is now the property of Mr. George A. Prevost; James, who married Martha Pugsley, and who lived on Prospect Hill, in the house which General Howe took possession of, October 18, 1776, as his headquarters; Philip, in the war Judge-Advocate of the American army, who lived on the old Boston Post Road, above Pell's Bridge; David I. his brother, who lived near the same bridge, but on the road sometimes called Pelham Lane, where Mr. James Hay afterward built the fine stone house now standing; Caleb, a brother of James, who lived in Eastchester town, on the old Boston Post Road, where is now the Bathgate estate, and Joseph, who resided in Upper Eastchester, on the westerly side of the White Plains Road, nearly opposite the road running down to Burtis's Mill on the Hutchinson's River.

The first of the Philipse family in Westchester County emigrated from Holland to New York City in 1658, bringing with him his son of the same Christian name, Frederick, to whom at his decease descended his estate, the largest part of which was in this county. This second Frederick was for many years one of the council of the Governor. He was a merchant in the city much respected. His grandson, Frederick, represented Westchester for a quarter of a century in the Assembly, as did also a Fifth Frederick, whose estates were confiscated after the Revolution. This family was connected by marriage with the Van Cortlandt and Morris families. The estates of Philipse were in the towns of Yonkers and what is now known as Mount Pleasant.

The connections of the Van Cortlandt family, both in this country and England, during the colonial period, were very numerous and distinguished. It is a family which an honored State and country gladly recalls to memory.[1]

The first of the De Lancey family, Stephen, appears as early as 1686, having been compelled to flee from the religious persecutions which were then so bitterly going on in France. He settled in New York as a merchant, and married Anne, daughter of Stephen Van Cortlandt. Their oldest son, James, the Chief Justice and Lieutenant-Governor of New York, married Anne, daughter of Colonel Caleb Heathcote. James's brother, Peter, married Alice, daughter of Governor Caldwallader Colden, and Oliver, another brother, held many positions of trust, among which were Receiver-General and member of the Governor's Council. He was also an officer in the French War, rising afterwards, in the Revolution, to the rank in the British service of Brigadier-General. This family, so marked for its political influence, became connected by marriage with the Allens of Pennsylvania, the Lloyds and Joneses of Long Island, the Waltons, Barclays and Crugers of New York.

In the contest with the mother-country, the De Lanceys unflinchingly adhered to the royal cause. Bishop De Lancey, of Western New York, who was a grandson of Governor De Lancey, sustained in his professional career the old reputation of the family for soundness of judgment, fidelity to convictions and trusts, cordiality and philanthropy.

The Morris family, of the county, has held its own under the earlier and later *régime* and offers a race of stalwart citizens of Westchester County as marked mentally as physically. In 1670, Richard Morris, afterward a merchant of New York, purchased a large tract of land in the lower portion of the east side of the county, since called Morrisania. His property went to his brother Lewis by reason of an agreement made between them, but at the decease of Lewis passed to his nephew of the same name, who afterwards became Chief Justice of New York, as also, in 1733, under circumstances of excitement and self-defence already narrated, the Representative of Westchester County. The different limbs and branches of this ancestral tree are very numerous. The connections of this family are with the Grahams, the Van Cortlandts, Wilkinses, Ludlows, Randolphs, Ogdens, Lawrences, Rutherfords, Governeurs and foreign families whom it is not necessary to detail. The old mansion is at Morrisania, near Harlem.

The Bartow family, of Huguenot descent, has occupied a much respected position of influence and usefulness in the country during both the eighteenth and ninteenth centuries. The head of the family in this country was the Rev. John Bartow, who, in 1702, settled in the town of Westchester, and there reared a large family. His descendants have been among the most valued citizens of Westchester County, and indeed of the country North and South.

TRADE.—In the development of Westchester County, its proximity to New York City was from the first an important element to its advantage. Here was a ready market for the products of the soil. The early settler entered upon his work of raising the supply for his family and neighbors with the knowledge of a sure and easy disposal of the surplus of his crop. There is no doubt that in a coasting trade much was sent both north and south, to Rhode Island and Boston and the Carolinas, direct from the villages of the County, but the vast bulk of what it had to sell went through New York City, the port of entry, to the mother country and various other lands at greater

[1] A trustworthy and highly interesting history of the Van Cortlandt family, specially prepared from original family documents by Mrs. C. E. Van Cortlandt for this work, is given elsewhere

or less distances. At first, wheat, barley, rye, peas and Indian corn were exported, but afterward live stock, hemp, flax, apples, onions, tobacco, cheese,[1] pickled oysters prepared, and then other articles, as tar, bacon, butter, candles, linseed oil, inferier cloths and, for a short time, hats.

During the war between France and England, in the reign of Queen Anne, when there was a great scarcity of provisions in Europe, the farmer of the New York colony received a high price for his wheat, and was much encouraged. This effect was far from satisfactory to his kinsman beyond the seas. In that selfishness which borders on nervous jealousy, and which would suppress all industries that conflict with its own, the colonial planter and merchant found his enemy in his own household.

This petty interference was carried still farther, in the discouragement of even what was not known in the commercial dealings of the mother country. The trade with foreign ports and the production of what might be carried directly to the stranger and even to the fellow colonist was ordered to be discontinued. The blindness and injustice of such a policy is obvious. Gov. Clinton, seeing the stupidity of this proceeding, in a letter to the home government, asks, "May not a Colony . . . of Freemen who consume a vast quantity of the Manufactures of Great Britain, tho' this Colony raise no staple which can be imported directly into Great Britain, be more useful to her than a Colony which raises a considerable staple imported into Great Britain, and this Staple is entirely raised by the hands of Slaves, who consume very little or none of the Manufactures of Great Britain."?[2] This narrow course with a people described by Dr. Bray as "so well versed in business as even the meanest planter seems to be,"[3] produced much irritation and remonstrance. But the colonist's labors went on, and under the services of his factor a large enrichment took place. This is indicated in the additions by purchase to the estates of the settlers of the unappropriated lands of the several towns, the frequent changings of the boundaries and the multiplication of mills, smaller roads and modes of conveyance.

Mails.—There seems not to be any indication of a postal communication between New York and any point in this county earlier than 1672. Of course, letters were passing by private conveyance from the very first of the settlements. Expressions showing this occur again and again in the public documents. But in the year mentioned Governor Lovelace authorized a messenger or post to set forth from the city of New York monthly, "and thence to travail to Boston, from whence within that month he shall return again to this city."[4] This arrangement began on the 1st of January, and letters or small portable goods were to be carefully carried to "Hartford, Boston, or any other points on the road," "by a sworn messenger and post purposely imployed in that Affayre," "All persons paying the Post before the Bag be sealed up." The postman was also directed to allow passengers to accompany him. In the "Instructions for the Postman" are the following: "You are to comport yourself with all sobriety and civility to those that shall intrust, and not exact on them for the prices, both of Letters and Pacquets;" "you are likewise to advise where the most commodious place will be to leave the Letters out of your road, which, when having it once well fixt, you are not only to leave the Letters there, but at your return to call for answers and leave a publication of your Resolution, the w^ch^ you must cause to be disperst to all parts, that so all may know when and where to leave their letters." . . . "You shall doe well to provide yor selfe of a spare Horse, good Port Mantle, that soe neither letters nor Pacquets receive any damage under your hands.

"Ffran Lovelace.

"Ffort James, ye 22d of Jan'y 1672."[5]

The following is a portion of the oath taken: "You do sweare by the Everlasting God, that you will truly and faithfully discharge the trust reposed in you as a Postmaster. . . . Neither directly nor indirectly detayne, conceale or open any Letters, Packetts, or other goods committed to your charge, but deliver, etc." This arrangement lasted but a short time. But this project for a mail between New York and the more northern British colonies—a favorite scheme with Lovelace,—it fell to the fortune of Governor Dongan, in 1685, to permanently establish. He had previously, however, conferred with the authorities "at home" and received their concurrence. The Duke of York's secretary, Sir John Werden, on the 27th of August, 1684, writes "As for setting up Post Houses along the coast from Carolina to Nova Scotia, it seems a very reasonable thing, and you may offer the privilege thereof to any undertakers for ye space of 3 or 5 yeares, by way of farme, reserving w^t^ part of ye profitt you thinke fitt to the Duke (not less y^n^ one-tenth)."[6] The next February he fully determined upon the step, after consultation with Governor Treat, of Connecticut, and on the 2d of March ordered that, for the better correspondence between the colonies of America, a post-office be established and that the rate for riding post be per mile three pence; for every single letter not above one hundred miles, three pence; if more, proportionably. It must be stated however, on the authority of Governor Dongan himself, that at the very time this Government arrangement commenced, this transferring of letters was "practiced in some places by foot and horse messengers."

[1] In the *Post Boy* of Feb., 1766, the society awarded the premium to Caleb Peil, of Pelham Manor, for largest and best cheese, weighing 82¾ lbs., and we are informed afterward that the great cheese which gained the premium was sold at vendue for eight pence per pound.

[2] N. Y. Col. Mans., vii. 7, p. 612 (1764).

[3] Prot. Epis. Hist. Col., 1857, p. 103.

[4] Baird's Rye, p. 72.

[5] "Valentine's Manual;" Gen. Entries, iii. 252, Sec. office, Albany.

[6] N. Y. Col. MSS., vol. iii. p. 349.

The following are noticeable indications of the existence of this mail:

On the 16th of January, 1689, the mail having just left the house of Colonel Lewis Morris, in this county, was seized by Leisler's order and returned to New York and examined.[1]

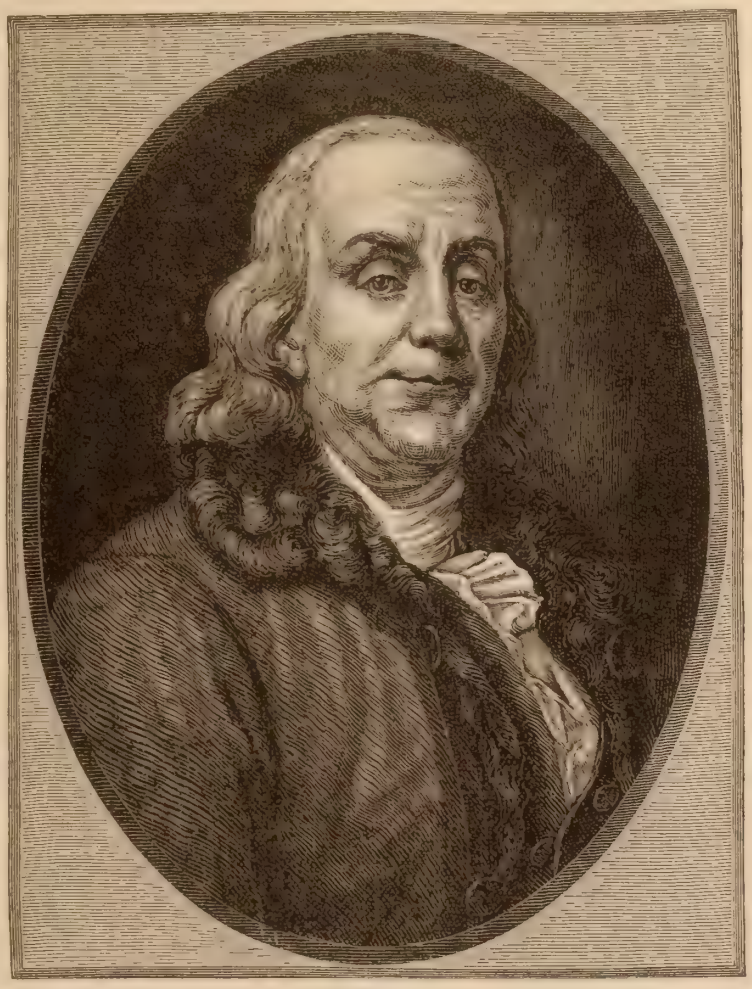
The Earl of Bellamont, writing May 25, 1698, from New York, says: "the sure way of conveying letters to me is by the way of Boston, whence the post comes every week to this place."[2]

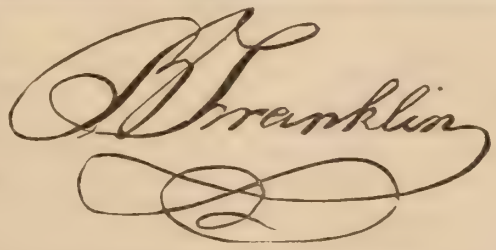
Lord Cornbury, in a letter to the Lords of Trade June 30th, 1704, writes: "The post that goes through this place, goes Eastward as far as Boston, but Westward he goes no farther than Philadelphia and there is no other post upon all this continent."[3]

In a letter describing the effects of Her Majesty's proclamation as to the rates of coin, Governor Cornbury writes as follows: "It was on Monday the 5th day of February, 1705, the day the Boston Post sets out from hence, several persons here sent away as much money by the Post as he could carry."

In 1704 we have from Madam Knight's journal an account of her trip from Boston to New York herself, and the postman on horseback.[4]

In 1705 Lord Cornbury, sending home for approval several bills passed by the Assembly, speaks of one as "An Act of absolute necessity, for without it the Post to Boston and Philadelphia will be lost."[5]





In 1708, Lord Cornbury states that "From Boston there is a Post by which we can hear once a week in summer, and once a fortnight in winter."[6]

In the *New York Gazette* of December 9, 1734, is the following advertisement:

"On Tuesday the Tenth instant, at Nine O'clock in the Fore-noon, the Boston and Philadelphia Posts set out from New York to perform their stages once a fortnite during the 3 Winter months and are to set out at 9 o'clock on Tuesday Mornings. Gentlemen and Merchants are desired to bring their Letters in time. N. B.—This Gazette will also come forth on Tuesday mornings during that time."[7]

With little variation this through mail arrangement, from which doubtless the inhabitants of Westchester County derived the same advantages as others on the route, continued on for twenty years longer, when, Benjamin Franklin having been made Postmaster-General for the colonies, entered upon office with determination to increase the postal facilities.[8] The weekly mail was soon started, through the winter months as well as summer, and letters leaving Philadelphia on Monday morning reached Boston by Saturday night. We have the names of two of the old mail-carriers, whose faces must have been very familiar and welcome at the various points along the post-road. They were both of Stratford, Conn., and must have started on their stirring careers about the same

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS., vol. iii. p. 682.
[2] N. Y. Col. MSS., vol. iv. p. 317.
[3] N. Y. Col. MSS., vol. iv. p. 1113.
[4] N. Y. Col. MSS., vol. iv. p. 1131.
[5] N. Y. Col. MSS., vol. iv. p. 1168.
[6] N. Y. Col. MSS., vol. v. p. 55.
[7] Valentine's Manual, 1864, p. 710.
[8] "Franklin himself set out on a tour of inspection, and, traveling patiently over the routes, erected mile-stones (some of which are still standing)." Mrs. Lamb's Hist. of the City of N. Y., vol. i. p. 668.

time, 1728. The first was Deacon Thomas Peet, "employed as a Post-rider between New York and Saybrook for the last thirty-two years of his life, in which station he gave general satisfaction. He died of a Fever in the sixty-second year of his age."[1] The second was Ebenezer Hurd, who was forty-seven years, at least Post-rider and was in the position at the commencement of the Revolution.[2]

NEWSPAPERS.—Although not one newspaper seems to have been published in Westchester County in ante-Revolutionary times, the city press found here its firmest patrons. The weekly mail brought out with it the just published *Journal*, and afforded for the instruction, amusement and excitement of the farmer, as of the citizen, not merely the events that were happening, but the stirring thoughts and purposes which were offering for examination and advantage. In these city papers are found frequent advertisements and notes appertaining to the country, —farms to be disposed of; runaway slaves to be recovered; stage-lines started; vessels freighting for distant points; wrecked vessels that will be restored; rewards for recovery of stolen goods; prices of merchandise to be sold. Events occurring in the County are also noticed. The *New York Post Boy*, February 6, 1758, has "the following most shocking and melancholy account from East Chester, N. Y., that, on Friday morning, the 27th of January, Mrs. Mary Standard, aged about seventy years, wife to the Rev. Doctor Thomas Standard, of that place, was found dead on the chimney-hearth of one of the apartments in the house, having her head, the chief part of both her breasts, with her left arm and shoulder entirely burnt to cinders. It appears that the unfortunate old gentleman and his more unfortunate old lady had, upon some necessary occasion the evening before, agreed to lay separate; and the doctor, taking his leave, went to bed, leaving his wife sitting before the fire, where, it is imagined, the poor old gentlewoman must either have been seized with a fit, or, in rising from her chair had fallen into the fire, and, being undoubtedly rendered unable to move herself, she became the most moving spectacle imaginable to the most affectionate and tender husband, who first discovered her in the morning."[3]

The same journal, on the 14th of March, 1765, announces that "last week was killed at Morrisania, at the farm of Lewis Morris, Esq., in the county of Westchester, where it was reared, an ox of six years old that weighed nineteen hundred and forty-seven pounds."

The following advertisements, of an earlier date, are given:

"Stolen, on Sunday night, the 8th of March, out of the Stable of John Ryder, at Philipseborough, in the County of West Chester, a large brown horse, about fifteen hands high. has a small star on his Forehead and goes narrow with his Hams behind. he is branded in several Places, but not very plain, on his Foreshoulder with I H, and on his Left Thigh with I R. Whosoever takes up the said Horse and brings him to his said owner shall have Five Pounds reward and all reasonable charges paid by

"JOHN RIDER."[4]

"TO BE SOLD,

"A very good Farm and Tract of Land thereunto belonging, containing seventy-three acres or thereabouts, lying in New Rochelle, in the County of West Chester, on which is a good brick dwelling House, a well-bearing orchard and good Timber Land; as also three acres of Salt Meadow, in the Township of East Chester, late belonging to Lewis Guion, of East Chester, deceased. Those that are intended to purchase the same may apply to Charles Johnston, of New York, schoolmaster, or Charles Vincent, of East Chester, Blacksmith, and the title thereto sufficiently warranted."[5]

MODES OF TRAVEL.—There were no doubt from the very first intimate relations throughout the length and breadth of the County with New York City and the adjoining State of Connecticut. Business called to the one and ties of blood and friendship to the other. Of course, in a region devoted to agriculture the facilities of travel were in each family, and neighborly exchanges of opportunities were equal to the demand. So also the rivers on both sides of the county offered large advantages from the very first for trade and other interests. But the first known public conveyance, outside of postal arrangements, through this county was established in 1772, as appears by the following advertisement in the *New York Journal* of July 9th:

"The

Stage Coach

between

New York and Boston

"Which for the first Time sets out this day from Mr. Fowler's Tavern (formerly kept by Mr. Stout) at Fresh Water in New York will continue to go the Course between Boston and New York, So as to be at each of those places once a fortnight, coming in on Saturday Evening and seting out to return by the way of Hartford on Monday Morning. The price to Passengers will be 4 d New York or 3 d lawful Money per Mile and Baggage at a reasonable rate.

"Gentlemen and Ladies who choose to encourage this useful, new and expensive Undertaking, may depend upon good Usage, and that the Coach will always put up at Houses on the Road where the best Entertainment is provided. . . . If on Trial the Subscribers find Encouragement they will perform the Stage once a Week, only altering the Day of setting out from New York and Boston to Thursday instead of Monday Morning.

"JONATHAN and NICHOLAS BROWN."

As stages had been running for some years before this from New York to Philadelphia it appears hardly possible that communication eastward from New should be established so much later. However, very soon two and three trips were made every week between the two cities.[6] And next a stage for Westchester County, going as far as Rye, was started, with, however, the very strange selection of six o'clock in the evening for the return trip on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays.

[1] *New York Mercury*, Oct. 27, 1760.

[2] Supplement to the *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, April 10, 1775.

[3] This occurred in the house of Dr. Standard, opposite the church.

[4] *Weekly Post Boy*, March 23, 1747.

[5] *Weekly Post Boy*, January 19, 1747.

[6] Frank's New York Directory, 1787.

It would seem that in 1785 the first stages between New York and Albany through this county began their trips. The stages were drawn by four horses, and the charge was four pence a mile.[1]



Philadelphia STAGE-WAGGON, and New-York STAGE BOAT performs their Stages twice a Week.

JOHN BUTLER, with his waggon, ſets out on Mondays from his Houſe, at the Sign of the Death of the Fox, in Strawberry ally, and drives the ſame day to Trenton Ferry, when Francis Holman meets him and proceeds on Tueſday to Brunſwick, and the paſſengers and goods being ſhifted into the waggon of Iſaac Fitzrandolph he takes them to the New Blazing Star to Jacob Fitzrandolph's the ſame day, where Rubin Fitzrandolph, with a boat well ſuted, will receive them, and take them to New-York that night. John Butler returning to Philadelphia on Tueſday with the paſſengers and goods delivered to him by Francis Holman, will again ſet out for Trenton Ferry on Thurſday, and Francis Holman, &c. will carry his paſſengers and goods, with the ſame expedition as above to New-York. Tcetf.

Beside the sloop advantages for reaching the city and points along the shores of the county, to which allusion has been made, there were also very early ferries between it and the opposite sides of the Hudson and the Sound.

In 1739 a ferry was established between Rye and Oyster Bay,[2] and as early certainly as 1743 one by periauger was running between Ferry Point, in the town of Westchester, and Powell's Point, near Whitestone, Long Island.

Dobbs Ferry, in the town of Greenburg, was so called from a Swedish family of this name—early settlers, who kept a ferry from this place to the opposite shore of Rockland County. Again, in 1755, a public ferry between Ann Hook's Neck, or Rodman's Neck, and Cedar-Tree Brook, in Hampstead Harbor, was in operation, Samuel Rodman and John Wooley being the patentees.[3] On a map of the road from Federal Hall to New Rochelle, passing over the Harlem River at Kingsbridge, and over the Bronx at Williams' Bridge and through East Chester, there is laid down a side-road in that village, which is described as "road leading to Whitestone Ferry," which shows undoubtedly that water communication had been established through Hutchinson's River, East Chester Bay and the Sound with the shore at Long Island.

RISE OF CHURCHES.—The colonists of Westchester County, Dutch or English or French, gave their attention from the first to their religious interests, and held their assemblies for religious worship as soon as they took up their new abodes. We must imagine that for the most part these early services were held in their private residences, in turn perhaps, or at some house permanently by common consent. Their thoughts early turned to the subject of church-building, which was accomplished in some localities sooner than others. In New Rochelle, in three years after its settlement by the Huguenots, a place of worship was erected. It took the people of East Chester thirty years before they were determined to build, although they had asked permission twenty years before, and after this resolve near seven years elapsed before the Meeting-house was ready for use. Bedford, which was settled about 1680, and which that very year expressed its determination to build, had a place of worship within a few years. The following is supposed to be the order in which the early church edifices of the county were erected. The date of the first Quaker Meeting-house at West Chester is certainly much earlier than 1729, for Dr. Standard in that year speaks of it as then in use.[4] Mr. Bolton seems to mark it out as 1747, but perhaps he refers to a second edifice.[5]

NO.	YEAR.	PLACE.	
.....	.....	Westchester.....	Independents.
.....	.....	Westchester.....	Friends.
.....	1680–1704.	Bedford	Presbyterians.
.....	1692–93.	New Rochelle.....	Huguenots.
.....	1699.	Mount Pleasant.....	Reformed Dutch.
.....	1700.	East Chester.....	Independents.
.....	1700.	Westchester.....	Independents.
.....	1706–8.	Fordham	Reformed Dutch.
.....	1708.	Rye.....	Church of England.
.....	1710.	New Rochelle.....	Church of England.
.....	1724.	New Rochelle.....	Reformed Protestant.
.....	1727 *	White Plains.....	Presbyterians.
.....	1729.*	Rye.....	Presbyterians.
.....	1732–40.	Cortlandt.....	Reformed Dutch.
.....	1737.	Yorktown.....	Presbyterians.
.....	1730–40.	Harrison.....	Friends.
.....	1739.	Marmanwick	Friends.
.....	1747.	Westchester.....	Friends.
.....	1752.	Yonkers.....	Church of England.
.....	1752.*	South Salem.....	Presbyterians.
.....	1761.	New Castle.....	Church of England.
.....	1763.	North Salem.....	Church of England.
.....	1764.	East Chester.....	Church of England.
.....	1764.	North Salem.....	Presbyterians.
.....	1766.	Peekskill.....	Church of England.
.....	1770.	Poundridge.....	Presbyterians.

* About this date.

The church at Mount Pleasant is the famous building at Sleepy Hollow, and is still standing in excellent preservation. Catherine Philipse, daughter of Oloff Stevens Van Kortlandt, and wife of Frederick Philipse, seems to have taken great interest in its erection and to have been largely its benefactor.

INFLUENCE OF THE CLERGY.—Certain it is that no class of persons contributed more to influence the people of this county during its colonial existence than the Clergy of the various religious societies within it. The Connecticut Congregationalist, the Huguenot, the Reformed Dutch and the Church of England minister

[1] Stone's "Hist. of New York," p. 188.

[2] Baird's "Rye," p. 78.

[3] Bolton's "History of Westchester County," vol. i. p. 546.

[4] Hawk's MSS. from Archives at Fulham, vol. ii. pp. 26–35.

[5] Bolton "Hist. of Westchester Co.," vol. ii. p. 227.

served, in his presence and labors, not merely to supply the religious wants of the many who realized them, but to counteract the lowering tendency of the situation and circumstances of the new settler. Wherever any demoralization appeared for the time, one can easily trace it to the absence of this exalting power for the common good. While it is fully allowed that the clashing claims diminished much then, as it does now, the result of professional efforts, it is yet apparent enough how, in the setting forth of the moral code, in the urgent use of ordinances and customs, in encouraging calls to individual reform, in the exhibition of the results of good and evil, in the discountenancing—sometimes denunciation—of bad men, in the enforcement of rights, individual and magisterial, as well as those Divine, in examples of domestic felicity and order,—in these and so many other ways the servant of God and friend of the people filled up his mission of usefulness. In a scattered population, growing in eighty years from one thousand one hundred to sixteen thousand, these clergy, never ten in number at one time, in some decades not more than three, held up in the most remarkable manner in the face of all opposing influences the moral tone of the various communities of the County. Of course, traditional sentiments and healthy prejudices, still fresh, much assisted, and might be readily invoked; for a very large proportion of the Westchester new-comers were religious people. But the gratifying fact is the more conspicuous, as, amid much to discourage them, the standard under the care and efforts of godly men is again and again restored. No doubt a great source of their strength was the establishment of the Christian dogma by law. The assistance, too, of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts could not but bear witness in the minds of thoughtful people to the value of Christian truth and duty felt by the devout and humane people of the mother-country in thus assisting in the support of the colonial clergy.

But the teachers who seeing these points with the people, and in private and public discourse taking care that they should not fail of appreciating them, the more courageously and effectively delivered and urged the Word of God. In the month of July 1719, Rev. John Bartow, taking for his text, Jeremiah xiv. 22: "Are there any among the vanities of the Gentiles that can cause rain? or can the heavens give showers? Art not thou he, O Lord, our God; therefore we will wait upon thee, for thou hast made all these things." Taking up the words of his text, evidently upon the last expression, he comments as follows: "Now, by waiting upon God, in the Prophet's phrase is undoubtedly meant, The making our humble addresses day by day unto ye most wise and perfect being, who is endowed with Infinite power and goodness, the author of our life and well-being, who formed our bodys of the dust and created our souls out of nothing, who in his unsearchable providences placed us in this material world and controuls influences and directs every accident that can befall us, whilst we continue here, and therefore to wait upon God in ye actual exercise of such desires and affections as acknowledge God to be the author and giver of all things is most reasonable and tending to our own comfort in all our temporal and Eternal Interests." Worldliness and vice were thus by public sentiment under the ban and the maxims and manners that are so elevating countenanced.

It is but fair to remember these gentlemen in the difficulties they met with. Isolated, meagrely supported, separated from each other, if not by distance, more by questions that did not allow of confidence, with so many frowns upon them, either from the people or from the ruling power in the colony, they yet went on quietly in their work, to the untold advantage of the County. The Rev. Dr. Johnson, President of King's College, in a sermon at East Chester, in 1755, from Heb. xiii. 14: "For here have we no continuing city, but we seek one to come" urges, "Let us not be so foolish as to raise any great expectations from this fleeting uncertain world for we shall be wretchedly frustrated and the greatness of the misery of our disappointment will be proportioned to the greatness of our expectations." It is, moreover, to be remarked that the influence thus exerted is in a degree to be referred to the extended pastorates of a number of the clergy, half a dozen of them at least lasting over thirty years.

It is also suggested with no little pleasure that what Dr. Douglass, quoted by William Smith, the historian of New York, absurdly proposes in order to increase the usefulness of the clergy, was realized for their people in the intermarriage of their children. "Our missionaries," says this far-sighted propagandist, "may procure a perpetual alliance and commercial advantages with the Indians, which the Roman Catholic clergy cannot do, because they forbid to marry. I mean our missionaries may intermarry with the daughters of the Sachems, and other considerable Indians, and their progeny will forever be a certain cement between us and the Indians." Contempt for such insolence!![1] But as from the fireside of a Bartow, a Wetmore, a Smith, a Sackett, a Mead, a White, a Thomas, a Monroe went forth son or daughter, to be joined unto godly wife or husband, to perpetuate the principles and heart wishes of their devoted fathers, date the commencement of influences for the highest welfare of the people, which in their effects are seen as visibly in the post-Revolutionary periods as in the years before the strife. Nor is it amiss in this connection, when speaking of the usefulness of the Westchester clergy, to mention the moral support which they received from the efforts and assistance of prominent citizens of the county and province during these eighty years. Col. Caleb Heathcote here readily recurs to mind. He was

[1] Smith's New York Carey Ed. p. 247. Douglass, Sam. & C., vol. ii. p. 138, Boston Edit. 1753.

a conscientious and devout gentleman, whose convictions of truth and duty were definite and decided. His philanthropy was broad and absorbing; but his courage was ever moderated by his prudence. "Artful," he was never. No good man ever misunderstood him, nor without regret withstood him. He was the friend of all that were striving for the public good, and it is not too much to say that the dissenting preacher as well as the Church of England priest had a kind and a wise word from him. Throughout this county the odor of his good work was spread, to the discomfort at the time of none, but the benefit of all. The attempt to change the color of a life, which has been preserved undimmed with one hundred and fifty years of cherished admiration, affords little evidence of sagacity. It is far better to account for its successes, if not by the truth of the principles which swayed it, then by the purity and loveliness of that natural character which they brought to such perfection and winning attractiveness.

But we must not omit here the judicious use which the Church of England clergy made, through the liberality and wisdom of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, of two instrumentalities—schoolmasters and religious books—in furthering the best interests of the people of the county. Westchester, East Chester, Rye, New Rochelle, North Castle, Yonkers, Mile Square, White Plains, at the instigation and under the direction of the clergy, were provided almost continuously with school advantages. Says Dr. Berrien, in his "History of Trinity Church, New York," "There is nothing with which I have been so much struck as the zeal, the earnestness and devotedness of the school-masters and catechists of that day. The former seem to have been selected from among the laity with great caution and care. . . Some of these were men of liberal education. . . . Intellectual was not then, to the extent that it is now, separated from religious improvement, but *both went hand in hand throughout the week.*"[1] What the wise Rector of Trinity says of the schoolmasters of his parish was equally true of those whose work was in Westchester County. In answer to the question of the society, "Have you in your parish any public school for the instruction of youth? If you have, is it endowed, and who is the master?" the Rev. John Bartow answers: "We have a public school in Westchester, of which Mr. Forster is the society's schoolmaster, and we have private schools in other places—no endowment. Some family of the name of Pelham that are adjacent come to East Chester Church."[2]

The following are the names of some of the schoolmasters of the county in colonial times: Delpech, Forster, Cleator, Collier, Dwight, Purdy, Timothy Wetmore, James Wetmore, Basil Bartow, Thomas Huddlestone, John Carhart, William Sturgeon, John Rand, John Avery, Daniel Clarke, Charles Glover, Nathaniel Seabury, George Young, Mr. Gott.

The presence of these educated men in the community as levers of usefulness was not a little aided by the circulation among the people of books of sterling merit on theology and practical religion and smaller essays treating on subjects of passing interest.[3] Some of these treatises were controversial, which characteristic in those days was not at all incongenial; many of them would be regarded in our times as very dryly written, but not so by those early settlers. Among the volumes known to be furnished by the Society, were Beveridge's several works, Lewis' Catechisms, Taylor's Holy Living and Dying, The Whole Duty of Man,[4] Leslie's Discourses, Bishop Potter on Church Government, Dr. Bray's books, Hooker's Eccles. Polity, Hoadly *vs.* Calamy.

Of course there were other books which were reaching the people, some of lowering tendency, some with teachings that the books spoken of were to antidote; but it must be evident, that all this reading, limited as compared with that of our day, both as to range and extent, must have quickened the intellectual and elevated the moral tone. The clergy here were giving the same direction to the thought of the people, towards the true, the good and the useful, that they were pursuing and urging in their discourses.

Relations of the County to the Colony.—It will be quite evident from what has been presented that the county of Westchester occupied no passive position in the progress of the colony of New York, but largely assisted in the development of the city and the regions upon which it was continually advancing. What must be said of the influence of the towns upon each other is true also of their bearings upon the intellectual, social and religious condition of the whole Province. The energy, sturdiness, promptness and firmness of the inhabitants were everywhere appreciated, and while much was received, much was communicated. Sometimes the excessive ardor of the populace found its check in the sober thoughtfulness, the *festina lente* temper of their country neighbors on the north, and sometimes the dormant sensibility to justice and right was stirred to activity and fervor by boiling floods of resentment pouring down from our Westchester hills. But the relations between these portions were too continuously intimate to allow much of spasmodic action. A more correct statement of what was taking place is that the different portions of the province were all contributing to the making up of its general character and fortune, and this county was among the most potential.

[1] Pages 86–87.

[2] New York history from archives at Fulham, Vol. 1, 635.

[3] *Vide* Henderson Walker Letter to Ld. Bp. London, Prot. Episc. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. 1851, p. 182.

[4] This book was widely disseminated, and I have under my eye a very fine quarto edition of this early date.

At this time, New York, though not as thickly settled as her eastern or western neighbors, was the centre of influence. Her geographical position, with the broad Hudson and the great bay at its mouth dividing the colonies, made her the key of the Continent. Her exposed situation as the great border bulwark against the encroaching French and their Indian allies was a source of constant care both to the colonies and the Home Government. Upon her safety depended the framework of British colonization. "Whatever happens in this place," wrote Colden to Secretary Conway, "has the greatest influence in the other colonies. They have their eyes perpetually upon it and they govern themselves accordingly." On the other hand, no colony was in so direct sympathy with England. New York was not a chartered government, but a province of Great Britain. The leading merchants were Britons born, and held close relations with their kindred in the old country. Moreover, the salubrity of the climate and the natural charms of the favorite city of the continent rendered it even then the preferred choice of British officials. The markets then, as now, abounded in the choicest provisions, native and tropical, and there was an elegance and luxury in life which was not only entirely unknown in some of the other colonies, but was a source of surprise even to English visitors, who found the residences and tables of the New York gentry not inferior to those of the better classes at home. Between New York and the English ports there was a constant and rapid communication by swift sailing-vessels, whose arrival was eagerly looked for on either side. Even the local elections in Great Britain excited as much attention and interest in New York and in Westchester County as in many of their own boroughs. Visits to the old country were frequent; nothing was more common than notices in the journals "of gentlemen intending for Great Britain by the next packet." Frequent intermarriages added family ties to commercial intercourse.



BRITISH STAMP.

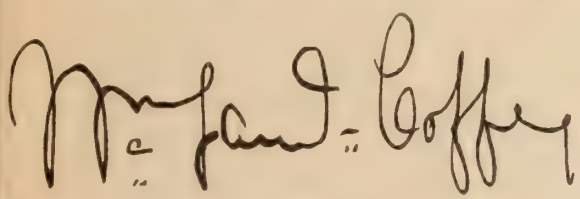
When the differences with the mother country began, New York being the most English in sentiment of all the colonies, was naturally selected for the place of meeting of a Congress, the declared purpose of which was a loyal demand for redress of grievances. The "Stamp Act Congress" met on the 7th o October, 1765. There were present delegates from nine colonies. John Cruger, one of the oldest and best known, a leading merchant, who for ten years had held the office of mayor of the city; Philip Livingston, also a merchant of great wealth, later signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Robert R. Livingston, known as Judge Livingston, the soul of the opposition to the ministry, worthily represented New York. After a brief session of several days the Congress adjourned on the 25th of October, after adopting an address to the King, a memorial and petition to the Lords, and a petition to the House of Commons.

While the delegates were thus engaged in their endeavor to reach a pacific solution of the differences with the Home Government, the mass of the people were not idle. The years which immediately followed the French War were years of great distress in the colonies. The war period was one of abnormal and unnatural excitement in all kinds of trade, which, ceasing all at once with the peace, was followed by the usual depression. In their distress and discontent, the people, as much from necessity as from choice, began to look about them and to study how they could supply themselves from their own resources, independent of Great Britain. This was the beginning of home manufactures. In this the colonies were encouraged by the arrival of skilled artisans from England.

In May articles began to appear in the papers congratulating the public on the patriotic and frugal spirit that was beginning to reign in the province of New York. The principal gentlemen of this city clad themselves in country manufactures or turned clothes, the material of which was largely made by the industrious farmers of Westchester County. Spinning was daily in vogue by the people of Westchester. Materials being more wanted than industrious hands in the city, the farmers of Westchester soon supplied this need by sowing more flax-seed and raising more sheep. At this time sassafras, balm and sage were greatly in use instead of tea, and the patriotic inhabitants declared it to be more wholesome. Funerals and mourning, which were then expensive luxuries, were modified and their extravagance curtailed. In September we find it announced that women's shoes were made cheaper and better than in England, and that there was a good assortment on hand; wove thread stockings were made in sundry places; the making of linen, woolen and cotton stuffs was fast increasing; gloves, hats, carriages, harness and cabinet-work were plenty. The people were now self-dependent; cards now appeared recommending that no true friend of his country should buy or import English goods, and the dry-goods men were warned that their importations would lie on hand, to their cost and ruin. At a general meeting of the Merchants and Traders of the City of New York, held on November 7, 1765, it was resolved by them (and to strengthen their resolutions they entered into the most solemn engagements with each other) that they would not import any goods from Great Britain until the Stamp Act was repealed, and the inhabitants of Westchester County were not behind any class in the province in patriotism and sacrifice.

The hated stamps reached New York later than the other colonies. They were brought over in the ship

"Edward," which arrived on the 23d October, but the people openly resisted their distribution by violence. The attitude of the other colonies being equally firm, the English ministry were compelled to yield and finally repealed the act. The news of the repeal reached New York on May 20th, simultaneously by expresses from Boston and Philadelphia, and diffused great joy among all classes of the people. On the anniversary of the King's birthday, June 4, 1766, there were outbursts of popular rejoicing throughout the province, and loyal toasts were drunk. The gratitude of the people to Pitt was everywhere displayed, and New York erected a statue of the great commoner at the intersection of Wall and Smith (now William) Streets, in the city of New York, on the 7th of September, 1770.[1]



CHAPTER VI.

WESTCHESTER-COUNTY, NEW-YORK, DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.[2]

BY HENRY B. DAWSON,

Corresponding Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Etc.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1886, by Henry B. Dawson, in the office of the Librarian of Congress in Washington, D. C.

During the entire period extending from the first settlement which was made by Europeans, within that portion of New Netherland which, subsequent to the first of November, 1683, was known as the "COUNTY "OF WESTCHESTER," in New York, until within the memory of living men, the inhabitants of that portion of the country, with rare exceptions, were either cultivators of its soil or employed in other occupations which were, then, necessary for the comfort and well-being of such a purely agricultural community.[3] A very large proportion of those farmers, however, especially during the earlier Colonial period, was not composed of owners, in fee-simple, of the soil which they cultivated, that having been held, in such instances, on Leases from the Lords of the several Manors into which the County was largely divided;[4] but those Leases were generally for long terms of years, on easy terms of rental, with liberal provisions for renewals; and those who held them were seldom disturbed in their continued and quiet possession of their respective properties.[5]

[1] John Austin Stevens, *Magazine of American History*, June, 1877.

[2] This clear, complete and interesting chapter on the American Revolution, in Westchester County was written expressly for this work by the eminent historian, Henry B. Dawson, of Morrisania. No person in the United States is more thoroughly acquainted with the history of the subject here treated, or more competent to discuss it in an original and comprehensive manner than Mr. Dawson. We regret that the want of space has compelled us, with Mr. Dawson's consent, to omit from his chapter a few details which, we think, belong more properly to the history of the City and State of New York than to the County of Westchester. As it is, the reader will find that the entire subject is clearly unfolded before him in a new and original manner from the store-house of history at the command of this able writer.—EDITOR.

[3] "The Inhabitants indeed live all upon their own; but are generally "poor."—*Rev. John Bartow to the Venerable Society*, "WESTCHESTER IN "NEW YORK PROVINCE, 4th Nov., 1702."

"The people of this County, having generally land of their own, al- "though they dont want, few or none of them much abound."—*Colonel Caleb Heathcote to the Venerable Society*, "MANOR OF SCARSDALE, Nov. "9, 1705."

In 1711, Rev. John Bartow wrote to the Venerable Society, from Westchester, which was, then, the County-seat and principal Village: "The "Inhabitants of our Parish live scattered and dispersed up and down in "the Woods, so that many cannot repair constantly to the Church, by "reason of their great distance from it."—*Quoted by Mr. Bolton*, History of Westchester County, *Second edition*, i., 340. The "Parish" referred to, included, then, the more recent Towns of Westchester, West Farms, Morrisania, Kingsbridge, Yonkers, East Chester, Pelham, and New Rochelle.

See, also, *the letters of Rev. Robert Jenney to the Venerable Society*, "RYE, Dec. 15, 1722;" *Rev. John Bartow to the Bishop of London*, "WEST- "CHESTER, IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK, IN AMERICA, July 13, 1724;" *Rev. Robert Jenney to the same*, "AT RYE, IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW "YORK, July 18, 1724;" *Rev. Peter Stouppe to the Venerable Society*, "NEW ROCHELLE, Dec. 11, 1727;" *Rev. James Wetmore to the same*, "RYE February 20, 1727–28;" *etc.*

"As the people of this Country are all farmers, they are dispersed up "and down the Country; and even in Towns every one has a plott of at "least ten acres, which distances his neighbor from him."—*Rev. Thomas Stannard to the Venerable Society*, "WESTCHESTER, Nov. 5, 1729."

See, also, *letter of Rev. James Wetmore to the Venerable Society*, "RYE, "March 25, 1743;" *The Parish of Rye to the same*, "PROVINCE OF NEW "YORK, BEDFORD, March 6, 1744;" *Rev. Joseph Lampson to the same*, "NORTHCASTLE, IN THE PARISH OF RYE, February 10, 1746–47;" *Rev. Ebenezer Dibble to the same*, "STAMFORD, IN CONNECTICUT, IN NEW ENG- "LAND, March 25, 1761;" *Rev. Harry Munro to the same*, "PHILLIPS- "BURGH, February 1, 1766;" *Rev. Epenetus Townsend to the same*, "SALEM, "WESTCHESTER COUNTY, March 25, 1771;" *etc.*

In 1811, Rev. Timothy Dwight, President of Yale-college, passed through Westchester-county, and wrote, of the Town of Eastchester, except "a small scattered Village," "the rest of the Township is covered "with plantations"—*Travels*, iii., 486—and, of the Town of Mamaroneck, "it is wholly a collection of plantations; and can scarcely be said to "contain even a hamlet. It is set, however, with a number of good houses "and excellent farms."—*Ibid*, iii., 487.—Of the County, as a whole, he wrote thus: "It is universally settled, so far as the nature of the ground "will admit; and is almost merely a collection of Farms."—*Ibid*, iii., 489.

We have resorted, also, to our own recollections of Westchester-county, which extend far beyond that day when the quiet and the morals of the County were first disturbed by the rush of a train of railroad-cars and the screeching of a locomotive, within its territory.

[4] In the Autumn of 1769, it was stated in the Assembly that the Manors of Philipseborough and Cortlandt, exclusive of all other portions of the County, contained "one-third of the people in the County;" but the number of Freeholders was somewhat increased, during the later Colonial period, as it was the practice of the greater number of the Proprietors to sell the fee-simple, whenever it was applied for.—*Edward F. de Lancey to Henry B. Dawson.*

[5] An instance of the permanence of occupation, by tenants on the Manors, is seen in the case of the Anjevines, thus referred to by Mr. Bolton: "Under the Heathcotes and De Lanceys, the Anjevines held "the large farm," [*in Scarsdale,*] "bearing their name, now owned by "Alexander M. Bruen, M.D., for four Generations."—*History of Westchester County*, second edition, ii., 231.

Although the Manors of Livingston and Rensselaerwyck and the Scott and Blenheim and Duanesburg and Clark and Kortright and Hardenburg and Desbrosses and Livingston and Montgomery and Armstrong and Banyar and Hunter and Overing and Lewis and Verplanck and other Patents were not in Westchester-county, the relations of landlord and tenant were the same, unless in the rentals, in all; and they were the same as those which generally prevailed on the Manors and other large estates, in Westchester-county. The student who shall desire to learn more on that subject of American feudalism, as it existed before and since the American Revolution, may find very much which will be useful to him, in the *Report on the Difficulties existing between the Proprie-*

With the exception of the frequently seen Grist-mills and Sawmills and an occasional Fullingmill,[1] the aggregate amount of whose manufactured products did not generally exceed the demands of the several neighborhoods in which they were respectively situated, there were no Manufactories of any kind, within the County; and those who owned and ran the Mills to which we have referred, when those Mills were not owned and managed in the interest of the Lords of the Manors in which they were respectively seated,[2] more frequently than otherwise, were also occupants and cultivators of adjacent farms. The Blacksmiths and the Wheelwrights, the Masons and the Carpenters, the Tailors and the Shoemakers, the Storekeepers on the roadside and the Tavernkeepers on the corners, all of them reasonably regarded as peculiarly necessary portions of every rural community, were, very often, in this, also farmers on a smaller scale.[3] The Market-sloops which, then, made their periodical trips between the many landing-places, on the North-river or on the Sound, and the neighboring City, affording the only means, unless those which were supplied by teams, for the transportation of passengers and freight, which the County then possessed, were generally owned, wholly or in part, by well-to-do farmers living in the vicinity of the landing-places from which they respectively sailed; and, not unfrequently, those Sloops were navigated by younger members of their owners' families or by the young sons of some of their neighbors, of whom one, in every instance, discharged the double duty of "Captain" and Marketman.[4] Even the little Villages which were, then, scattered over the County, some of them made famous in the history of the world because of notable events which have occurred near them, were inhabited, principally, by those aged or more than usually wealthy people—the greater portion of them also cultivators as well as owners of neighboring farms—whose more abundant means enabled them to spend their days, more agreeably than on their own farms, in the enjoyment of the greater social privileges afforded in a country village life.[5] In short, as was said in the beginning, there were few, among the residents of that portion of the country, during the later Colonial period, who were not either actual cultivators of the soil or in some way connected with or dependent on those who were thus employed.

With a more than usually productive Soil, not yet exhausted by a vicious system of cultivation; with a temperate Climate, which was not only conducive to healthfulness, in the inhabitants, but promotive of the best interests of the farmers, in the ripening and harvesting of their crops; with moderate Rentals for the properties held by those of them who were not Freeholders; and with Taxes which were only nominal in amount; too far removed from the frontier to be harassed by the inroads of hostile Savages; and near enough to the not distant City to enjoy the great advantages which it afforded, in a constant Market, at the highest prices, for all the surplus products of their farms which they should desire to sell, and, at the lowest prices, for whatever, of necessities or of luxuries, the products of this or of other countries, which they should desire to buy—in the enjoyment of all these, the farmers of Westchester-county, especially during the later Colonial period, were favored as few other purely agriculturists have been favored, then or since, in any part of the world.

With rare exceptions, these Westchester-county farmers were intelligent men, sufficiently educated for all the purposes of their business and of their recreation—even among the earlier of the several Towns, those farmers included, in their Westchester-county homes, men and women of culture, whose names, and characters, and abilities, as scholars and statesmen, in several instances, are matters of history, known throughout the world;[6] while the intelligence of those of later Colonial periods is seen in the multitude of ecclesiastical and political papers, signed by large numbers of them, and rarely disfigured by the "marks;" of those signers which have always been apologetic of the illiteracy of those who have thus used them. There were very few among them, during the latter days of the Colony, who were not temperate, industrious, and prudent in the management of their farms and their business affairs; they were commonly very mindful of their duties to their families and of those to their neighbors; and they were generally diligent in the discharge of at least their outward duties to God. During the period last referred to, not many among them were not in comfortable circumstances: many of them were what is called "well-"to-do:" some of them, particularly those who were members of the older families, in those days of simple habits, were considered wealthy. All of them were

tors of certain Leasehold Estates and their Tenants, presented to the Assembly of New York, in 1846, and reproduced, with an introductory Note, in *The Writings and Speeches of Samuel J. Tilden*, edited by John Bigelow i., 186.

[1] The notorious Captain Cornelius Steenrod was the proprietor of more than one Fulling-mill, in Cortlandt Manor, at the opening of the War of the Revolution.

[2] The old Mill, on the Pocantico, near the ancient Manor-house of the Philipses, is a notable example of a Manorial Mill, continued until our own day.

[3] "Their employment is husbandry, even Innkeepers, Shopkeepers, "Smiths, and Shoemakers not excepted; so that we pray, pay, and wait "too, for everything done in this Country."—*Rev. Thomas Stannard to the Venerable Society*, "WESTCHESTER, Nov. 5, 1729."

Within the period of our own recollection, this primitive combination of occupations was widely continued; and every one who is acquainted with the County, now, can readily call to mind more than one instance still existing.

[4] The personal recollections of members of our own family, extending further back than our own, afford ample authority for this statement.

[5] "Even in Towns every one has a plott of at least ten acres, which "distances his neighbor from him."—*Rev. Thomas Stannard to the Venerable Society*, "WESTCHESTER, Nov. 5, 1729."

[6] Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, of Pelhem, Adriaen Van der Donck, of Yonkers, and Colonel Caleb Heathcote, of Mamaroneck, may be referred to, in this connection.

noted for their open-handed hospitality; but, among the older and more wealthy families, whose fields, and barnyards, and granaries, and storerooms were generally teeming with all the comforts and many of the luxuries of life, the sturdy farmer and his tidy wife, his healthful children and his faithful negroes, vied in their efforts to secure to the acceptable guests of the family, a hearty welcome; to make the stay of those sojourners agreeable; and, when the time for their departure had come, to induce them to regret the shortness of their visit. Where the necessaries and comforts of life were so abundant and so generally enjoyed, Pauperism was comparatively unknown; and where Pauperism and Intemperance were so uncommon, there was a minimum of Crime.[1]

Especially during the Colonial period, there was no Village, at the County-seat or elsewhere, within the County, which contained a population sufficiently numerous to supply the neighboring farmers, nor even its own inhabitants, with the current news of the day;[2] nor was there any Settlement, within the County, which possessed sufficient influence to lead the fashions of the wives and daughters of those farmers. There was not, therefore, nor could there have been, any central coterie or clique, with lofty pretentions and extended ambition, to prompt the County, in what should be said or done by its inhabitants, in support of or in opposition to any proposition, whether moral, or ecclesiastical, or political; nor was there any influence, in any one or in any number, sufficient to associate and organize those farmers, for any purpose whatever. Every one was dependent on his own resources and on his roadside or fireside chats with his neighbors, for whatever information he acquired concerning the passing events of that eventful period; he was dependent, mainly, on his own intelligence and his own intellectual powers, for whatever opinions he entertained, on any subject; and, except on some extraordinary occasions, he was left, undisturbed, in all his relations, by any outside influence.[3]

Such a community as that which constituted the Colonial County of Westchester—a community of well-situated, intelligent, and well-to-do farmers, diligently and discreetly attending to its own affairs, without the disturbing influence of any Village or County coterie—has generally been distinguished for its rigid Conservatism, in all its relations; and such a community has always been more inclined to maintain those various long-continued, well-settled, and, generally, satisfactory relations, with more than ordinary tenacity, preferring, very often, to continue an existing inconvenience or an intangible wrong, to which it had become accustomed, rather than to accept, in its stead, the possibility of an advantage, indefinitely promised, in an untried and uncertain change. The tenure under which so many of those Westchester-county farmers held their lands, which did not permit them to enjoy the rights of Freeholders, at the Polls, had, from the beginning, removed that portion of the inhabitants of the County from the arena of politics, without having created any discontent; and, to a great extent, it had served, also, to increase that Conservatism, even in political affairs, which would have undoubtedly controlled even those who were Tenants, under any other circumstances. There is not, indeed, any known evidence of the existence, at any time, within the County, of any material excitement, among the great body of those farmers, on any subject;[4] and, consequently, there is very little, if any, evidence that the excitement of the earlier opposition to the Home Government, which had so seriously disturbed the peace of the neighboring City, as well as that of other Towns and Cities, on the seaboard, prior to the Summer of 1774, had found any active sympathy, in West-

[1] A personal examination of the Records of the County, preserved in the office of the Clerk of the County, at the White Plains, has revealed, to us, the significant fact that, although the Records of *Civil* Actions in the Court of Common Pleas, the Records of Roads, and other similar Records, from a very early period, have been carefully made in books provided for the purpose (in one instance, if in no more, one volume, by being reversed, has been made to serve for two distinct lines of Records) and as carefully preserved, the Records of *Criminal* Actions, in any and all the Courts, within the County, were not thus made in books, until long after the time of which we write—until long, very long, after the close of the peaceful and prosperous and happy period of the Colonial era—when the greater number and more important character of the *Criminal* Actions—until then too insignificant, in number and character, to entitle them to such a distinction, among the County Records—warranted, the first time, the employment of books in which to keep the Records of them.

If the rough Minutes of the Courts, in *Criminal* Actions, prior to 1787, were preserved, at all, they have all disappeared; and we feel justified in saying, as we have said, in the text, that where Pauperism and Intemperance were as uncommon as they were in Westchester-county, during the later Colonial period, there was, in consequence, a minimum of Crime.

[2] It is understood that there was no Newspaper established in Westchester-county, until about 1810, when one was published at Somers, and one at Peekskill.

[3] Except wherein our authorities for particular statements have been already given, we have depended, for what we have stated, in this and in the two other paragraphs which immediately precede this, on the knowledge which we have acquired, concerning Westchester-county, its inhabitants, and its history, from the numerous books and manuscripts and newspapers, bearing on those subjects, which have fallen into our hands and been examined by us, during more than forty years past; on the information, relating thereto, which was given to us, personally, in our earlier life, by aged natives of the County, some of them dear relatives, and one, if no more, whose personal recollections extended back, beyond the Declaration of Independence; and on what remained of the character and habits of its Colonial inhabitants, in those old families who continued to linger within the County, when we first knew it.

[4] We are not insensible of the discontent, among the tenantry on the Cortlandt Manor, which led a considerable number of them and of those who favored them, in April and May, 1766, to move down, as far as Kingsbridge, demanding a redress of grievances, and making serious threats against their Landlord; but it was only a local disturbance, reaching only to the limits of that single locality. It possessed no political significance whatever—it was grimly said of it, by a contemporary, "Sons of Liberty great opposers to these Rioters as they are of opinion "no one is entitled to Riot but themselves"—and it was promptly suppressed, without loss of either property or life. Those who are curious to know more of this outbreak of early "Antirenters," are referred to the *Journals of Captain John Montresor*, 361, 363; and to the Colonial Manuscripts of that period.

chester-county, beyond the very limited circles of those who had held public offices within the County, of those who had aspired to the honors and emoluments of office which they had not been able to secure, and of those very few who had assumed to be either socially or intellectually or pecuniarily above the general grade of those among whom they lived. Indeed, there had been no good reason for those farmers, comfortably situated on their inland homesteads, to take any particular interest in those struggles which, from an early period, the Boston, the Salem, the New York, or any other Ship masters and Merchants had been waging, for the protection of that long-continued and profitable "illicit trade," from which no benefit had ever accrued to any one beyond those who were thus noisily defying the well-known and reasonable Laws of the Country; and, in the more recently and more generally created political excitement, it had mattered very little to the thrifty housewives, in Westchester-county, from whose warehouses—whether from those of John Hancock and the revolutionary Merchants of Boston and New York, or from those of the Agents of the East India Company, in those ports—their teacups should be supplied, since the Tea which had been smuggled into the Colonies, in violation of law, by the former, was quite as expensive, and not always as well-flavored, as that which had been imported, legally and legitimately, by the latter. Now and then, it is true, those of these farmers who were Freeholders, had been engaged, among themselves, in a political contest between the friends of the De Lanceys and those of the Morrises, or between the supporters of the Van Cortlandts and those of the Philipses, all of them Westchester-county Landlords, for seats in the General Assembly of the Colony[1] or for some local object; but, beyond such merely local contests, they had never gone—the "Sons of Liberty" were not represented and had no correspondents, within that County.

It will be evident to every one, from what has been stated concerning Colonial Westchester-county and those who occupied it, that the purposes of this work, which is devoted especially to the history of that purely agricultural community, do not require us to notice the long-continued and ably-conducted struggle of parties, throughout the Colony, in which the Livingstons and the Morrises had been pitted against the De Lanceys and the Colonial and Home Governments; nor will it be necessary, for those purposes, that we shall present, in all their different phases, the antagonism of "the Merchants and Traders" of every family and party and sect, united only in that one opposition to the Colonial policy of the Home Government[2]—of "the Gentlemen in Trade," as they sometimes called themselves—within the several Towns and Cities on the Atlantic seaboard, to some of the long-established Laws of the Kingdom, as well as to those which had been enacted, since the close of the War with France and Spain, for the purpose of meeting the necessities of the Mother Country, occasioned by the enormous expenses of that eventful contest—the unfranchised Mechanics and Working-men of that period, within the Cities and Towns referred to[3] (sometimes, courted and caressed by those

[1] Doctor Sparks, in his *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, i., 20, told us of an "important cause in which that gentlemen was engaged," before the Courts, during the Colonial era—"that of a contested Election, in West-"chester-county, where he had Mr. Jay for an opponent." We are not told who the contending parties, in that action, were; but it is said, "it involved principles of evidence, questions about the right of "suffrage, as then exercised, and a complication of facts, local and gen-"eral, which gave full scope for the display of legal knowledge and "forensic skill."

[2] It is proper for us to say that that opposition to the Colonial policy of the Home Government, as it was developed within the City of New York, overpowered every difference of family or of sect or of party which had been previously known; and that the De Lanceys and the Livingstons, the Churchman and the Dissenter, the Jacobin and the Georgian, for the purposes of that opposition and of whatever might be necessary to establish its power, became as one man—one in purpose, one in determination, one in action, one in everything.

[3] Inasmuch as frequent mention will be made, in this narrative, of these unfranchised Mechanics and Working-men, it is proper that, in this place, we should explain our meaning of the phrase, in order that the reader may not be misled, concerning it.

By the Act of May 8, 1699, it was provided that Representatives to the General Assembly "shall be chosen in every City, and County, and "Manor of this Province, who have Right to chuse, by People dwelling "and resident in the same Cities, Counties, and Manors; whereof, "every one of them shall have Land or Tenements improved to the "value of *Forty Pounds* in Free-hold, free from all Incumbrances, and "have possessed the same Three Months before the Test of the said "Writ" [*for an Election;*] "and they which shall be chosen, shall be "dwelling and resident within the same Cities, Counties, and Manors; "and such as have the greatest Number of them, who shall have Lands "or Tenements improved, to the Value of *Forty Pounds* in Free-hold, "free from all Incumbrances, as aforesaid, shall be returned by the "Sheriffs of every City, Counties, and Manors, Representatives for "the Assembly, by Indentures sealed betwixt the said Sheriffs and the "said Chusers, so to be made."—(*Laws of New York*, Chapter LXXIV., Section I., Livingston and Smith's edition, New-York: 1752, 29, 30; *the same*, Chapter LXXIV., Section I., Van Schaack's edition, New-York, 1774, 28.)

By the Charter of the City of New-York, granted by Governor Dongan, in 1686, the Mayor and three or more of the Aldermen were authorized to make Freemen of the City from among certain specified classes, on the payment, in each instance, of Five Pounds, not an insignificant sum, at that early period.* No person could do business of any kind, within the City, unless he were a Freeman of the City; and as the Freedom of the City also vested in those who held it the Right to vote for Representatives of the City in the General Assembly, it will be seen that, within the City, the unfranchised were only those Freeholders who were not Freemen and whose Real Estate was encumbered with debt; those Freeholders whose inexpensive homes were not worth Forty Pounds—a large sum, for that period; those who labored for others, as Clerks, Journeymen, or Laborers; and those of that shiftless, characterless class, who encumbered the City of New York, during the Colonial Period, as similar classes continue to encumber every City, especially every Seaport, holding itself in constant readiness to join in any act of violence into which such as Alexander McDougal and Isaac Sears, of the period under consideration, shall incline to lead them.

In Westchester-county, the heirs and assigns of Stephanus Van Cortlandt having failed to exercise the privilege which had been given to the latter, as the Lord of the Manor of Cortlandt, of electing a Representative for that Manor in the General Assembly, that privilege was transferred, by the Act of June 22, 1734, to the body of the Freeholders resi-

* A complete list of those who were admitted to the Freedom of the City of New York, from 1749 until 1775, may be seen in the *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York for* 1856, 477–502.

who had usually assumed to be their social and political superiors, in order to secure their sturdy assistance in the intimidation of the Government, and, at other times, unrecognized by those whom they had thus befriended, as if they possessed no Rights, in political matters, which the franchised well-born were required to respect) constituting, also, another and entirely independent factor in the political elements of that period, in each of the several Colonies, which, in its very important relations with the politics and the politicians of its day, must, also, be generally disregarded, in this place, because it, and its aspirations, and its doings, are not, generally, germain to the purposes of this work. To other hands, therefore, must be left the labor of describing, in detail, the bold and persistent opposition of "the Merchants "and Traders" to those long-established Navigation and Revenue Laws, which, by reason of a more honest administration of them, by those whom the commercial classes had not succeeded in corrupting with their accustomed bribes, had so seriously interfered with the very profitable "illicit trade"—that more elegant phrase which was used, and which continues to be used, to describe what, elsewhere and among less comely offenders, was and is called by the more expressive term of "SMUGGLING"—in which those "Merchants and Traders" had been so long and so profitably engaged;[1] and we can only glance, also, at that subsequently adopted system of intimidation which had been resorted to, by the same confederated mercantile offenders, under the guise of patriotism, but really for the promotion of their own selfish purposes, in their employment and direction of that other, less responsible and, not unfrequently, less respectable, populace, a marketable class which every large seaport can produce, sometimes in one manner and sometimes in another, quietly or violently, as had best answered the ends of those who had em-

dent on the Manor. (*Laws of New York*, Chapter DCVII., Section II., Livingston and Smith's edition, New York: 1752, 219, 220; *the same*, Chapter DCVII., Section II., Van Schaack's edition. New-York: 1774, 183, 184.) It will be seen, therefore, that none, except those who were Freeholders holding improved and unencumbered Real Estate worth Forty Pounds, agreeably to the Act of May 8, 1699, could vote, in Colonial Westchester-county; but, on the other hand, the Freeholders on the Cortlandt Manor possessed and, undoubtedly, exercised the Right to vote twice, at every such Election for Representatives to the General Assembly—that for the Representative for the Manor, under the Manorial Charter, and that for the two Representatives for the County, under the Statute, already mentioned. Of course, the great body of the Tenantry, no matter how valuable its Leaseholds might be; those whose humble homes were not worth, in each instance, Forty Pounds; and those whose Freeholds, of every value, which were encumbered by debts, had not the right of voting at the Polls.

The practical effect of that limitation of the Right of Franchise may be seen in the Returns of Elections. In the Election for Representatives for the City of New York, held on the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth of February, 1761, only fourteen hundred and forty-seven votes, including those of the Freemen of the City who were not, also, Freeholders, were cast.—(*The original Returns of the Inspectors*, in manuscript, owned by us.) In the Election for Representatives for the City of New-York, held on the seventh, eighth, and ninth of March, 1768, when an intense excitement prevailed and all known means for increasing its strength were resorted to, by each of the antagonistic parties, nineteen hundred and twenty-seven votes, including those of eight hundred and twenty-three Freemen who were not, also, Freeholders, were cast.—(*The original Returns of the Inspectors*, in manuscript, owned by us.) In the Election for Representatives for the City of New-York, held on the twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, and twenty-seventh of January, 1769, when another very excited contest occurred, only fifteen hundred and twelve votes, including those of the Freemen who were not, also, Freeholders, were cast.—(*The Returns of the Inspectors*, original printed edition, owned by us.) In the Election for Deputies to the Provincial Convention by whom the Delegation from the City of New York to the second Continental Congress was to be elected, held on the fifteenth of March, 1775, nine hundred and eighty-eight votes, including those of the Freemen of the City who were not, also, Freeholders, were cast.—(Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1680, NEW YORK, Thursday, March 16, 1775; *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 100, NEW YORK, Thursday, March 16, 1775;* Gaine's *New York Gazette: and the Weekly Mercury*, No. 1223, NEW YORK, Monday, March 20, 1775.)

We have found only one Return of an Election in Westchester-county, during the period of which we write; but that very completely illustrates our subject. In the Election for the first Governor of the new-formed State, in 1777, the aggregate of the votes cast in Albany, Cumberland, Tryon, Duchess, Ulster, and Westchester-counties, including those of the Freemen of the City of Albany, was only twenty-six hundred and forty-two.—(*Fragment of a General Return of Votes cast throughout the State—Miscellaneous Papers*, Volume XXXVII., in the Office of the Secretary of State, at Albany.)

In 1783, when there was nothing to disturb the election, the entire vote of the State for Governor, less that of ten Precincts which was illegally cast, was only four thousand seven hundred and forty-seven.—(Hutchins's *Civil List and Forms of Government of the Colony and State of New York*, Edition of 1870, 75.)

From these facts, the reader will understand how completely the governmental power was concentrated in the hands of the wealthy and how little those who were not wealthy could control the Government under which they lived, during the Colonial era and that which succeeded it, until the second Constitution of the State, within our own recollection, broke the power of the aristocracy and made every white male adult, who was a permanent resident and a tax-payer, also a member of the State and a voter.

*Rivington said the aggregate vote was a thousand and seventy-two.

[1] "The dispute between Great Britain and America commenced in the "year 1764, with an attempt to prevent smuggling in America."—*A Collection of Interesting, Authentic Papers relative to the Dispute between Great Britain and America.* 1764 *to* 1775. London: 1777—commonly known as Almon's *Prior Documents*—3.

See, also, the following official announcement, which was published in *Parker's New-York Gazette; or, the Weekly Post-boy*, No. 932, NEW YORK, Thursday, November 13th, 1760, which tells the whole story:

"Custom-house, New-York, Nov. 11th, 1760.

"WHEREAS we are informed, that some of our Traders from Foreign "Ports, are now, and have been for some Time, hovering in the Sound "on the Coast, with the View, as it is supposed, clandestinely to discharge "their Cargoes; a Practice highly prejudicial to His Majesty's Interest, "to the Trade of Great-Britain, and inconsistent with that Duty, and "Gratitude we owe to our Mother Country, almost exhausted with "Taxes raised for our Support and Defence. And not less injurious to "the fair Trader; who having paid high Duties, cannot be supposed to "sell so cheap, as those that pay no Duties, and of Course must be great "Sufferers. That this has been the Case, and is like to be the Case "again, is notoriously known; and all for the sake of enriching a few "Smugglers; which together with that of supplying our Enemies with "Provisions,* will be an eternal Reproach to our Country. No good "Man therefore, nor good Citizen, it is to be hoped, will hesitate in "giving all the Discouragement in his Power, to such ignominious "Practices. Informations, openly, or privately will be thankfully re-"ceived, and gratefully, if required, rewarded, by

"THE OFFICERS OF HIS MAJESTY'S CUSTOMS."

* At that time, Great Britain was at War with France and Spain, to whose Colonies, in the West Indies especially, Provisions were taken, by the Colonial Merchants, in exchange for those Goods, of foreign growth and production, which they sought to smuggle into the British Colonies, on the Atlantic seaboard, as above stated.

ployed it, to resist the execution of the Stamp-Act, to prevent the landing of the East India Company's Tea, and to make other demonstrations of seeming popular approval or disapproval, on other subjects of public polity or of governmental policy, whenever the political or the pecuniary interests of those "Gentlemen in Trade" who had employed it, seemed to warrant the outlay of the means which had been required to produce a desired result: to our hand, meanwhile, can be assigned, of all the various important subjects comprising the political and military histories of the Colony or of the Continent, at all periods, only the description of those events, during the period of the American Revolution and that of the War which followed and established that political Revolution, which, in themselves or in the consequences arising from them, directly affected the peace, the happiness, or the interests of those who, during those eventful periods, were residents of the rural County of Westchester, in New York.

The urgent appeals with which the newspapers had been filled, year by year, and the inflammatory handbills which had been posted throughout the City, whenever the purposes of "the Merchants and "Traders" of the City of New York had required their powerful, but, sometimes, questionable, co operation in opposing the Colonial policy of the Home Government, had gradually taught "the Inhabitants" of that City—as, on such occasions only, the unfranchised Mechanics and Workingmen were delicately called, by those who had thus resorted to them—with more or less thoroughness, concerning the personal and political "Rights of Man and of Englishmen," as those Rights had been defined, from time to time, by those "Merchants and Traders" or by their well-paid Counsel, for the promotion of the particular purposes of those more aristocratic gentlemen; and these "In-"habitants" had also learned, from all those varied teachings and from their own well-trained reflections, that the particular Rights which had been so earnestly and learnedly claimed by their high-toned neighbors, were not less the Rights of the unfranchised masses, and equally the birthright of their children. Little by little, therefore, under the leadership of, probably, not more than half a dozen shrewd and able and ambitious men, generally of higher social and political standing than themselves, these "In-"habitants" began to grow uneasy and insubordinate, if not radically revolutionary; and the confederated "Merchants and Traders" and the more aristocratic portion of the citizens who were not in Trade were as quickly made sensible that a power had been created and fostered, by themselves, for their own lawless purposes, which, because of its tendency towards a radical Revolution in both the social and political relations of the Colony, they were no longer able to control—a power, indeed, which, if it were not speedily and effectually checked, would surely overwhelm them and, probably, involve the Colony and the Continent in revolution and disaster. At the same time, it was clearly seen by those careful observers of the signs of the times, that any attempt to abridge the existing power of the unfranchised "Inhabitants" of the City, and, especially, that of those who were less scrupulous in the selection of their means, by open and direct measures, would, probably, induce the latter to employ, in their own behalf, that system of violence which they had been taught to regard as commendable and praiseworthy, when they had employed it in behalf of others; and it was seen, also, by those who had become alarmed by the strength and the audacity of that new element in Colonial politics, strengthened, as it evidently was, by its affiliation with the radically revolutionary elements in New England, the machinery of the by-gone Committees of Correspondence being controlled by it, that, in order to check its growing power, or to secure any change whatever, in the control of it, or to retain the control of the politics of the Colony, great caution and great tact, if not great promptness and great boldness, at some auspicious moment, would be absolutely necessary. An evident danger silenced those who, under other circumstances, would, probably, have favored the employment of other and more direct means: wise counsels prevailed among those who were thus considering in what manner the evidently rising power and audacity of the unfranchised and revolutionary masses could be controlled, without disturbing the peace of the City and the Colony: and it was determined, with much shrewdness, to resort to "art," at the earliest favorable opportunity, for the accomplishment of their well-concealed purposes.[1] Such an opportunity as was desired for the purposes referred to, was very soon afforded.

The tea-laden *Nancy*, Captain Lockyer, had been turned back to Europe, without having been permitted to enter the harbor;[2] the cargo of the *London*, Captain Chambers, had been overhauled, in Whitehall-slip, in open day, by men wearing no disguises; and eighteen chests of Tea, which had been concealed in her hold, had been emptied into the East-river;[3] and the populace was quietly reposing on the revolution-

[1] Although there is abundant evidence to support this statement, it has been so completely and so graphically presented by Gouverneur Morris, in a letter addressed to Mr. Penn, which will be printed, *in extenso*, on page 12–32, post, that no other is regarded as necessary, in this place.

[2] Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1633, NEW-YORK, Thursday, April 21, and No. 1634, NEW-YORK, Thursday, April 28, 1774; Gaine's *New-York Gazette and Mercury*, No. 1174, NEW-YORK, Monday, April 25, 1774; *Lieutenant-governor Colden to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "NEW YORK, 4th "May, 1774," *and the enclosure therein; the same to Governor Tryon*, "NEW "YORK, 4th May, 1774;" Dunlap's *History of the New Netherlands, Province of New York, and State of New York*, i., 452, 453; Leake's *Memoir of the Life and Times of General John Lamb*, 81–84; Dawson's *The Park and its Vicinity, in the City of New York*, 29–31; Graham's *History of the United States*, iv, 329; Hildreth's *History of the United States*, iii., 31; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, i., 332–334; etc.

[3] Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1634, NEW-YORK, Thursday, April 28, 1774; Gaine's *New-York Gazette and Mercury*, No. 1174, NEW-YORK, Monday, April 25, 1774; *Lieutenant-governor Colden to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "NEW-YORK, 4th May, 1774," *and the enclosure therein; the same to Gov-*

ary honors which, in the interest of the commercial classes, it had again secured.[1] The master-spirits of the confederated party of the Opposition—the Government and those who favored it having no part in that matter of division among those who were opposing its policy—were evidently sensible, however, as has been said, that that unseemly confederation of radically antagonistic elements, entirely for the promotion of the interests of one of those elements without securing a corresponding advantage to the other, was unnatural, and could not be lasting; and it was evident, also, to every one, that an open conflict between the conservative aristocratic and the revolutionary democratic elements of the population, without reference to matters of governmental policy, and only for the control of the political power, within the City and Colony, was likely to be commenced, at any moment.

Just at that critical period, in May, 1774, advices were received from Europe,[2] of the Government's proposal to close the Port of Boston, with a possibility that that of New York would shortly share the same fate; and it was also said that the Home Government also intended to remove the principal offenders against the Laws, within the Colonies, that they might be tried and punished in England.[3] With great tact and plausibility and a greater pretension to patriotism, the confederated "Merchants and Traders" and those who possessed their confidence promptly seized that much desired opportunity, for the accomplishment of their sinister purposes; and, with that end in view, they boldly and promptly occupied the place of leaders of the entire City and Colony, in protesting against those measures of the Home Government, and in providing for a systematic opposition to those measures, under their own particular direction, without, however, having recognized the existence or invited the co-operation of the respectable popular element, within the City, nor those of the very few who really represented and controlled that more unruly element of which mobs were composed, both of which omissions, the meaning of which was very evident, subsequently produced serious, if not unexpected and unwelcome, consequences.

For the purposes of the promoters of the proposed change in the leadership of the politicians of the City, to which reference has been made, "an *Advertisement*" was posted at the Coffee-house, in Wall-street, a noted place of resort for Shipmasters and Merchants, reciting "the late extraordinary and very alarming advices "from England;" and "inviting the Merchants to "meet at the house of Mr. Samuel Francis, on Mon-"day evening, May 16, in order to consult on mea-

ernor Tryon. "NEW YORK, 4th May, 1774;" Dunlap's *New York*, i., 452, 453; Leake's *Lamb*, 82–84; Dawson's *Park and its Vicinity*, 30, 31; Hildreth's *United States*, iii., 31.

Notwithstanding the greater significance of the opposition of New York to the Tea-tax, which was seen in the resolute refusal to allow the storm-shattered *Nancy* to enter the harbor; in the examination of the cargo of the *London*, and the open destruction of her concealed Tea, in the light of day, by known men who saw no reason for disguising themselves; and in the return of the *Nancy*, to England, by the Committee who had taken possession of her, at Sandy Hook; it has been the custom of New England writers to withhold whatever of honor or dishonor there was in those doings of the party of the Opposition, in New York, while the less significant "tea-party" of Boston has been elaborately presented as a feat of great daring and of the highest grade of patriotism.

Thus, Mercy Warren (*History of American Revolution;*) "Paul Allen" (*History of American Revolution;*) Thacher (*Military Journal;*) Morse (*Annals of the American Revolution;*) Pitkin (*History of the United States;*) Frothingham (*Rise of the Republic;*) Lodge (*Short History of English Colonies;*) and a multitude of others, make no mention whatever of the subject of the opposition in New York; and Bancroft, in the octavo edition of his *History of the United States*, after alluding, in a dozen words, to the storm which had driven the New York tea-ship to the West Indies, very conveniently said no more on the subject—a suppression of the truth which he shabbily attempted to mitigate, in his centenary and "thoroughly revised" edition of that work, by an interpolation of five lines, nearly two of which have no relation whatever to the subject of New York's opposition to the tax; and nearly two others state, in connection with the *Nancy*, what every novice in the history of those times knows is entirely untrue, in one of its only two statements concerning her.

Strange to say, Lossing, a New York writer, with all the original material within his reach and perfectly accessible, in his *Seventeen hundred and seventy-six* (page 111,) stated that the *Nancy* was returned to Europe, only "because no one could be found that would venture to receive the "tea," without an allusion to her having been stopped at Sandy-hook, and returned, *thence*, to Europe; and, also, without the slightest allusion to the *London* and to what became of her tea. In his *History of the United States*, (page 221) all that appears, concerning either the *Nancy* or the *London* is that *they* "returned to England with their cargoes"; although the *Nancy* was the only one which thus returned, and then only because she was compelled to return. In his *Field Book of the Revolution*, after having devoted five pages to the Boston "Tea-party" (i., 497–502) he ventured to appropriate ten lines to the greatly more significant doings of New York, on the same subject.

[1] On the fifth of March, 1770, while the motion of Lord North for "leave to bring in a Bill to repeal the Tax Act, as far as related to the "tax on Paper, Glass, and Painters' Colours," was under consideration, before the House of Commons, Governor Pownall, than whom no one was, then, better informed on every subject connected with America and the Americans, replied to the Minister, and moved an amendment, to include Tea, also, in the proposed Bill.

In the course of his exceedingly important Speech, on introducing his motion to amend, the Governor said, "The drawback upon those "Teas, exported to America, of twenty-five per cent, does not amount, "as this argument supposes, to one shilling per pound—it amounts to "only sevenpence half-penny, or thereabouts—so that, did it operate as "a bounty, at all, it would amount to only fourpence half-penny. But "this is not material to the point; for it does not operate as a bounty, "at all, because whatever duty the East India Company pays, originally, "at the Custom-house, on the importing of Teas from Asia, that sum is "added to the price of their Tea, in their sales; so that, although the "exporter to America may be allowed a drawback, yet he draws back "that sum only which he hath already paid in the price of his purchase, "*by which means, as this article of supply now stands, there is an advantage "in favour of the Dutch Teas imported into the Colonies, against the British "Teas, of twenty-five per cent. difference.*"—Debrett's *History, Debates and Proceedings of both Houses of Parliament*, 1743 *to* 1774, v., 264).

The reader will perceive, therefore, that the opposition to the importation of Tea, into America, with its parliamentary tax imposed on it, which the Merchants instigated and encouraged, in the seaports—the opposition was seen no where else than within the shadows of those ports—was composed less of "patriotism" than of love of pelf. *The Dutch Teas afforded a much larger profit; and a disturbance of that line of trade was not, therefore, desirable.*

[2] They were received on Thursday, May 12, by the *Samson*, Captain Couper, the latest ship from London.

[3] "*Extracts from private letters from London, dated [illegible]*," "*persons in New York and Philadelphia*," printed on the backs of copies of the *Boston Port Bill*, and circulated, in broadside form, in New York, May 14, 1774.

"sures proper to be pursued on the present critical "and important occasion."[1]

It will be seen that no others than "the Merchants" of the City were invited to attend the proposed Caucus, at Sam. Francis's Long-room;[2] and that the published purpose was only "to consult on measures proper to "be pursued on the present critical and important "occasion," in neither of which features of the "*Advertisement*," *prima facie*, can it be reasonably said that any stretch of authority had been attempted by those who had called the proposed Caucus—surely, it will not be said there might not be *consultations*, among Merchants as well as among other classes of the citizens, on any subject whatever, especially on subjects in which they were especially interested, without interference from any other class; and it will hardly be pretended by any one, that, in the instance now under consideration, the Merchants of the City were not peculiarly interested in the subjects of "the "late extraordinary and very alarming advices from "England;" that they might not properly "consult," among themselves, "on measures proper to be pur-"sued on the present critical and important occa-"sion;" that, for the purpose of such a "consulta-"tion," they might not invite whomsoever they pleased, to meet at a place and time designated, without consulting with any other persons or asking permission from any others; and that such a Caucus, thus invited, might not be had, without any interference from any one. There was no appearance of deception in the "*Advertisement*" through which the Caucus had been invited, in the instance under consideration; and, subsequently, when the Caucus assembled, no attempt appears to have been made to do anything more than the "*Advertisement*" had authorized, notwithstanding those who had been specifically invited and were present, so largely outnumbered those uninvited intruders who opposed them, that any change from the terms of the "*Advertisement*" which they were inclined to make, could have been made—indeed, it appears to have been intended, by the Merchants, only for consultation and for the orderly preparation of measures to be submitted to the body of the inhabitants of the City, at a Meeting to be called for that purpose, for their approval or disapproval, without losing sight, however, of what was the real, substantial purpose of the movement. But those who had hitherto assumed to be the leaders of the unfranchised masses—the leaders, in fact, however, of only the radically revolutionary portions of those masses, —saw, or assumed to have seen, in that proposed Caucus, a movement which promised to break the hold on the unfranchised element which, since the era of the Stamp Act, they had unceasingly claimed to have maintained;[3] and to transfer, to some extent, at least, some portion of the leadership of that uncertain and, sometimes, unruly element, in the political affairs of the Colony, to others; and Isaac Sears and his handful of kindred associates, with that audacious disregard of the unquestionable Rights of others which, subsequently, became so conspicuously notorious and oppressive, not only determined to thrust themselves into a Caucus to which they had not been invited, but to turn the action of that Caucus from the purposes of those who had called it, and to give to that action a character and direction which would be entirely foreign to the purposes for which the Caucus had been invited. The consequences of that proposed intrusion and the ill success of that scheme to oust those who had invited the Caucus and to turn into other channels than those which the latter had proposed, the action and influence of the Caucus itself, will be seen in the published narrative of the proceedings of that notable assemblage—meanwhile, it will be evident to every careful observer, that that separation of the radically antagonistic social and political elements which, united, formed, at that time, the

[1] *Minutes of the New York Committee of Correspondence*. Monday, May 19, 1774; *Lieutenant-governor Colden to Governor Tryon*, "SPRING HILL, "31st May, 1774;" *the same to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "NEW YORK, 1st "June, 1774;" *Gouverneur Morris to Mr. Penn*, "NEW YORK, May 20, "1774;" Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 34; etc.

[2] "Sam. Francis," at that time and during many years subsequently, was a noted *restaurateur*, known to and respected by every one, of every sect and party, in the City of New York, during the later Colonial period, during the entire War, and after the restoration of Peace.

"Francis's Tavern," where this Caucus was held, had been, at an earlier period, the residence of the De Lancey Family. It was built in 1701, by Etienne De Lancey, on a lot of ground which Stephanus Van Cortlandt had given to his daughter, Anne, when, in the preceding year, that lady was married to Mr. De Lancey; and it is still standing on the north-eastern corner of Broad and Pearl-streets, the oldest building in the City of New York.

"Francis's Long-room," in which this Caucus was held, subsequently became more famous than it had previously been, because it was the room in which the Officers of the Army of the Revolution assembled, on Thursday, the fourth of December, 1783, after the enemy had evacuated the City and the Peace had been entirely established, to take their final leave of their illustrious Chief; and from which, accompanied by his sorrowful friends—"a solemn, mute, and mournful procession, with "heads hanging down and dejected countenances"—he walked, directly, to Whitehall-slip, and was rowed, thence, to Powle's Hook, now Jersey City, on his way to Annapolis, to which place the Congress had adjourned, to resign the Command of the Army, with which he had been invested, in 1775.—(Gordon's *History of the War of the Revolution*, iv., 383, 384; Marshall's *Life of Washington*, (Phila. Edit.) iv., 619, 620; etc.)

It is proper to be said, in that connection, that Samuel Francis was "a man of dark complexion," probably a mulatto; that he was known, ordinarily, as "Black Sam;" and that, when General Washington entered the City, on the twenty-fifth of November, "he took up his head-"quarters at the Tavern" of that dusky landlord.—(Dunlap's *History of New York*, ii., 233, the author of which related these circumstances from his own personal knowledge of them.)

[3] The Meeting, at Burns's Coffee-house, on the evening of the thirty-first of October, 1765, for the adoption of measures to prevent the execution of the Stamp-Act, appointed a Committee of Correspondence, composed of Isaac Sears, John Lamb, Gershom Mott, William Wiley, and Thomas Robinson, to give better effect to its Resolutions, by securing harmonious action, thereon, throughout the entire Continent. The repeal of that obnoxious Statute, of course, rendered that appointment inoperative; but those who had constituted that Committee, with a half dozen associates, continued to exercise an authority and leadership, among the unorganized and marketable elements, in the City, until the opening of the War, in 1775, when several of those leaders secured offices, and ceased to be the "patriotic" leaders of those who, then, more than ever, needed intelligent leaders.

political conglomerate in which had been combined, for purely selfish purposes, the fragmentary opposition, in the Colony of New York, to the Home Government which was then in authority (each of those antagonistic elements being, in pretension, if not in fact, equally zealous in its loyalty to their common Sovereign) was produced by less of respect for righteousness in politics and of a genuine patriotism than of thirst for individual gain to be derived, as was then supposed, from the internal control of the party of the Opposition and of what should be gained through it—just such a factional contest, within a party composed of radically discordant elements, united for purposes which had served to combine those elements into one body, indeed, as have been seen, very frequently, and such as may be seen, now, not only in New York, but in every other community in which such ill-formed parties are permitted to exist, and to intrigue, and to deceive.[1]

At the appointed hour, on Monday, the sixteenth of May, the Long-room, in Sam. Francis's Tavern,[2] was crowded with anxious and determined men, evidently not entirely of one mind, and not indisposed, in some instances, at least, to enforce whatever differences of opinion and purpose might arise, with something more tangible than words, should such an enforcement, in their opinion, become necessary.

Those whom the "*Advertisement*" had invited were present, in large numbers, and evidently well-prepared for harmonious and decisive action, limited only by the terms of the invitation; and there were present, also, in much smaller numbers, including some who were not "Merchants" and who had not been invited,[3] those who assumed to be the leaders of the unfranchised masses, who had also secured harmonious action, among themselves, by previous factional consultation.[4] Isaac Low,[5] a prominent Merchant, was called to the Chair; and Resolutions were adopted, "by a great Majority," in each instance, *First*, that it was necessary, then, "to appoint a Com-"mittee to correspond with the neighbouring Colo-"nies on the present important Crisis;" *Second*, that "a Committee be nominated, on that Evening, for "the Approbation of the Public;" and, *Third*, that the Committee consist of fifty persons.[6]

As the matter in dispute, between the two antagonistic factions, related only to the designation of those who should control the local politics of the day and what should be realized from those politics, it is not probable that any material opposition was made to the first and second of the three Resolutions which were adopted by the Caucus—none has been mentioned by any contemporary writer—but when the third was proposed, those who assumed to represent the unfranchised masses made an attempt to reduce the number from fifty to twenty-five, by which means they hoped to be able to control the action of the Committee, notwithstanding they were so few in number; but their proposed amendment to the original Resolution was promptly rejected, "by a great Ma-"jority."[7]

With very great good judgment, the majority of the Caucus evidently treated the minority with respectful consideration, notwithstanding the former steadily

[1] The reader need only turn to the history of existing political parties, held together by "the cohesive power of public plunder," for an illustration of the structure, the aims, and the policy of that confederated party of the Opposition, in Colonial New York, and of the factional struggle, within itself, for the control of its united action and, most of all, for that of the distribution of such "spoils" as, in case of the party's success, should fall into the hands of the "victors."

[2] We are not insensible of the fact that the Caucus is generally stated to have been held at the Exchange, which occupied the middle of Broad-street, nearly opposite the Tavern; and that an entry in the *Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence* stated, specifically, that it was held in that building. But it was called, in the original "*Advertisement*," very definitely, "to meet at the house of Mr. Samuel Francis;" in none of the contemporary descriptions of the Caucus which we have seen, was it said or intimated that the assemblage left the Tavern, for any purpose, before the formal adjournment of the Caucus; and in the second "*Ad-"vertisement*," published on the day after the Caucus, by its officers and under its authority, inviting the body of the inhabitants of the City to meet at the Coffee-house, to confirm or amend the official acts of that Caucus, it was said, in its description of that preliminary meeting, after a recital of the fact that it was called "to meet *at the House of Mr. Sam-"uel Francis*," that "a very respectable and large number of the Mer-"chants and other Inhabitants did accordingly appear at the time and "*place* appointed, and then and *there* nominated for the approbation of "the public, a Committee of fifty persons," etc. With these as our authorities, we prefer to differ from those who have preceded us; and to insist, as we do insist, that the Caucus was held, without interruption or removal, in Sam. Francis's Long-room.

For the reasons stated, we prefer to differ, also, from our friend, Edward F. de Lancey, who has stated, in his carefully prepared *Notes* to Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War* (i., 438, 439), that the Caucus was held in "the Exchange, to which place it adjourned "from Fraunces's Tavern, where it was called, on account of the great "attendance."

[3] Compare the terms of the "*Advertisement*" calling the Caucus, "in-"viting *the Merchants* to meet," etc., with the official description of those who had been present at that Caucus, which was contained in the published call for the meeting at the Coffee-house, to confirm or amend the doings of that Caucus—"a very respectable and large number of the "*Merchants and other Inhabitants* did accordingly appear."

[4] A small broadside, containing a list of twenty-five names of persons who were "nominated by a Number of respectable Merchants and the "Body of Mechanics of this City, to be a Committee of Correspondence "for it, with the Neighboring Colonies," may be seen in the Library of the New York Historical Society. It was evidently the result of a consultation of those who assumed to have been the leaders of the masses of the unfranchised inhabitants of the City.

It is a noticeable fact, however, that that list of nominees, with only three of the names stricken from it, was incorporated in the larger list which was nominated by the Caucus.

[5] "Low belonged to the Church of England, a person unbounded in "ambition, violent and turbulent in his disposition, remarkably obsti-"nate, with a good share of understanding, extremely opinionated, fond "of being the head of a party, and never so well pleased as when "Chairman of a Committee or principal spokesman at a mob meeting. "His principles of government inclined to the republican system."—(Jones's *History of New York during the American Revolution*, i., 35.)

Mr. Low, subsequently, became a Loyalist; was stripped of his property, by confiscation; was attainted; and retired to England, where he died in 1791.—(Sabine's *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution*, original edition, 430;—*the same*, second edition, ii., 32, 33.)

[6] *Proceedings of the Caucus*, printed on a broadside, for general circulation, a copy of which is in the Library of the New York Historical Society.

[7] *Proceedings of the Caucus*, original edition; de Lancey's *Notes* to Jones's *History of New York*, i., 439; Leake's *Memoir of General John Lamb*, 87; Dawson's *Park and its Vicinity*, 33; Bancroft's *United States*, original edition, vii., 41, 42; *the same*, centenary edition, iv., 326, 327.

maintained its own ground and voted down every attempt to oust it, which was made by the latter; and in making the nomination of the fifty whom it proposed for the Committee of Correspondence, it did no more than to drop the names of three of those whom the minority had already selected, as its proposed Committee of Twenty-five, and to slip into the list of the twenty-two who were retained, without breaking the order in which they had been arranged on the original list, the names of twenty-eight other persons with whom the promoters of the Caucus were better pleased—as nearly the entire minority was included in the list of nominees, giving it a small share of the responsibilities and of the honors or dishonors of the proposed Committee, its opposition to the action of its aristocratic and conservative opponents appears to have ceased; and the establishment of the proposed Committee of Fifty, by the body of the inhabitants, was, thereby, assured.

It appears to have been a part of the plan of those who had called and controlled the Caucus, to submit the result of its deliberations to the body of the inhabitants of the City, for its consideration and approval; and nothing had occurred, within the Caucus, to make any change in that plan necessary. Accordingly, on the day after the meeting of the Caucus [*Tuesday, May* 17] they published a Card, addressed "To the Public," in which "the Inhabitants "of this City and County" were "requested to attend "at the Coffee-house, on Thursday, the 19th instant, "at 1 o'clock, to approve of the Committee nominated "as aforesaid, or to appoint such other persons as, in "their discretion and wisdom, they may seem meet."[1]

Notwithstanding the meeting at the Coffee-house was called at one o'clock, an hour when every Mechanic and Laborer would probably be employed in his daily labor, it is said that "a great concourse of "the Inhabitants" assembled at that place,[2] at the appointed time, [*Thursday, May* 19, 1774, *at one o'clock;*] and we are also told that the assemblage was addressed by Isaac Low, who was in the Chair; that some discussion arose, which resulted in the addition of Francis Lewis to the proposed Committee, increasing the number of that Committee to fifty-one; and that, the unfranchised masses having been placated by the addition of another of their leaders to the proposed Committee of Correspondence, the entire list of nominees was confirmed, without farther opposition.[3]

[1] Advertisement "To the Public," calling the Meeting at the Coffee-house, dated "NEW-YORK, Tuesday, May 17, 1774," copied into the *Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence.*

See, also, the same Advertisement and an editorial note thereon, in Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1637, NEW-YORK, Thursday, May 19, 1774; and *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 57, NEW-YORK, Thursday, May 19, 1774; Gaine's *New York Gazette and Mercury*, No. 1178, NEW-YORK, Monday, May 23, 1774; *Lieutenant-governor Colden to Governor Tryon*, "SPRING-HILL, 31st May, 1774;" *the same to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "NEW-YORK 1st June 1774;" Leake's *Memoir of General John Lamb*, 87; Dawson's *Park and its Vicinity*, 33; etc.

[2] "The Coffee-house," that place which was so frequently mentioned in the commercial as well as in the political affairs of the City, stood on the southeastern corner of Wall and Water-streets, opposite the "Slip" which bore its name.

Mr. de Lancey, in his *Notes* on Jones's *History* (i, 439) says it was on the "southeast corner of Wall and Pearl Streets;" but he was certainly in error. Stevens, in his *Progress of New York in a Century*, 1776–1876, 25, correctly described the site of the old "Merchants' Coffee-house."

[3] *Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence;* Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1638, NEW-YORK, Thursday, May 26, 1774; Gaine's *New-York Gazette and Mercury*, No. 1178, NEW-YORK, Monday, May 23, 1774; *Lieutenant governor Colden to Governor Tryon*, "SPRING-HILL, 31st May "1774;" *the same to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "NEW-YORK, 1st June 1774;" *History of the War in America*, (Dublin: 1779) i., 22; Dunlap's *New York*, i., 453; Hildreth's *United States*, First Series, iii., 35; Bancroft's *United States*, original edition, vii., 42, 43; Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 327; Bancroft's *United States*, centenary edition, iv., 327, 328; Sparks's *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, 22–26; Dawson's *Park and its Vicinity*, 33.

Notwithstanding the important results which the appointment of that Committee of Correspondence produced, it was not even alluded to by Stedman, (*History of the American War*;) Mercy Warren, (*History of the American Revolution*;) Morse, (*Annals of the American Revolution*;) Pitkin, (*History of the United States*;) Lossing, (*Seventeen hundred and seventy-six; History of the United States*, edition of 1857; and *Field-book of the Revolution*;) and many others.

Judge Jones, (*History of New York, during the Revolutionary War, i.*, 34) supposed the "Committee was chosen," at the Caucus, at Sam. Francis's; and made no allusion to the Meeting at the Coffee-house, where it "was chosen." Doctor Gordon, (*History of American Revolution*, London: 1788, i., 361, 362,) said the Caucus was called by Sears, McDougal, and others of the popular party, so called; that "the Tories," or governmental party, opposed them, in the Caucus; that Sears secured the appointment of a fifty-second member of the Committee; and that the whole subject was disposed of by the Caucus. He made the minority of the Caucus, the victors; and did not allude to the Meeting at the Coffee-house. Doctor Ramsay, (*History of the American Revolution*, London: 1791, i., 114,) said "the Whigs and Tories were so nearly balanced "in New-York, that nothing more was agreed to at the first meeting of "the inhabitants," [*after the receipt of the Boston Port-bill*] "than a "recommendation to call a Congress," although, in truth, the subject of a Congress was not even alluded to, at either the Caucus or the Coffee-house. "Paul Allen," (*History of the American Revolution*, i., 186) said, "At New York, there was a considerable struggle between the friends "of Administration and the friends of Liberty; but the latter at length "prevailed, by the influence and management of two individuals, who "had, on several occasions, manifested great activity and zeal, in their "opposition to the obnoxious measures of the Ministry," although, in truth, the friends of the Government took no part whatever in the politics of that particular period; and the conflict was only between rival factions of the same party of the Opposition to the Government, each contending for the control of that particular party, while both professed to be equally opposed to the Government. It is also true that those to whom this author referred, as the prevailing faction, were the minority, were outvoted and in every other respect were entirely defeated. Grahame, (*History of the United States*, London: 1836, iv., 349,) said, "At New "York the members and activity of the Tory party restrained the As-"sembly and the people at large from publicly expressing their senti-"ments with regard to the treatment of Massachusetts;" although, in truth, the friends of the Home Government were, then, so greatly in the minority that they did nothing whatever to restrain the popular feelings; while the utterances of both the Committee of Correspondence and the General Assembly were as unequivocally antagonistic to the Home Government's Colonial policy, as anything which appeared elsewhere. He made no allusion whatever to either the Caucus or the Meeting at the Coffee-house. Hildreth (*History of the United States*, First Series, iii., 35) said that the old Committee of the "Sons of Liberty" "was dissolved and a new one elected," without alluding to either the Caucus or the Meeting at the Coffee-house; although, in fact, the Committee of Correspondence of an early date had ceased to exist when the Stamp-Act was repealed; and neither that nor any other Committee was alluded to, in the slightest degree, during the proceedings now under consideration; notwithstanding those who had composed the Committee, in their individual capacities, in many instances, are known to have participated in both the Caucus and the Meeting at the Coffee-house. Bancroft (*History of the United States*, original edition, vii., 41: *the same*, centenary edition, iv., 326) made "the old Committee" of "the Sons of

By the direct action of the body of the inhabitants of the City, thus duly called, and assembled at the Coffee-house, for that specific purpose, all the discordant elements of the party of the Opposition to the Home Government, in New York, were seemingly consolidated and placed under the leadership of the Committee of Fifty-one, which was, then and there, appointed for that ostensible purpose; and those who had taken alarm at the growing audacity of those who were assuming to be the leaders of the unfranchised masses, were gratified with ample evidence of the fact that the well-considered "art" which those who had planned the Caucus at Sam. Francis's and the Meeting at the Coffee-house had employed, in order to check the rising pretensions and power of the working, revolutionary multitude, in political affairs, had been crowned with an abundant success. There had been, indeed, a display of wise caution and great tact, as well as of well-concealed duplicity, in all which had been done by those aristocratic, conservative politicians; and, very evidently, they had fairly overcome their plebeian, revolutionary rivals, in an appeal to the body of the inhabitants. With a complete knowledge of the small number of those who had previously assumed to represent the masses of the unfranchised inhabitants, and with as complete a knowledge of the general harmlessness of those masses, in the absence of their self-constituted leaders, the high-toned promoters of the unpublished scheme of abridging the political power of the great body of the people had disarmed the former of their animosity, by rendering them harmless, as the helpless minority of the Committee of Fifty-one[1]—an empty honor with which, however, for the time being, they were evidently satisfied—while the latter were made contented, for a short time, also, by receiving a recognition of their political pretensions, in the privilege which was extended to them of confirming or rejecting the nominations made by the Caucus, among whom, with two or three exceptions, the names of their self-constituted leaders were conspicuously presented.[2]

"Liberty," "convoke the inhabitants of their City" to the Caucus at Sam. Francis's, although it was called by their aristocratic and conservative rivals in the party of the Opposition, and without any consultation with that Committee, if there was one, or with those who were in harmony with it. He said, also, "the Motion prevailed to supersede the "old Committee of Correspondence by a new one of fifty;" although neither of the three Resolutions of the Caucus contained the slightest allusion to any such supersedure, nor to any other Committee or body or person whatever than to the proposed Committee of fifty, which it nominated. He said of the Meeting at the Coffee-house, "and the nom-"ination of the Committee was accepted, even with the addition of Isaac "Low as its Chairman, who was more of a loyalist than a patriot;" although, in fact, Isaac Low's name was on the list which had been nominated at the Caucus, against which no opposition was made; and the only "addition" which was made by the Meeting was that of Francis Lewis, whose name had been included on the original list of the minority, and rejected by the Caucus. The Meeting at the Coffee-house made no attempt to supply the Committee of Fifty-one with a Chairman, in the person of Isaac Low, as Bancroft has stated: Isaac Low was called to that place by the Committee itself, at its first Meeting, on Monday, May 23, as its *Minutes* abundantly prove. Doctor Sparks, (*Life of Gouverneur Morris*, i., 22,) merged the doings of the Caucus and the Meeting at the Coffee-house, into one mass; made Isaac Sears the master spirit of all that was done; and said "the Committee consisted of "a nearly equal number of both parties, but with a preponderance on "the liberal side;" although the truth was, the friends the Home Government took no part whatever, in either of those meetings; that both were composed of only those who opposed the Home Government; that the struggle, in each of the two assemblages, was between conflicting factions of the latter party; that, in both, the faction of the aristocratic conservative element of the party outvoted and defeated the faction representing, or pretending to represent, the unfranchised masses; that the Committee contained a large proportion of those who belonged, at that time, to the aristocratic conservative faction of the party; and that it is not known, nor is it supposed, that a single person was named on the Committee, who was not, at that time, opposed to the Colonial policy of the Home Government. Indeed, as Judge Jones, whose opportunities for ascertaining the exact truth and whose integrity and fearlessness in uttering it no one will seriously question, has emphatically stated, "all parties, denominations, and religions, apprehended, at that time, "that the Colonies laboured under grievances which wanted redressing;" and no one, therefore, opposed any reasonable movement which tended, or appeared to tend, to a peaceful redress of those serious grievances.

It will be seen, from this comparison of the original authorities with the use which has been made of them by the several leading writers of history in our country, just how little or how much reliance can be placed on what is called "*history*," in what relates to less important subjects, while this, which was second to few others, in the history of the Revolution, has been treated with so little of respect and of fidelity to the truth.

[1] *Lieutenant-governor Colden to Governor Tryon*, "SPRING-HILL 31st "May, 1774;" *the same to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "NEW YORK June 1st "1774;" Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 34; Leake's *Memoir of General John Lamb*, 87; Dawson's *History of the Park and its Vicinity*, 33; Bancroft's *United States*, original edition, vii., 41, 42; *the same*, centenary edition, iv., 327; etc.

Of the fifty-one members of the Committee, a very great majority were of the aristocratic, conservative, anti revolutionary portions of the inhabitants. On the fourth of July, when a test question was before it, thirty-eight members being present, only thirteen votes were cast by those who assumed to represent the unfranchised inhabitants; and in the greater contest, three days afterwards, on Mr. Thurber's Resolution, disavowing the proceedings of the great popular "Meeting in the Fields," over which Alexander McDougal had presided, only nine votes were cast in opposition to the vote of disavowal.

It may also be stated, in this place, that, notwithstanding none of the fifty-one, at that time, were of the Governmental party, but, on the contrary, that every one was earnestly opposed to the Colonial policy of the Home Government, twenty-one of the number, at a subsequent period, became acknowledged Loyalists; that a considerable number took no active part in the proceedings of the Committee, but could have been relied on, by the aristocratic, conservative leaders, had their presence and their votes been, at any time, needed; and that a greater number than there were of the last-named class—a working majority of the Committee, indeed—included such as John Alsop, Gabriel H. Ludlow, John Jay, and James Duane, who invariably acted and voted with the aristocratic, anti-revolutionary portion of the Committee, and, until they became candidates for the Congress, always in opposition to the revolutionary leaders and the revolutionary purposes.

Well might the exiled Judge, Thomas Jones, writing of this Committee, in the light of subsequent events, say, within ten years of its creation, notwithstanding what he had said of the opposition to the Colonial policy of the Home Government, which all of them had presented, "The "majority were real friends to Government." —(*History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 34.)

[2] For the purpose of providing an additional authority, concerning much that has been stated, in this work, concerning the relations which existed between the confederated "Merchants and Traders" and other high-toned citizens, and the more numerous, but unfranchised, "Inhabi-"tants of the City and County;" concerning the desire of the former to abridge the influence which had been secured by the latter, while they were subject to the frequent appeals of the former; and concerning the formation of the "Committee of Correspondence," since known as the "Committee of Fifty one," for the purpose of recovering, to the confederated, conservative "Merchants and Traders" and the Gentry, the control of the political affairs of the City, we invite attention to the following very important Letter, written by a Westchester-county gentleman, who, when he could no longer serve the party of the Home Government,

The Committee which was thus created by the aristocratic, anti-revolutionary portion of those who, at that time, were opposing the Colonial policy of the Home Government, was largely intended, as we have shown, to serve as a check on the rising power, in political affairs, of the unfranchised Mechanics and Workingmen of the City of New York, especially of the revolutionary faction of those Working-men, while it would tend, also, to concentrate in "the Merchants "and Traders" and Gentry of the City, thus confederated for the exercise of it, all of that political power, especially in matters of national concern, which that City and Province, at that time, could command, without the existence of a thought, among those who had promoted the scheme, if such a thought had any-a people, at such a time, and under such circumstances as then existed, and which would probably continue to exist, might, also, sensibly or insensibly, weaken if where existed, that such an organization, among such it should not destroy all those bonds of recognized dependence, and loyalty, and love, which, hitherto, had so firmly bound the Colony to the Mother Country. But, notwithstanding the evident intentions of those among whom the thought of creating such a Committee had originated; notwithstanding the purposes for which it had been created included no such purpose; and notwithstanding a separation of the Colonies from the Mother Country had not yet become one of the questions of the day, that Committee of Correspondence in the City of New York, created and

was among the earliest to become its nominal opponent; and, subsequently, to pose as a distinguished "patriot" and as a not less distinguished *republican* statesman:

"NEW YORK, May 20, 1774.

"DEAR SIR:

"You have heard, and you will hear, a great deal about politics; "and in the heap of Chaff *you* may find some grains of good sense. Be-"lieve me, Sir, Freedom and Religion are only watchwords. We have "appointed a Committee, or, rather, we have nominated one. Let me "give you the history of it.

"It is needless to premise, that the lower orders of Mankind are more "easily led by specious appearances than those of a more exalted station. "This, and many similar propositions, you know better than your hum-"ble servant.

"The troubles in *America*, during *Grenville's* Administration, put our "Gentry upon this *finesse*. They stimulated some daring Coxcombs to "rouse the Mob into an attack upon the bounds of order and decency. "These fellows became the *Jack Cades* of the day, the Leaders in all the "Riots, the Bellwethers of the Flock. The reason of the manœuvre, in "those who wished to keep fair with the Government and, at the same "time, to receive the incense of popular applause, you will readily per-"ceive. On the whole, the Shepards were not much to blame, in a po-"litical point of view. The Bellwethers jingled merrily, and roared "out, 'Liberty,' and 'Property,' and 'Religion,' and a multitude of "cant terms, which every one thought he understood, and was egregi-"ously mistaken; for you must know the Shepherds kept the Dictionary "of the Day; and, like the Mysteries of the ancient Mythology, it was "not for profane eyes and ears. This answered many purposes: the "simple Flock put themselves entirely under the protection of these "most excellent Shepherds.

"By-and-bye, behold a great metamorphosis, without the help of Ovid "or his Divinities; but entirely effectuated by two modern Genii, the "God of Ambition and the Goddess of Faction. The first of these "prompted the Shepherds to shear some of their Flock; and, then, in "conjunction with the other, converted the Bellwethers into Shepherds. "That we have been in hot water with the British Parliament, ever "since, every body knows: consequently these new Shepherds have had "their hands full of employment. The old ones kept themselves least in "sight; and a want of confidence in each other was not the least evil "which followed. The Port of *Boston* has been shut up. These Sheep, "simple as they are, cannot be gulled, as heretofore. In short, there is "no ruling them; and, now, to leave the metaphor, the heads of the "Mobility grow dangerous to the Gentry; and how to keep them down "is the question.

"While they correspond with the other Colonies, call and dismiss "popular Assemblies, make Resolves to bind the Consciences of the rest "of Mankind, bully poor Printers, and exert with full force all their "other tribunitial powers, it is impossible to curb them. But Art some-"times goes farther than Force; and, therefore, to trick them hand-"somely, a Committee of Patricians was to be nominated; and into their "hands was to be committed the Majesty of the People; and the highest "trust was to be reposed in them by a mandate that they should take "care, *quod respublica non capiat injuriam*. The Tribunes, through the "want of good legerdemain in the senatorial order, perceived the finesse; "and, yesterday, I was present at a grand division of the City; and, "there, I beheld my fellow-citizens very accurately counting all their "Chickens, not only before any of them were hatched, but before above "one half of the Eggs were laid. In short, they fairly contended about "the future forms of our Government, whether it should be founded "upon aristocratic or democratic principles.

"I stood in the Balcony; and, on my right hand were ranged all the "people of property, with some few poor dependants; and, on the other, "all the Tradesmen, etc., who thought it worth their while to leave "their daily labour for the good of the Country. The spirit of the "English Constitution has yet a little influence left, and but a little. "The remains of it, however, will give the wealthy people a superiority, "this time; but, would they secure it, they must banish all Schoolmas-"ters and confine all Knowledge to themselves. This cannot be. The "Mob begin to think and to reason. Poor Reptiles! it is, with them, a "vernal Morning; they are struggling to cast off their Winter's Slough; "they bask in the Sunshine; and, ere Noon, they will bite, depend "upon it. The Gentry begin to fear this. Their Committee will be "appointed; they will deceive the People; and, again, they will forfeit "a share of their Confidence. And if these instances of what with one "side is Policy, with the other Perfidy, shall continue to increase, and "become more frequent, farewell, Aristocracy. I see, and I see it with "fear and trembling, that if the Disputes with *Great Britain* continue, "we shall be under the worst of all possible dominions; we shall be "under the domination of a riotous Mob.

"It is the interest of all men, therefore, to seek for re-union with the "parent State. A safe Compact seems, in my poor opinion, to be now "tendered. Internal taxation to be left with ourselves. The right of "regulating Trade to be vested in Britain, where alone is found the "power of protecting it. I trust you will agree with me, that this is "the only possible mode of union. * * * *

"I am, Sir,, etc,,

"MR. PENN. "GOUVERNEUR MORRIS."

It was never pretended, if our memory serves us correctly, that the writer of this letter was a *democratic* republican: our readers can easily determine, from his contemptuous words, while describing the unfranchised Mechanics and Working-men of this City, how little of a republican of any other class, how much of a believer of the political dogma of the unqualified equality of all men, he was, notwithstanding what some historians, so called, have written of him.

In the same spirit, was that note written by James Rivington, of New York, and received by Henry Knox, of Boston, subsequently a General in the Army of the Revolution and Secretary of War under President Washington, and (in his own estimation) never one of the people, which note was detected by the revolutionary leaders in Boston, and communicated to the "Sons of Liberty," in New York, by note, dated 19 June, 1774. The words used by Rivington were these: "You may rest as-"sured that no non-im-, nor non-ex-portation will be agreed upon "either here or at Philadelphia. The power over our crowd is no "longer in the hands of Sears, Lamb, and such unimportant persons, "who have for six years past, been the demagogues of a very turbulent "faction in this City; but their power and mischievous capacity ex-"pired instantly upon the election of the Committee of Fifty-one, in "which there is a majority of inflexibly honest, loyal, and prudent "citizens."—(*MS. letter of Thomas Young to John Lamb*, "BOSTON, 19th "June, 1774," in the "*Lamb Papers*," New York Historical Society's Library.)

fostered by the most aristocratic of her citizens, from the beginning of its existence, was one of the most powerful of those instrumentalities which, at that very time, were sapping the foundations of the Throne, in the Colonies; and it was through the proposition and the persistent effort of that particular Committee, that, very soon after it was organized, another and yet more influential body was created, composed of influential and able men, mainly from the higher classes of society, by whom, not long afterwards, the Home Government was arraigned before the bar of the entire world, on well-sustained charges of Usurpation and Oppression; by whom, also, the standard of a united Rebellion of all the Colonies was raised; and by whom a revolutionary power, united and energetic, extending throughout the entire seaboard, was raised for its support. In opposition to the purposes and the demands of the small revolutionary element, in New York—in opposition, also, to the leaders and the revolutionary populace, in Boston, with whom the revolutionary leaders in New York were in constant correspondence and in entire harmony—the Committee which the conservative, anti-revolutionary aristocracy of New York had thus created for the protection and the promotion of its own particular interests, the domestic as well as the foreign, originally proposed and persistently insisted on the organization of a Congress of Delegates from *all* the Colonies, for the united consideration of *all* the matters in difference between *all* the Colonies and the Home Government; and it was that Congress, thus called into existence by an anti-revolutionary body, by assuming authority which had not been delegated to it and by disregarding the expressed opinions and intentions of those who were represented therein—at the expense, also, of its own consistency, in excepting one of the Colonies from the provisions of its *Association*, in order to secure the vote of that Colony for the enforcement of that *Association* upon all the other Colonies—which not only closed the door of reconciliation with the Mother Country, which it was expected to have opened to its widest extent; but, practically, it organized a systematic and general Revolution, throughout the entire seaboard, which, ultimately, led to the overthrow of all monarchial power, within the entire territory of each and every one of its several constituent Colonies. Such a notable instance of the thing which had been created for a specific purpose, having been turned, in the progress of events, by the tact of a small proportion of its members, without violence and by some of those who had favored and assisted in the construction of it, against the greater number of those who had created it and for the overthrow of their purposes in having done so, as was seen in the instance of that Committee of Correspondence in New York and in its notable results, is worthy of notice and remembrance; and it may well serve, also, as a perpetual reminder, to those whose political conduct has not been altogether honest, and whose inclinations have, sometimes, been directed toward something else than that which has been indicated by their professions, that

> "There's a Divinity that shapes our ends,
> "Rough hew them how we will."

While the consolidated Opposition, in the City of New York, was thus actively employed in making preparations for a vigorous opposition to the latest measures of the Home Government and, in order to make that opposition more effective, in transferring the leadership of the confederated party of the Opposition from the few who had previously assumed to lead the revolutionary portion of the unfranchised masses, in the violent proceedings in which, from time to time, the latter had been engaged, to the greater number, of higher social and pecuniary and political standing, who formed the large majority of the Committee of Correspondence which it was creating, as its leader, in its opposition to the Ministry, the Town of Boston, also, was anxiously and carefully preparing for the coming catastrophe.

On the evening of Tuesday, the tenth of May,[1] Captain Shayler arrived in the latter place, bringing intelligence of the passage of the Act of Parliament closing that Port. On the following day, Wednesday, the eleventh of May, the Committees of Correspondence from eight of the adjacent Towns were invited to meet the Boston Committee, for consultation;[2] and on Thursday, the twelfth of May, those Committees assembled at Faneuil Hall, with Samuel Adams in the Chair and Joseph Warren acting as the leader, on the floor, and determined to send "Circular Letters" to the several Committees of Correspondence, where such Committees existed, in the other Colonies, urging, as the only proposed remedy for the threatened grievances, a renewal of that Non-Importation *Association* which, during the excitement which had followed the passage of the Stamp-Act, had been productive of so much success.[3] On Friday, the thirteenth of May, a Meeting of the Freeholders and other inhabitants of the Town, legally qualified and duly warned, was holden in Faneuil Hall, Samuel Adams being in the Chair, at which it was voted, "that it is the opinion of this Town, that, if the other "Colonies come into a joint Resolution to stop all "Importation from Great Britain and Exportation to "Great Britain and every part of the West Indies, till

[1] The *Massachusetts Gazette* of Thursday, May 12, 1774, printed the text of the Boston Port-bill, in full, with the following heading: "Tues- "day arrived here Captain Shayler, in a Brig from London, who brought "the most interesting and important Advices that ever was received at "the Port of Boston."

See, also, Bancroft's *History of the United States*, original edition, vii., 34; *the same*, centenary edition, iv., 321; Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 3.0, etc.

[2] Bancroft's *History of the United States*, original edition, vii., 35; *the same*, centenary edition, iv., 321; Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 3.1.

[3] Bancroft's *History of the United States*, original edition, vii., 35–37; *the same*, centenary edition, iv., 321–323; Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 321, etc.

"the Act for blocking up this Harbour be repealed, "the same will prove the Salvation of North America "and her Liberties. On the other hand, if they con- "tinue their Exports and Imports, there is high reason "to fear that Fraud, Power, and the most odious Op- "pression will rise, triumphant, over Right, Justice, "Social Happiness, and Freedom." It was also "*Ordered*, that this Vote be forthwith transmitted by "the Moderator to all our sister Colonies, in the "Name and Behalf of the Town."

It will be seen, in these faithful statements of the doings of the leaders of the revolutionary party and of the doings of the revolutionary party, itself, in Boston, in May, 1774, that Massachusetts-men, there and at that time, recognized the existence of no grievance whatever, in any of the Colonies, except that which had been inflicted on Boston, in the passage of the Boston Port-Bill; that they elevated that local grievance, which had been inflicted only as a penalty for local offences against existing Statutes, to the level of that general Stamp-Act, which had been inflicted on every Colonist, throughout the entire Continent, not as a penalty for wrong doing, but as a general Tax, levied only for the increase of the national Revenue; that they considered that a general determination, by all the Colonies, from Nova Scotia to Florida, to hold no commercial intercourse whatever with the Mother Country and with all the West Indian Colonies, foreign as well as British, was necessary for the protection of the delinquent Town from the threatened consequences of its persistent violation of the Laws of the Nation; that they arrogantly assumed that general action of all the Colonies must be taken, uniformly, in a distinct and clearly defined line, which those Massachusetts-men specifically and definitely laid down, and in no other line whatever, leaving nothing to the choice or the better judgment or the existing circumstances of any others, any where; that even their New England ingenuity contrived no other remedy for their merely local grievance than that specific suspension of the entire agricultural and manufacturing industries of all the Colonies, except to the extent of supplying the demand for the productions of their industries for home-consumption only, as well as the specific suspension of all the Commerce of all the Colonies, except that with the French Colonies of St. Pierre and Miquelon, on the coast of Newfoundland—with which, by the bye, so large a portion of the smuggling by Massachusetts-men was, then and subsequently, carried on[2]—all of which, without any possible abatement, they definitely proposed and positively insisted on; and that, in their complacency, they dared, also, to assert, if not to threaten, that the consequence of disobedience to their audacious proposition, in any of the Colonies, would be the triumphant rise of Fraud, Power, and the most odious Oppression, over Right, Justice, Social Happiness, and Freedom.[3] In short, the principles and "patriotic" impulses of those men of Boston began and ended in the proposed promotion of nothing else than their own individual and local interests, at the expense of the entire prostration of business, internal as well as external, except that of Smuggling, from one extremity to the other of the Atlantic seaboard—the warp, the woof, and the filling of their neatly woven web were, in fact, nothing else, whatever, than unadulterated, audacious selfishness; and that selfishness, in that particular connection, was seen, more distinctly than it had previously been seen, when, a few weeks afterwards, the alms of the Continent, which had been sent for the particular relief of the sick and suffering poor of Boston, whom, it was said, the Port-Bill had

[1] *Proceedings of the Meeting*, in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, i., 331, and in Dawson's *The Park and its Vicinity*, 32.

See, also, *Letter from Thomas Young to John Lamb*, "BOSTON, May 13, "1774;" Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1637, NEW-YORK, Thursday, May 19, 1774; *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 57, NEW-YORK, Thursday, May 19, 1774; Gaine's *New-York Gazette and Mercury*, No. 1178, NEW-YORK, Monday, May 23, 1774; *Lieutenant-governor Colden to Governor Tryon*, "SPRING HILL 31st May, 1774;" *the same to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "NEW-YORK 1st June, 1774;" *Annual Register for* 1775, 4; *History of the War in America*, Dublin: 1779, i., 19, 20; Andrews' *History of the War with America*, London: 1785, i., 134; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, London: 1788, i., 361; Ramsey's *History of the American Revolution*, London: 1791, i., 112; Stedman's *History of the American War*, London: 1794, i., 93; Adolphus's *History of England*, London: 1805, ii., 122, 123; "Paul Allen's" *History of the American Revolution*, Baltimore, 1822, i., 181; Morse's *Annals of the American Revolution*, Hartford: 1824, 179, 180; Pitkin's *History of the United States*, New Haven: 1828, i., 270; Grahame's *History of the United States*, London: 1836, iv., 347, 348; Hildreth's *History of the United States*, New York: 1856, First Series, iii., 34; Leake's *Memoir of General John Lamb*, Albany: 1857, 84–86; Lossing's *Seventeen hundred and seventy-six*, New York: 122; Lossing's *Field-book of the Revolution*, New York: 1851, i., 507; Bancroft's *History of the United States*, original edition, Boston: 1858, vii., 37; *the same*, centenary edition, Boston: 1876, iv., 323; Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, Boston: 1872, 321, 322; Lodge's *History of the English Colonies*, New York: 1881, 489; etc.

Lendrum, (*History of the United States*;) Lossing, (*History of the United States*, 1854;) and Ridpath, (*History of the United States*;) made no allusion to this very important Meeting.

[2] "LORD SANDWICH.—Do not the New England Fishing-ships carry on "an illicit Trade with the French?

"COMMODORE SHULDHAM.—Certainly; their Ships meet at Sea; and "they supply them with Provisions, Rum, Stores, and the Ships them- "selves; and return loaded with French Manufactures."—(*Examination of Commodore Shuldham, Governor of Newfoundland, before the House of Lords*, March 15, 1775.)

[3] It will not be out of place, in this connection, to state the fact that Boston could have averted all the evils ascribed to the Boston Port-Bill, by paying for what some of her lawless inhabitants had destroyed—as property destroyed by mobs, in our day, must be paid for by the County in which it is destroyed, as Alleghany-county, Pennsylvania, sorrowfully knows, as one of the several results of the notable "Pittsburg Riots" of 1877. She was evidently inclined to do so, in the beginning; but she was counselled by the Caucus of Town Committees, prompted by Joseph Warren, not to do so; and the Committee of Correspondence at Philadelphia subsequently urged her to pay, without success. As will be seen, in another part of this Chapter, however, the infliction of the Boston Port-Bill was a pecuniary advantage to that Town; and it is not impossible that it was foreseen, at that time, that a payment for the Tea which had been destroyed by one of her mobs, would deprive the Town of all the pecuniary advantages to be derived from a refusal to do so.

What wonderful results, arising from that refusal to pay for what a mob had destroyed, have been seen, throughout the world, from that day to this.

deprived of their usual means of support, were diverted from the particular purposes for which they had been contributed, and employed, instead, for the particular benefit of Boston's tax-payers, in relieving them from the neces-ity of levying an unusual Poor-tax for the relief of the more than usually large number of those who were willing to live on charity; and in "cleaning Docks, making Dykes, new laying "of old Pavements in the public streets, etc."—all of them "public concerns, of no advantage to any in-"dividual, any further than as a member of the "community to which he or she belonged. Not a "single Wharf, Dock, Dyke, or Pavement, belonging "to any individual, was ordered to be made or "repaired," notwithstanding many of those who had been really thrown out of employment could have found renumerative occupation in such works of private concern; "but only such" were thus made or repaired "as, by the constant usage of the Town, had "always been supported at the expense of the pub-"lic"—in other words, at the expense of the tax-payers, the aristocracy of that peculiarly democratic and peculiarly revolutionary Town. One of "the "chief concerns of the principal inhabitants" was "for those Tradesmen, whose small funds, though "sufficient for the small purposes of life, yet would "soon be exhausted, if their resources were cut off"—in other words, for the payment of debts, due by those Tradesmen to those "principal Inhabitants," which, otherwise, would have been worthless—and Nails, and Ropes, and Baizes, and "Shirt-cloths," and Shoes, and other articles were manufactured, at the expense of the charitable, elsewhere, which were disposed of, by the "Gentlemen" who managed the speculation, to whom and at such prices as best answered the purposes of all concerned.[1] Need there be any surprise that, as one of their countrymen has since said, without a blush, "the people of Boston, "then the most flourishing commercial Town on the "Continent, never regretted their being the principal "object of ministerial vengeance;" telling us, at the same time, that the "thousands who depended on their "daily labor for bread said: 'We shall suffer in a "'good cause; the righteous Being who takes care of "'the Ravens that cry unto him, will provide for us "'and ours'"?[2] Need there be any surprise, also, that such principles and such purposes as were thus presented to the several Colonies, found little favor, anywhere, except among those of the assumed leaders of the unfranchised inhabitants of the City of New York, who favored revolutionary measures, and who had not been included in the recently appointed Committee of Correspondence, the Committee of Fifty-one, in that City?[3]

On Tuesday evening, the seventeenth of May, Paul Revere, bearing letters from the Committee of Correspondence, in Boston, in which were inclosed copies of the Vote of that Town, to which reference has been made, arrived in the City of New York[4]—there was, also, in his saddlebags, a very interesting letter from one of the master spirits in that Town, to his correspondent in New York, reciting more of the motives of the Massachusetts-men, in their construction of the Resolutions of the Town-meeting in Boston, than was told elsewhere;[5] but there is no evidence that Revere brought anything whatever from the Caucus which had been convened in Faneuil Hall, on the preceding Wednesday.[6] In accordance with his instructions, Revere immediately proceeded to Philadelphia, to deliver the letters which had been addressed to the Committee of Correspondence in that City;[7] and

[1] A paper, dated "Boston *August* 29, 1774," responsive to "a report "industriously propagated in New York"—but without any indication by whom written or where published—which was printed in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, i., 743, 744.

See, also, a *Letter from William Cooper*—the well-known Town-Clerk of Boston—*to a Gentleman in New York*, dated "Boston: *September* 12, "1774," written in response to inquiries, and with the knowledge of "some of the Committee appointed to receive donations."

[2] Bancroft's *History of the United States*, original edition, vii., 48; *the same*, centenary edition, iv., 332.

On the thirty-first of May, 1774, John Scollay wrote, from Boston, to Arthur Lee, in London, "Thousands that depend on their daily labour "for support, must be reduced to the greatest degree of distress and "want. However, they will suffer in a good Cause, and that righteous "Being who takes care of the Ravens who cry unto Him, will provide "for them and theirs."

How wonderfully similar thoughts, originated in different minds, will sometimes run in parallel grooves, far apart, as in this instance; and still more wonderful it is, when, as in this instance, the thoughts are uttered in words so wonderfully similar.

[3] Alexander McDougal and all those of the former revolutionary leaders who were included in that Committee, as will be seen in the course of this narrative, on the twenty-third of May, by a formal vote, concurred with their aristocratic, anti-revolutionary associates in condemning the proposition of the Town of Boston and in offering another, in its stead: it remained only for John Lamb and those who had not been favored with seats in that body, to continue their agreement, in political affairs, with the revolutionary leaders, in Boston.

It will be seen, also, in the course of this narrative, that Boston was not sustained, in her unreasonable demands, by any of the Committees of the larger Towns and Cities, in other Colonies.

[4] "On Tuesday Evening, arrived here Mr. Revere, who came Express "from Boston, which he left on Saturday, about 2 o'clock in the After-"noon."—(Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1637, New-York, Thursday, May 19, 1774.)

[5] Reference is made to a letter which was written by Thomas Young, immediately after the adjournment of the Town-Meeting, May 13, and addressed to John Lamb, in the City of New York. It may be seen among the "*Lamb Papers*," in the Library of the New York Historical Society; and every student of the history of that eventful period will be amply re-paid for whatever time he may spend in a careful perusal of it.

[6] The *Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence*, "New York, *Monday*, "*May* 23, 1774," contain a record of the reading of "Letters from the "Committee of Correspondence of Boston, with a Vote of the Town of "Boston, of the 13th instant, and a Letter from the Committee of Phil-"adelphia;" and, in the absence of any allusion to any other letter whatever, there is no reason for supposing that anything, in addition to those three letters, was received from any other organization or person, at Boston or elsewhere.

[7] Revere was at Philadelphia, on the twentieth of May, when the inhabitants of that City appointed its Committee of Correspondence; and, on the following day, he left that City, on his return, carrying with him, to New York and Boston, if not to other Towns and Cities on his route, copies of a Circular Letter, probably from the pen of John Dickinson, containing the response of Philadelphia to the Boston Resolutions, and, generally, surveying the political situation of the Colonies, from the Philadelphia standpoint.—*Proceedings of the Meeting which appointed the Committee, May* 20, 1774, *and a copy of the Circular Letter, written by the*

those who had been nominated to the Committee of Correspondence in New York, the Committee itself not having been formally established, evidently availed themselves of that opportunity to write to Philadelphia, in which, also, no Committee had been appointed, on the subject of the Boston Resolutions, and, unquestionably, in opposition to the propositions which they contained.[1]

Those who had been appointed to membership in the proposed Committee of Correspondence of the City of New York—in the "Committee of Fifty-"one," as it was popularly called—were duly assembled, at the Coffee-House, on Monday, the twenty-third of May, 1774, forty-three of the fifty-one being present; and the Committee was duly organized by the appointment of Isaac Low, as its permanent Chairman, and that of John Alsop, as its permanent Deputy-chairman[2]—at a subsequent Meeting, Joseph Allicocke was appointed Secretary, and Thomas Pettit, Messenger, of the Committee;[3] the first two, in whom some authority was vested, being high-toned, anti-revolutionary Merchants; while the last two, who were not members of the Committee, and to whom no authority was given, were among those unfranchised, revolutionary Workingmen, whom the former had previously looked on with so much disfavor.

Immediately after the organization of the Committee had been completed, a letter was received from "the body of the Mechanics, signed by Jonathan "Blake, their Chairman," informing the Committee of the concurrence of the Mechanics with the other inhabitants of the City, in their nomination of it; which clearly indicated the entire good faith of the great body of the unfranchised masses, in the transfer of the leadership of the confederated party of the Opposition, from those, with revolutionary tendencies, who had called themselves "Sons of Liberty," to the aristocratic, conservative elements of the party opposed to the Colonial policy of the Home Government, which had been made at the Coffee-house, on the preceding Thursday; and clearly indicating, also, that whatever the differences between the two factions, on social questions, might be, they were one in all which related to the great political questions of the day, concerning the obnoxious features of the Colonial policy of the Home Government, notwithstanding the disappointment of some of the assumed leaders of those masses, when they had failed to secure seats in the Committee[4]—the sinister purposes of those who had proposed the Caucus which had been assembled at Sam. Francis's had been established; the unfranchised masses and those who had assumed to be their leaders had been generally hoodwinked; and even the watchful "Sons of Liberty," with here and there an exception, were apparently contented.

At the same meeting of the Committee, the letters from the Committees of Correspondence in Boston and Philadelphia, to which reference has been made, were laid before it. The letter from Philadelphia being only a reflex of what had been written to that Committee by those who had subsequently been confirmed as members of this, it received no official attention, at that time; but those from Boston, which included the Vote of the Town of which mention has been made, were referred to a Sub-committee, composed of Alexander McDougal, Isaac Low, James Duane, and John Jay, with instructions to consider the subject to which those letters were devoted; to prepare a draft of an answer thereto; and to report the same, to the Committee, at eight o'clock on the same evening, to which hour the Committee then adjourned.[5]

The disposition of the majority of the Committee of Correspondence, as well as the line of action which those who controlled it[6] intended to take, as far as it related to the great body of the unfranchised inhabitants and their rapidly increasing influence in the control of the political affairs of the Colony, was clearly defined and boldly presented, at that first opportunity to do so, in the formation of that very important Sub-Committee, in which the well-known

Committee—both re-printed in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, i., 340-342.)

[1] *The Committee of Correspondence of Philadelphia to the Committee of Correspondence to Boston*, "PHILADELPHIA, *May* 21*st*, 1774," copies of which "were transmitted to New-York and most of the Southern Colo-"nies."

[2] *Minutes of the Committee*, "NEW-YORK, *Monday*, *May* 23*d*, 1774."

[3] *Minutes of the Committee*, "NEW-YORK, *May* 30, 1774."

[4] *Minutes of the Committee*, "NEW-YORK, *Monday*, *May* 23d, 1774."

See, also Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1638, NEW-YORK, Thursday, May 26, 1774, in which appears the following: "Since the Meeting at the Cof-"fee-House on Thursday last, the Merchants and Mechanicks, who were "opposed to the Committee of Correspondence consisting of Fifty-one "Persons, have, for the Salutary Purpose of Union among ourselves, "agreed to that Number; and that the Gentlemen whose Names were "published in Mr. Gaine's last Paper, be the Committee for this City."

The correspondence of Lieutenant-governor Colden with Governor Tryon and with the Earl of Dartmouth very clearly indicates that that remarkable old man was not deceived by the doings, in politics, of the "Merchants and Traders" and Gentry of New York; that their social and commercial and professional standing did not warrant what he regarded, very reasonably, their tendency toward rebellion; and that, while he hoped their influence would restrain the violence of those with whom they were associated, he never regarded them as, truly, friends of the Home Government nor of the Sovereign.

[5] *Minutes of the Committee*, "NEW-YORK, *Monday*, *May* 23, 1774."

[6] Bancroft, (*History of the United States*, original edition, vii., 41, 42; *the same*, centenary edition, iv., 327,) said "the control fell into the "hands of men who, like John Jay, still aimed at reconciling a contin-"ued dependence on England with the just freedom of the Colonies."

The principal purposes of the Committee, in all which related to national politics, were the protection of those who were constantly employed in Smuggling; the exemption of the Colonies from the payment of Import Duties and Direct Taxes levied by the Parliament; and the continued military protection of the Colonies, at the expense of the Mother Country, unless the unlikely contingency should arise of a voluntary taxation of themselves, for that purpose. Besides these, the chief purpose of the Committee was to relegate the unfranchised masses of the City of New York, of all classes, to the obscurity and dependence of vassals; and to place itself at the head of all the political elements of the Colony, as the autocratic, anti-revolutionary ruler of both the Colonists and the Government—in all of which, unquestionably, James Duane's and John Jay's were the master minds, within the Committee, and William Smith's that which was not within it.

ultra-democratic Chairman was made harmless, in the interest of the conservative aristocracy, by the addition of three of the most conservative members of the Committee, as his associates; and what was known to have been the decided preference of the revolutionary portion of the unfranchised Workingmen of the City, by whom the policy and the action of the Town of Boston were known to have been generally approved, was openly, if not defiantly, disregarded.

At eight o'clock, in the evening, the Committee assembled in an adjourned Meeting, thirty-eight of the fifty-one members being present; and the Sub-committee, which had been appointed at the forenoon session, reported the following draft of a letter, as suitable for a response to the letters received from Boston:

"NEW-YORK, May 23, 1774.

"GENTLEMEN:

"The alarming Measures of the British Parliament, "relative to your ancient and respectable Town, "which has so long been the Seat of Freedom, fill the "Inhabitants of this City with inexpressible Alarm.

"As a sister Colony, suffering in Defence of the "Rights of America, we consider your Injuries as a "common Cause, to the redress of which it is equally "our Duty and our Interest to contribute. But, what "ought to be done in a Situation so truly critical, "while it employs the anxious Thoughts of every "generous Mind, is very hard to be determined.

"Our Citizens have thought it necessary to appoint "a large Committee, consisting of fifty-one Persons, "to correspond with our sister Colonies, on this and "every other matter of public Moment; and, at ten "o'clock this forenoon, we were first assembled. Your "Letter, enclosing the Vote of the Town of Boston, "and the Letter of your Committee of Correspond-"ence, were immediately taken into consideration."

"While we think you justly entitled to the Thanks "of your sister Colonies, for asking their Advice on "a Case of such extensive Consequences, we lament "our Inability to relieve your Anxiety, by a decisive "Opinion. The Cause is general, and concerns a "whole Continent, who are equally interested with "you and us; and we foresee that no Remedy can "be of avail, unless it proceeds from the joint Act "and Approbation of all. From a virtuous and "spirited Union, much may be expected; while the "feeble Efforts of a Few will only be attended with "Mischief and Disappointments to themselves, and "Triumph to the Adversaries of our Liberty.

"Upon these Reasons, we conclude that a Congress "of Deputies from the Colonies, in general, is of the "utmost Moment; that it ought to be assembled, "without Delay; and some unanimous Resolution "formed, in this fatal Emergency, not only respect-"ing your deplorable Circumstances, but for the "Security of our common Rights. Such being our "Sentiments, it must be premature to pronounce any "Judgment on the Expedient which you have sug-"gested. We beg, however, that you will do us the "Justice to believe that we shall continue to Act "with a firm and becoming Regard to American "Freedom, and to co-operate with our sister Colonies, "in every Measure which shall be thought salutary "and conducive to the public Good.

"We have nothing to add, but that we sincerely "condole with you, in your unexampled Distresses, "and to request your speedy Opinion of the proposed "Congress, that, if it shall meet with your Approba-"tion, we may exert our utmost Endeavours to carry "it into execution.

"We are, Gentlemen," etc.

That evidently well-considered paper, probably the production of the mind and the pen of James Duane,[1] was so temperate in its tone and so judicious in its suggestions, that, after it had been presented as the Report of the Sub-Committee, it commended itself to the Committee with so much force, that it was approved without a dissenting voice;[2] and the Chairman was ordered to send copies of it, duly signed, to the Committees of Correspondence, in Boston and Philadelphia.[3]

It will be seen that the Committee regarded the dispute with the Home Government as something more than a merely local matter, in which the Town of Boston was the only sufferer; and that it was not inclined, therefore, to confine its action, as the Vote of that Town had sought to confine it, to the particular subject of the Boston Port-Bill, nor to direct all its efforts, as that Vote had solicited, entirely to the redress of the grievances of that particular Town. On the contrary, it recognized the equal importance of "every other matter of public moment;" it asserted that "the Cause was general and concerned a "whole Continent, who was equally interested" with themselves; and it insisted that "no remedy can be "of avail, unless it proceeded from the joint Act and "Approbation of all." It was not inclined, without

[1] We are not insensible of the fact that many suppose that the authorship of this notable letter belongs to John Jay; but, because the entire spirit of it is so unlike what he would have presented in such a letter, written under such circumstances; and because he is known to have been more inclined to resort to a Non-Importation Agreement than James Duane was, we prefer to favor the belief that the latter gentleman wrote it.

[2] Because it was so entirely antagonistic to the known principles of the Boston-men with whom the minority of the Committee, in their individual relations, had been previously so entirely in accord, this answer to the letters from Boston, approved by the unanimous vote of the Committee, affords additional evidence of the entire good faith of the great body of the unfranchised inhabitants of the City, in its concurrence in the appointment of the Committee of Fifty-one, and of the acquiescence in that appointment of, at least, those of the previously assumed leaders of those inhabitants who had been admitted to seats in that Committee.

[3] *Minutes of the Committee*, adjourned Meeting, "NEW YORK, May 23, "1774;" Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1538, NEW-YORK, Thursday, May 26, 1774; Gaine's *New-York Gazette and Mercury*, No. 1178, NEW-YORK, Monday, May 23; No. 1179, NEW-YORK, Monday, May 30, and No. 1183, NEW-YORK, Monday, June 27, 1774; *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 57, NEW-YORK Thursday, May 19, and No. 58, NEW-YORK, Thursday, May 26, 1774.

due consideration, to paralyze the industries and the commerce of the entire Continent, only for the particular benefit of one Town—it preferred to regard the particular grievance of that Town as only one among many grievances, endured by other Towns, as well as by that, and by the entire Continent; and it wisely made all those grievances a common cause, and proposed to remedy them, as far as a remedy could be found in America, by a concerted movement of all the parties who were suffering from them. It was the first, or among the first, to disregard the peculiar selfishness of the popular leaders in Boston, by whom the grievances of that particular Town had been thrust into an undue prominence, for the relief of which, especially, they insisted, the entire efforts of the entire Continent must be directed;[1] and it was the first to propose and to insist on the convention of a Congress of Deputies from all the Colonies, in which all the grievances which were sustained by each and every of those Colonies could be duly considered, and concerted action be secured from the entire Continent, for the relief of all who were aggrieved.[2] How much, in that well-considered and judicious action, the Committee of Correspondence, in New York, offended those of the revolutionary clique, in that City, who had not been invited to places and seats in that Committee, and how much the revolutionary leaders and the revolutionary popu-

[1] The Committee of Correspondence of Philadelphia, after it had received and publicly read the opinions of those who had been nominated as members of the similar Committee, in New York, not yet organized, had, to some extent, done so, at an earlier date; but the reply of the Committee in New York accompanied that of the Committee in Philadelphia, Paul Revere having taken both, at the same time, on his return to Boston.

[2] We are not insensible of the fact that the origin of the Congress of the Continent, which was assembled at Philadelphia, in 1774, has been variously stated, by many of those who have preceded us; and we are equally sensible of the other fact, that individuals, in different Colonies, without any connection with each other, had suggested, *theoretically*, that such a Congress would be useful for various *limited* and, generally, *local* purposes, previously to that more general and practical proposition which was made by the Committee of Correspondence in New York, on the occasion under consideration.

The Town of Providence, in Town-meeting, May 17, 1774, was, probably, the first organized body which recommended a Congress of the several Colonies, for general purposes; but it only requested the Deputies of the Town, in the approaching General Assembly, to "use their influence," in that body, *not yet assembled*, "for promoting a Congress, as soon "as may be, of the Representatives of the General Assemblies of the "several Colonies and Provinces in North America," for the general purposes of the whole number, (*Proceedings of the Town-Meeting*, reprinted in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, i., 333;) and the Committee of Correspondence of Philadelphia, in its reply to the Committee of Correspondence of Boston, dated "PHILADELPHIA, *May* 21, 1774," compared the proposition of Boston, to enter into an Association of Non-Exportation and Non-Intercourse, with the proposition of New-York, to convene a Congress of the Colonies, without determining which of the two it would approve, (*Letter, dated as above stated*,) leaving the subject undecided, until the eighteenth of June, when the Congress was determined on, by a Meeting of the Citizens, without the intervention of the Committee, (*Proceedings of the Meeting*, reprinted in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, i., 426, 427.)

Because the General Assemblies of the greater number of the Colonies, at that time, could not have elected Deputies to the proposed Congress, even if they had been willing to have done so—the Governor having, in each case, the power of proroguing or dissolving the Assembly, which, in the greater number of instances, he would have certainly done—the action of the Town of Providence, although well intended, could not result in the convention of a Congress; and what was done by the Committee of Correspondence in Philadelphia, was not entitled to the honorable mention of it, which Frothingham and others have made, since it amounted to nothing, either of approval or disapproval of the New-York proposition to convene a Congress. The honor, what there was of it, remains, therefore, with the Committee of Correspondence of New-York, as related in the text, of having originated the Congress, on the twenty-third of May, with the additional honor of having established the proposition for such a Congress, in the face of and notwithstanding the determined opposition of the Massachusetts-men, in Boston, led by Samuel Adams, Joseph Warren, and their well-eulogized associates.

The Committee of Correspondence of the Colony of Connecticut concurred in the recommendation which the Committee in New York had made, on the fourth of June, (*The Committee of Correspondence of the General Assembly of New York to the Committee of Correspondence of the Colony of Connecticut*, "NEW YORK, June 24, 1774;") the General Assembly of Rhode Island did so, on the fifteenth of June, (*Journal of the General Assembly*, June 15, 1774—*Records of Rhode Island*. vii., 246;) the General Court of Massachusetts did so on the seventeenth of June, (*Journal of the House of Representatives, June*, 1774;) and the City of Philadelphia, as above stated, did so on the eighteenth of June.

It has suited the purposes of some to bring forward the doings of eighty-nine members of the dissolved House of Burgesses of Virginia, assembled at the Raleigh Tavern, at Williamsburg, on the twenty-seventh of May, as a contestant for the honors of New York, in this matter; but that Meeting was held four days after the proposition had been made in New York; and what it did was only to "recommend to the Com-"mittee of Correspondence that they communicate with the several Cor-"responding Committees, on the expediency of appointing Deputies from "the several Colonies of British America, to meet in a General Con-"gress," etc., which was done on the following day, in which, however, nothing else was done than to solicit, from each Committee, its "senti-"ments on the subject." (*Proceedings of the Meeting*, reprinted in the *Boston Gazette* of June 13, 1774, quoted by Frothingham, in his *Rise of the Republic*, 333.)

The reliability of what is known as "history" may be seen in what has been published concerning this first proposition to convene a Congress of the Colonies. Frothingham, (*Rise of the Republic*, 322,) is the only one who has alluded to the really original, but impracticable, proposition by the Town of Providence. Without making the slightest allusion to what was done in New York, Burke's *Annual Register for* 1775, 6; *History of the War in America*, Dublin: 1779, i., 21; Andrews's *History of the War with America*, London: 1785, i., 135; Soule's *Histoire des Troubles de l'Amérique Anglaise*, Paris: 1787, i., 48; Chez et Lebrun's *Histoire politique et philosophique de la Revolution*, Paris: an 9, 109; Stedman's *History of the American War*, London: 1794, i., 94, 95; Adolphus's *History of England*, London: 1805, ii., 124; "Paul Allen's" *History of the American Revolution*, Baltimore: 1822, i., 184; Pitkin's *History of the United States*, New Haven: 1828, i., 271, 272; Wilson's *History of the American Revolution*, Baltimore: 1834, 100; Grahame's *History of the United States*, London: 1836, iv., 349; Lossing's *Seventeen hundred and seventy-six*, New York: 1847, 123; his *Field-Book of the Revolution*, New York: 1851, ii., 486; Ridpath's *History of the United States*, New York: 1880, 296; A. H. Stephens's *History of the United States*, New York: 1874, 166, 167; Holmes's *History of the United States*, New York: 1871, 105, and several others, assigned the proposition for a Congress to Virginia. Mercy Warren's *History of the American Revolution*, Boston: 1805, i., 135; Lendrum's *History of the American Revolution*, Exeter: 1836, i., 63; De Rochelle's *États Unis d'Amérique*, Paris: 1845, 173; Lossing's *History of the United States*, New York: 1857, 227; and the series of small Histories of the United States, by the same author, without alluding to what was done in New York, preferred to regard what was done by the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, on the seventeenth of June, as the origin of the Congress. Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 322, 323, ostentatiously presented what was done in Massachusetts and "the "other New England Colonies," and then said with questionable integrity, as he was acquainted with the facts, "the sentiment and determination "of the patriots south of New England were represented in the pro-"ceedings of the Virginia meeting," which he described, at considerable length, without making the slightest allusion to the earlier proceedings of Pennsylvania and New York, where the Congress certainly originated. Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, London: 1788, i, 362, correctly assigned the origination of the Congress to the Committee of Cor-

lace of Boston were also offended by it, are well known to the student of the history of that period [1]—how much, also, that action of the Committee, in New York, has been made the text of misrepresentation and abuse, whenever it has been referred to, in the historical literature of New England, from that day to this, is known to all who are acquainted with the peculiar peculiarities of that well-filled class of the productions of American home-industry.[2]

The Committee of Correspondence, in New York, as it was known to the world, at that time, was created only as a local organization, for only special purposes, and with only a very limited and a very clearly defined authority.[3] But it very soon became evident that some, at least, of those who had promoted the organization of that Committee, only for limited and well-defined purposes, and who had subsequently assumed the entire control of its action, were well-inclined, for the advancement of their individual and family and factional influence and interests, to use every opportunity for the increase of the authority of the Committee, which was or which might be, in any way, afforded; and that they were not ill-disposed, in the prosecution of their peculiar purposes, to assume and to exercise authority which had not been vested in that or in any other organization, and limited only by their own ill-sustained views of expediency and propriety, cannot be successfully disputed.[4] Notably among those instances of authority unduly assumed by the Committee, was its early attempt to place itself at the head of all those, in every other County in the Colony, who were inclined to be or who were likely to become disaffected and revolutionary; which may be regarded as the second successful movement of the rapidly advancing revolutionary elements in the Colony of New York, among those who assumed to regard a revolution, conducted by themselves, as commendable and praiseworthy, while such a revolution, controlled by others, would be regarded and resisted, by them, as worthy only of condemnation and to be extirpated, the latter regardless of every other consequence.

For the purpose of extending its authority and of increasing its power, in whatever might arise, in its evident intent to control not only the great body of the unfranchised masses of every class, in the City of New York,[5] but the Colonial and the Home Govern-

respondence in New York; but, without the slightest shadow of truth, it stated that the Committee was controlled by Isaac Sears, who was one of the minority of that body; and that it was opposed by "the To-"ries," not one of which party was then a member of the Committee. Ramsay's *History of the United States*, London: 1791, i., 114, correctly assigned the origination of the Congress to New York; but it inaccurately stated that it was done "at the first meeting of the inhabitants," instead of at the first meeting of the Committee which the inhabitants had chosen, a few days previously, for their political leaders. Hildreth's *History of the United States*, New York: 1856, First Series, iii, 35, presented the facts as they really took place, giving to the Committee of Correspondence of New York the origination of the Congress; and Leake's *Memoir of General John Lamb*, Albany: 1857; Dawson's *Park and its Vicinity*, New York: 1855, 33; McDonald and Blackburn's *Southern History of the United States*, Baltimore: 1869, 170; and de Lancey's *Notes* on Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, New York: 1879, i., 443, 444, follow that excellent example. Bancroft's *History of the United States*, original edition, vii., 40, correctly yields the honor of having originated the Congress, to New York; but, unaccountably, it assigns it, in New York, sometimes to an imaginary "old committee," which had ceased to exist when the Stamp-Act, which had called it into existence and to which its operations had been limited, was repealed, eight years previously, and sometimes to the eight or ten men who styled themselves and who were known as "the Sons of Lib-"erty," all of whom who were members of the Committee of Correspondence, appointed at the Coffee-house, were notoriously in accord with the men of Boston, who advocated an immediate suspension of the Commerce of the Continent and opposed the proposition to call a Congress for the general relief of all the Colonies. It is also well known, concerning those "Sons of Liberty" that, after 1766, they made no pretension that a permanent Committee existed; that their correspondence was conducted in their individual capacities, and not officially, as a Committee; that none of their correspondence, as far as it is now known, alluded to a Congress of the Colonies, for any purpose; and that their especially careful historian and eulogist, Isaac Q. Leake, not only made no such claim, in their behalf, but expressly and in unmistakable words, gave that honor to the Committee of Correspondence which had been appointed by the body of the inhabitants, at the Coffee-house. (*Memoir of the Life and Times of General John Lamb*, Albany: 1857, 88.) In the same author's centenary edition of that *History of the United States*, Boston: 1876, iv., 326, the same statement was made, without the slightest change; and Lodge's *History of the English Colonies*, New York: 1881, 489, without Bancroft's airy rhetoric, in a far more historical style than that historian employs, in some of his words, and without the slightest change in its substance, perpetuated the error.

Such are the guides which American scholarship, generally fettered with bonds of Roman and Grecian Literature, has given to the world, for the direction of those who shall aspire to the knowledge of a history of America. Such are some of the evidences of the entire untrustworthiness of the greater number of those who, satisfied with that "discipline" to which the Classics have subjected them and without having otherwise qualified themselves for the proper discharge of their honorable duties as historians of their own Country, have contented themselves, instead, by repeating what others, also fettered by similar obsolete prejudices and equally indolent, have written, and by willingly propagating the errors which local prejudices or indolence or a faulty education or ignorance have produced, while, with greater usefulness to the world and greater honor to themselves, they might rather have attempted to extirpate them.

[1] An evidence of that feeling may be seen in the letter from Thomas Young to John Lamb, dated "Boston, 19th June, 1774," in the "*Lamb* "*Papers*," New York Historical Society's Library.

[2] From the days of Doctor Gordon until the present time, as far as our knowledge extends, Hildreth is the only New Englander, among historical writers, who has inclined to tell the exact truth, on this subject; and what he said of it occupied less than two lines of an octavo page.

[3] The Caucus, at Sam. Francis's, at which the appointment of the Committee was determined on and its Members nominated, defined, in its first Resolution, the purposes for which that Committee was to be appointed and the authority which should be vested in it—"to corre-"spond with the neighboring Colonies on the present important Crisis," excluding all other subjects, (*Proceedings of the Meeting*, among the Broadsides, in the Library of the New-York Historical Society.)

[4] That James Duane and John Jay, to whom reference is here made, were not apt to recognize any fundamental obstruction to or requirement from whatever they should incline to do or not to do, is well known to every one who has closely studied the histories of the doings of those gentlemen, subsequently, in the various branches of official life to which they were respectively called.

[5] In all the political operations of that period, the several Counties of the Colonies were regarded as entirely independent bodies, each controlling itself to the extent, even, of sending independent Delegates to the Continental Congress—the centralization of authority, indeed, was the fundamental grievance against which all the Colonies were, then, raising their remonstrances and their opposition to the measures of the *Home* Government—and it must not be supposed that, in the instance referred to, in the text, the Committee sought the direct control of the masses, in any other County than in that of New York—it sought no more than to secure the control of those, within the several Counties, who did control those masses, within their several neighborhoods; and, therefore, it sought to

ments, at the second meeting of the Committee, on the evening of Monday, the thirtieth of May, Peter Van Schaack, Francis Lewis, John Jay, Alexander McDougal, and Theophilact Bache, three rigid conservatives and two of the revolutionary faction, were appointed "a Committee to write a Circular Letter to "the Supervisors in the different Counties, acquainting them of the appointment of this Committee, and "submitting to the consideration of the Inhabitants "of the Counties whether it could not be expedient for "them to appoint persons to correspond with this "Committee upon matters relative to the purposes for "which they were appointed;" [1] and, at a Meeting especially called for the purpose, on the following evening, [*Tuesday, May* 31,] at which thirty-five members were present, that Sub-Committee reported a Draft of a Circular Letter, for the purpose named, which was duly approved by the Committee. Mr. Lewis was ordered to cause three hundred copies of that Circular Letter to be printed; and it was also ordered that those printed copies of the letter should be transmitted, with all convenient speed, to the Treasurers of the several Counties, with a "line" to each Treasurer, signed by the Chairman of the Committee, requesting his care in the proper transmission of the several letters to the persons to whom they should be respectively addressed; and that intimation should be given, through the various Newspapers, that such Circular Letters had been duly sent.[2]

Of those Circular Letters, inviting a correspondence with the Committee, in New York, it is recorded that thirty copies were sent to the Treasurer of Westchester-county, with a note from the Chairman of the Committee, requesting him "to direct and forward "them to the Supervisors of the several Districts," [3] the first attempt, which was made, by any one, to draw the farmers of that County into the unrest of discontent and disaffection; but we have failed to find, in any portion of the *Minutes of the Committee*, the slightest evidence that any one, within that County, paid the slightest attention to the Committee's insidious invitation, or that, at that time, any one to the northward of Kingsbridge, either within or without the limits of that County, seemed to possess the slightest interest in the Committee, or in the general purposes for which it had been appointed, or in those ill-concealed purposes for which it had covertly solicited the co-operation of the leaders, where there were any, throughout the Colony—certainly a very emphatic testimony to the accuracy of what has been stated, concerning the conservatism of the farmers in Westchester-county, as lately as in the Spring and early Summer of 1774.[4]

While the Committee of Correspondence, in New York, was thus engaged in an effort to extend its influence and its authority beyond the limits of its original jurisdiction, the Committee of Correspondence and the leaders of the revolutionary populace, in Boston, received and considered its letter responding to the Vote of that Town and to the letters which had accompanied it, to New York; and, as might have been reasonably expected, where the difference, on such a subject, was as radical in its character and as wide in its extent as it was in that instance, there appeared to be very little prospect of an agreement, or even of a compromise. Indeed, the Massachusettsmen did not appear to pay the slightest attention to the proposition which those of New York had made, to call a Congress of Deputies from all the Colonies, for the consideration of all the grievances, real or imaginary, of which all the Colonies were, then, respectively complaining, preferring, instead, and firmly insisting on, their own proposition to remove the particular case of Boston's recognized contumacy and its consequences from all other matters of disagreement with the Home Government, and to enforce a relief of that Town from the penalty inflicted on it, because of its recognized lawlessness, by establishing a Non-Importation and Non-Exportation Association, throughout the entire Continent, for that especial purpose, and for no other purpose whatever. That renewed preference of the Committee of Boston was conveyed to the Committee of New York, in a letter, dated on the thirtieth of May, which, in its terms, was not creditable to the professions of those who wrote it, for either candor, or honor, or genuine patri-

circumvent and secure the control of the entire Colony, under a mask of "patriotism," as it had already circumvented and secured the control, in political affairs, of the County of New York.

[1] *Minutes of the Committee*, "NEW-YORK, May 30, 1774;" *Lieutenant-governor Colden to Governor Tryon*, "NEW YORK, June 2, 1774."

[2] *Minutes of the Committee*, Special Meeting, "NEW-YORK, May 31, "1774;" *Lieutenant-governor Colden to Governor Tryon*, "NEW-YORK, "June 2, 1774."

[3] Memorandum, appended to the *Minutes of the Committee*, "NEW-"YORK, May 31, 1774."

[4] It appears that a similar temper prevailed in all the Counties of the Colony, except New York and Suffolk.

In a despatch from Lieutenant-governor Colden to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated "NEW YORK, 6th July 1774," it is stated, "The present "political zeal and Frenzy is almost entirely confined to the City of New "York. The People in the Counties are noways disposed to become ac-"tive or bear any part in what is proposed by the citizens. I am told "all the Counties but one have declined an Invitation sent them from "New York to appoint Committees of Correspondence. This Province "is everywhere, except in the City of New York, perfectly quiet and in "good order; and in New York a much greater freedom of Speech pre-"vails than has done heretofore."

In a letter written to Governor Tryon, dated "SPRING HILL, 6th July. "1774," the same careful observer said, further, "Except in the city of "New York, the People in the Province are quite Tranquile, and have "declin'd takeing any Part with the Citizens. An Opinion is spread very "generally in the Country that if a non-importation agreement is "form'd, Government will restrain our Exportation; a Measure which "the Farmers clearly see will be ruinous to them."

In a Despatch written to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated "NEW YORK, "2nd August, 1774," the venerable Lieutenant-governor stated, "Great "Pains has been taken in the several Counties of this Province to induce "the People to enter into Resolves, and to send Committees to join the "Committee in the city; but they have only prevailed in Suffolk County, "in the East End of Long Island which was settled from Connecticut, "and the Inhabitants still retain a great similarity of Manners and "Sentiments."

otism;[1] and, in a letter dated on the seventh of June, the latter replied, disclaiming the slightest approval of the proposed "suspension of Trade," to which, very singularly and without the slightest reason, the Boston Committee had attempted to commit it; and saying, concerning that proposition. "We apprehend you have "made a mistake, for on revising our letter to you, so "far from finding a word mentioned of a 'Suspension "'of Trade,' the idea is not even conceived. That, and "every other Resolution, we have thought it most pru- "dent to leave for the discussion of the proposed gene- "ral Congress."[2] It continued, in these very emphatic words: "Adhering, therefore, to *that* measure, as "most conducive to promote the grand system of "politics we all have in view, we have the pleasure "to acquaint you, that we shall be ready, on our part, "to meet, at any time and place that you shall think "fit to appoint, either of Deputies from the General "Assemblies or such other Deputies as shall be "chosen, not only to speak the Sentiments, but also to "pledge themselves for the Conduct of the People of "the respective Colonies they represent. We can "undertake to assure you, in behalf of the People of "this Colony, that they will readily agree to any "measure that shall be adopted by the general Con- "gress. It will be necessary that you give a sufficient "time for the Deputies of the Colonies, as far south- "ward as the Carolinas, to assemble, and acquaint "them, as soon as possible, with the proposed "measure of a Congress. Your letters to the south- "ward of us, we will forward, with great pleasure."[3]

Those of the revolutionary leaders, in Boston, who had assumed the role of a Committee of Correspondence, in that Town, could not long conceal from the world the reckless falsity of what they had written to the Committee in New York, when they stated to the latter that, "certainly all that can be depended upon "to yield any effectual relief" to the Town of Boston, "is, on all hands, acknowledged to be the Suspension "of Trade." The letters which were received by the Committee of that Town, in answer to the Circular Letters, which had been sent to the seaport Towns of Massachusetts[4] and to the Committees of Correspondence in the several Colonies,[5] since the reception of the Boston Port-Bill, were not, as is now well known, really as unanimous, in favor of a "Suspension of "Trade," as the Committee had unblushingly pretended—indeed, with a few unimportant exceptions, the proposal to make Boston the only subject of consideration, throughout the Continent, and to suspend all the internal industries and, with the exception of Smuggling, all the Commerce of all the Colonies, only for the special benefit of that one Town, regardless of the more direct and substantial grievances which were sustained by other Towns and other Colonies, and regardless, also, of the very serious consequences, throughout the entire Continent and elsewhere, of such a general and indiscriminate "Suspension of "Trade" as had been proposed, and that, too, at the expense of a Congress of the Continent, which the Committee in New York had proposed and insisted on, in which all the grievances of all the Towns and Colonies could be considered, and remedies therefor be duly provided, had met with no favor whatever; and the audacious leaders of the revolutionary populace, in Boston, as well as the Town itself, were not slow in receding, with more agility than candor, from that high and untenable position which they had occupied, in the proceedings of the Caucus held at Faneuil-Hall, on the twelfth of May, in the proceedings of the Town of Boston, at the same place, on the fol-

[1] The contents of that letter and the spirit of those who wrote it can be ascertained from the extracts from it which were copied into the letter, and evidently referred to in the action of those who wrote it, when, on the seventh of June, the Committee of New York replied to that second letter from Boston.

[2] The Resolution of the Committee in New York, on which that reply was based, is in these words: "ORDERED, That the Committee of Boston "be requested to give this Committee the Names of the Persons who "constitute the Committee of Correspondence at Boston; that they have "made a mistake in answering this Committee's letter, which mentioned "not a word of a Suspension of Trade, which they say we have so "wisely defined, as we leave that measure entirely to the Congress, and "we shall readily agree to any measure they shall adopt."

It is very evident that the suspicions of the Committee of New York were aroused by the evident trickery of the Committee of Boston, presented in its reply to the letter of the former, dated the twenty-third of May; and that, for that reason, it desired to learn the names of those with whom it was corresponding—their characters and standing could, then, be ascertained through other means.

[3] Copy of the letter, appended to the *Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence of New York*, "NEW-YORK, June 6, 1774."

[4] The Committees who had been sent to Salem and Marblehead, "to communicate the Sentiments of this Metropolis to the Gentlemen, "there; to consult with them; and to report at the adjournment," (*Minutes of the Town-Meeting, of Boston, May* 13, 1774,) did, indeed, go to those Towns, and report the results of their visits, to the Town, at its Adjourned Meeting, five days subsequently; but those results were so discouraging to the violently disposed leaders of Boston—including Samuel Adams, Joseph Warren, and their associates—that they contented themselves with ostentatiously "recommending to their fellow-citizens, "Patience, Fortitude, and a firm Trust in God," without making record of the formal Reports of the Committees, if any such formal Reports were really made, (*Minutes of the Adjourned Meeting of the Town, May* 18, 1774,) and with adjourning, a second time, until the thirty-first, "by which "time it is expected we shall have encouraging News from some of the "sister Colonies," to recompense them for the disappointment they had experienced from the results of their conferences with the Merchants of Newburyport and Salem.

The substance of the Reports from the Committees sent to the seaport Towns of the Province, all mention of which was thus suppressed by the Town-Clerk, was saved to the world, however, in a *Despatch from Governor Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated* "BOSTON: May 19, 1774," and laid before the Parliament, on the nineteenth of January, 1775, in which it was said the Town-Meeting "appointed Persons to go to Marblehead "and Salem, to communicate their Sentiments to the People there, and "bring them into like Measures; which Persons were to make their "Report at the Adjournment, on the 18th, when the Meeting was again "held, and, I am told, received little encouragement from Salem and "Marblehead, and transacted nothing of consequence."—(*Parliamentary Register, i.*, 36.)

[5] The first responses from other Colonies which the Committee received were those, carried by Paul Revere, from Philadelphia and New York, which were anything else than "encouraging" to such as composed that Committee; and there can be very little doubt, in the light of what was done, very soon afterwards, in Connecticut and Rhode Island, that Revere carried back, from Hartford and Providence, tokens of what might be expected from those Colonies, also, in opposition to the remarkable propositions of the Caucus of Town-Committees, in Faneuil-Hall, and of the Town of Boston, on the following day.

lowing day, and in the letters from the Committee of Correspondence, covering the proceedings of the Town, which were sent to the Committee in New York, on the following Saturday, as has been, herein, already stated.

The world of historical literature has been favored, in this connection, by one of the most painstaking and accurate of Massachusetts' historians, with a revelation of the trickery and double-dealing of at least one of those who, in the matter now under consideration, have been justly regarded as the leaders of the political elements, within that Colony, which were antagonistic to the Colonial and the Home Governments.

Samuel Adams was the Chairman and master-spirit of the Committee of Correspondence in Boston: he was the Chairman of the Caucus of the nine Town-Committees, assembled in Faneuil-Hall, which had confirmed the line of action, concerning the Boston Port-Bill, which he and the men of Boston, had already contrived: he was the Moderator of the Town-Meeting, at Faneuil-Hall, continued through three days, in which that line of action was adopted and pursued and insisted on: and he inspired, if he did not personally write, those letters, describing and insisting on that line of action, which were sent from Boston, to the Committee in New York, in the saddle-bag of Paul Revere, of which mention has been made herein—all of them, Committees, Caucuses, Town-Meetings, and Letters, being radically in favor of the Boston plan of a "Suspension of Trade," especially for Boston's benefit, and quite as radically resisting the proposal to call "a general Congress," for general purposes. He was the Chairman and master-spirit of that local Committee of the Town which, on the thirtieth of May, addressed that letter to the Committee of Correspondence in New York, adhering to the plan of a Non-Importation Association which Boston had previously proposed, instead of the convention of a federal Congress which New York had previously proposed; and attempting, by indirect means, to commit the Committee in New York to the support of the Boston plan of Non-Importation, at the expense of its own plan of calling a federal Congress, of which letter and insidious attempt to commit the New York Committee to the Boston scheme, mention has been made. Besides all these, he was the Chairman and the master spirit of that Committee, in Boston, which, as lately as the eighth of June, sent Circular Letters from that Town to every Town in the Commonwealth, in which it was stated that "there is "but one way that we can conceive of, to prevent "what is to be deprecated by all good men, and ought, "by all possible means, to be prevented, viz: The "horrours that must follow an open rupture between "Great Britain and her Colonies, or, on our part, a "subjugation to absolute Slavery; and that is by af-"fecting the Trade and Interest of Great Britain so "deeply as shall induce her to withdraw her oppres-"sive hand"[1]—which the Committee proposed to do by means of an *Association* providing "that, hence-"forth, we will suspend all commercial intercourse "with the said Island of Great Britain, until the said "Act for blocking up the said Harbour" [*of Boston*] "be repealed, and a full restoration of our Charter "Rights be obtained."[2] But we are told by that generally trustworthy historian,[3] that that same Samuel Adams, who was thus inspiring and leading and controlling the men of Boston, in their earnest opposition to a general Congress for a general consideration of the grievances of all who were aggrieved, and whose convictions were supposed to have been in harmony with his pretensions before the world, was really in favor of such a Congress and, consequently, really opposed to the principles which were presented and urged by the Committees, by the Caucus, and by the Town-Meeting, all of whom he had controlled, in the Resolutions, the Letters, and the *Address* and *Association* of which mention has been made, all of which he is known to have inspired and some of which he wrote; that, as early as the twenty-sixth of May, he "was about to introduce Resolves for such a Congress," into the House of Representatives, of which he was the Clerk; and that he was prevented from doing so, only by the prorogation of the House, by the Governor.

If this statement is well-founded, and the name of its author affords a reasonable guaranty that it is so, the world of historical literature will be taught by it, how much the personal character of Samuel Adams has been unduly eulogized; and every careful reader will also be taught by that new revelation, how much the Clerk of the House of Representatives, in Colonial Massachusetts, while he was only an employé of the House, presumed to dictate, in matters of legislation, during that critical period; with how much of insincerity the leader of the excited people, in that Colony, acted, in all that he said and did, before that people and in their behalf; and, in connection with the recognized "art" and duplicity with which the leaders in New York were, also, then conducting, or endeavoring to conduct, the political affairs of the Continent, how little of real personal integrity, of unqualified unselfishness, and of unalloyed patriotism, really controlled or even existed among those, in Massachusetts and New York, who, sensibly or insensibly, were, at that time, conducting the Continent in open insurrection, toward a successful rebellion.

The letters of disapproval and discouragement,

[1] *Address sent by the Boston Committee to every Town in the Province*, dated "BOSTON, June 8, 1774," re-printed in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, i., 397.

[2] *Form of a Covenant, sent to every Town in Massachusetts, by the Committee in Boston*, with the above-mentioned *Address*, Section 1st.

[3] Richard Frothingham of Charlestown, in his *Rise of the Republic of the United States*, Boston: 1872, 323, whose words are as follows:

"The Massachusetts Assembly convened on the twenty-fifth of May. "Samuel Adams was about to introduce Resolves for a Congress when "the Assembly (26th) was adjourned by the Governor to meet in Salem "on the seventh of June."

against the line of action proposed and solicited by the Town of Boston, in its formal Vote, on the thirteenth of May, of which Samuel Adams was the originator and by whom, as the Moderator of the Town-Meeting, its passage had been secured, continued to flow into that Town, from all directions,[1] carrying with them an influence, with that shrewd politician, which was more potential than all the enactments of the Parliament and all the power of the Home and the Colonial Governments had produced; and he was not slow in accepting the alternative which those letters and the evident danger of a more complete isolation of the Town of Boston than he had supposed to have been possible, had sternly thrust upon him. Accordingly, on the seventeenth of June, the House of Representatives, assembled at Salem, more or less under the guidance of its Clerk, adopted a Resolution declaring that "a Meeting of "Committees from the several Colonies on this Con- "tinent is highly expedient and necessary, to con- "sult upon the present State of the Colonies and "the Miseries to which they are and must be reduced "by the operation of certain Acts of Parliament re- "specting America; and to deliberate and determine "upon wise and proper Measures to be by them "recommended to all the Colonies, for the recovery "and establishment of their just Rights and Liber- "ties, civil and religious, and the restoration "of Union and Harmony between Great Britain "and the Colonies, most ardently desired by all "good Men." At the same time, five persons, of whom Samuel Adams was one, "were ap- "pointed a Committee, on the part of this Province, "for the Purposes aforesaid, any three of whom to be "a Quorum, to meet such Committees or Delegates "from the other Colonies as have been or may be ap- "pointed either by their respective Houses of Bur- "gesses or Representatives, or by Conventions, or by "the Committees of Correspondence appointed by "the respective Houses of Assembly, to meet in the "City of Philadelphia, or any other Place that shall "be judged most suitable by the Committee, on the "first Day of September next; and that the Speaker "of the House be directed, in a Letter to the Speakers "of the Houses of Burgesses or Representatives in "the several Colonies, to inform them of the sub- "stance of these Resolves."[2]

At the same time that the House of Representatives, at Salem, was thus adding the weight of its official judgment against the line of action proposed and solicited by the Town of Boston and in support of that proposed and insisted on by the Committee in New York, the former, also, in a duly assembled Town-Meeting, John Adams occupying the Chair, in seeming forgetfulness of its Vote, on the thirteenth of the preceding month, willingly or unwillingly, formally wheeled into the line of the general opposition to the Home Government, under the guidance of that foreign Committee; and, without making the slightest allusion to her ill-conceived and injudicious action, in her adoption of that Vote, the Town "en- "joined" the Committee of Correspondence, "forth- "with, to write to all the other Colonies, acquainting "them that we are waiting with anxious expectation "for the Result of a Continental Congress, whose "Meeting we impatiently desire, in whose Wisdom "and Firmness we can confide, and in whose Deter- "mination we shall cheerfully acquiesce"[3]—a change of policy which was, in the highest degree, remarkable, and which would be entirely unaccountable were the capabilities of Massachusetts-men, of every period, for making remarkable changes of policy and of action, whenever their material interests have seemed to call for such changes, less known to the great world in which we live.

The Committee of Correspondence in New York having, meanwhile, received assurances of their approval of its proposition to invite a meeting of Deputies from the several Colonies, in a Continental Congress, from the Committee of Correspondence of Connecticut[4] and, from that in Philadelphia[5]—with the knowledge, also, that the "Standing Committee of "Correspondence," which the General Assembly of the Colony of New York had appointed, on the twentieth of January, 1774, had also approved and concurred in that proposition,[6] and, undoubtedly, although informally,[7] with information of the action of the Town of Boston and of that of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, on the same subject,—on the twenty-seventh of June, it entertained and "debated"

[1] *Despatch from Governor Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "BOSTON, 31*st* "*May*, 1774," laid before Parliament, on the nineteenth of January, 1775 —(*Parliamentary Register*, i., 30).

[2] *Journal of the House of Representatives*, June 17, 1774.

[3] *Proceedings of the Adjourned Town-Meeting*, June 17, 1774, reprinted in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, i., 423.

[4] *The Committee of Correspondence for Connecticut to the Committee in New York*, "HARTFORD, June 4, 1774," enclosing a letter, to the same effect, which had been sent by the Committee in Hartford to the Committee in Boston, on the preceding day.

[5] *Proceedings of a Meeting of the Freeholders and Freemen of the City and County of Philadelphia, Saturday, June* 18, 1774, enclosed in a letter from the Committee of Correspondence in Philadelphia to the Committee in New York, "PHILADELPHIA, 21st June, 1774."

[6] That Committee of the Assembly was composed of John Cruger Frederick Philipse, Isaac Wilkins, Benjamin Seaman, James Jauncey James De Lancey, Jacob Walton, Simeon Boerum, John De Noyelles, George Clinton, Daniel Kissam, Zebulon Williams, and John Rapalje, the names of ten of whom, including that of Frederick Philipse of Westchester-county, are appended to a letter, addressed to the Committee of Correspondence of Connecticut, dated "NEW YORK, June 24, 1774," in which it "agrees with you, that, at this alarming juncture, a general "Congress of Deputies from the several Colonies would be a very expe- "dient and salutary measure," regretting, however, that it was "not "sufficiently empowered to take any steps in relation to so salutary a "measure."

[7] *The Minutes of the Committee* in New York, notwithstanding the carefully made record of the letters which were received by it, make no mention whatever of its receipt of letters from either the Town of Boston or the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, on any subject, after its receipt of that, from the former, dated the thirtieth of May; and it may, therefore, be reasonably supposed that whatever knowledge the Committee then possessed, concerning the political some sault of the Massachusetts-men, was unofficial and interested.

a Resolution, offered by Alexander McDougal, concerning "which was the most eligible mode of ap-"pointing Deputies to attend the ensuing General "Congress."[1]

In submitting that Resolution, which had not received the imprimatur of those who represented the majority of the Committee, and, for that reason, was not received with any favor by that majority, it is evident that Alexander McDougal acted in behalf of the minority of that body—of those of its members who had been selected from the revolutionary faction of the Tradesmen, Mechanics, and Workingmen of the City—and it is evident, also, that the purpose of that minority was to secure to "the Committee of Mechanics," which, notwithstanding its formal acquiescence in the appointment of the Committee of Correspondence, continued to assume authority to represent the unfranchised portion of the people, in all which related to their political action, a right to concur in or to reject any nomination of Delegates to the proposed Congress, which the Committee of Correspondence should determine to make. The struggle between the two factions, within the Committee, was continued to an Adjourned Meeting of that body, on the evening of the twenty-ninth of June, when Alexander McDougal moved "that this Committee proceed, im-"mediately, to nominate five Deputies for the City "and County of New York, to represent them in a "Convention of this Colony,[2] or in the general Con-"gress, to be held at Philadelphia, on the first of "September next, if the other Counties of this Col-"ony approve of them as Deputies for the Colony; "and that their names be sent to the Committee of "Mechanics, for their concurrence; to be proposed on "Tuesday next, to the Freeholders and Freemen of "this City and County, for their approbation." Without having reached a vote on that Resolution, however, the Committee adjourned to the following Monday evening, the fourth of July;[3] at which time, after another severe struggle, the Resolution was rejected, by a formal vote of thirteen in support of it and twenty-four in opposition thereto. Immediately afterwards, without a division, on the motion of Theophilact Bache, seconded by John De Lancey, the Committee resolved "to nominate five persons, to "meet in a general Congress, at the time and place "which shall be agreed on by the other Colonies; and "that the Freeholders and Freemen of the City and "County of New York be summoned to appear at a "convenient place, to approve or disapprove of such "persons, for this salutary purpose; also, that this "Committee write Circular Letters to the Super-"visors of the several Counties, informing them what "we have done, and to request of them to send such "Delegates as they may choose, to represent them in "Congress"—a Resolution which was so general in its terms, that, in a body which was composed, exclusively, of those who, politically, were in opposition to the Home Government, there was no room for opposition to it, notwithstanding its silence concerning the Committee of Mechanics and the claim which had been made in its behalf;[4] but it was, also, one which laid the foundation for further and very important action, in which the bitterness of feeling, concerning the distribution of the proposed offices, which continued to exist between the rival factions of the con-

[1] *Minutes of the Committee*, "New-York, June 27, 1774."

It has been said, (de Lancey's *Notes* to Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 449,) that "the Committee met to con-"sider" that Resolution; but that would indicate that the Resolution was submitted to the previous Meeting, which is contradicted by the *Minutes*. It is clear, as we understand the record, that Alexander McDougal offered it, for consideration, only at the Meeting on the twenty-seventh of June.

[2] This portion of the Resolution evidently looked for the establishment of a Provincial Congress or Convention, in which should be vested supreme and arbitrary power, without limitation, over the persons and properties and actions and thoughts and convictions of every one within the Colony; overthrowing all Government; cancelling all Rights of Persons and Properties; and establishing, in their stead, an active scourging Despotism. Such an one was, soon afterwards, established; but, just at the time under consideration, the master spirits of the majority of the Committee had not secured the places to which they were aspiring; and, for that reason, they were not, then, ready to concur in that revolutionary, ultra revolutionary, measure.

[3] *Minutes of the Adjourned Meeting of the Committee*, "New-York, June "29, 1774."

[4] It is proper to remind the reader, in this place, of two well-known facts, each of which had an important bearing on the political events of the period now under consideration.

The first of these facts is, the "friends of the Government" took no part whatever, in the formation of the Committee of Correspondence nor in its doings. That body was denounced by the Colonial Government, from the beginning, as "illegal"—"it is allowed by the Intelli-"gent among them, that these assemblies of the People without au-"thority of Government are illegal and may be dangerous," (*Lieutenant-governor Colden to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "New York 1st June 1774.") "These transactions" [*the nomination of Deputies to the Congress and the proposed ratification of the ticket by the body of the people*] "are dangerous, "my Lord, and illegal, but by what means shall Government prevent "them? An attempt by the power of the Civil Magistrate would only "show their weakness, and it is not easy to say upon what foundation a "military aid should be called in. Such a Measure would involve us in "Troubles which it is thought much more prudent to avoid; and to shun "all Extreams while it is yet possible Things may take a favourable "turn."—(*The same to the same*, "New York, 6th July, 1774.")

The party of the Government—subsequently called "Tories"—included only the members of the Colonial Government, in its various departments, and its dependents; it was, unwillingly, only a passive spectator of what, then, took place, in the political doings of that period; and it was wholly powerless to suppress the rising spirit of Revolution, which it would have gladly done. The party of the Opposition to the Government—subsequently called "Whigs"—included the great body of the inhabitants, aristocratic as well as democratic, the patricians as well as the plebeians. It was cut up into factions, based on social and financial standings; but, in its opposition to the Government, it was united and determined.

The second of the facts referred to is, at the time under consideration and during the succeeding half century, as we have already stated (*vide pages* 4, 5, *ante*,) those who were not Freeholders or Freemen of a Municipality, were not vested with the right of suffrage, in any of the Colonies; and it need not be a matter of surprise that, at that early day, the great body of the Freeholders and Freemen, in New York, was not inclined to permit any interference, in political affairs, by those who were not, legally, entitled to take part in them. Indeed, the rule of universal suffrage is not, to-day, generally recognized; and one State, in New England, if no more, continues to make a division of her citizens, at the Polls.

federated party of the Opposition, notwithstanding their apparent harmony on other questions, was promptly and very energetically displayed.

The Resolution offered by Theophilact Bache had no sooner been declared to have been carried, than Isaac Sears, seconded by Peter Van Brugh Livingston, representing the minority of the Committee, offered another Resolution, providing "that Messrs. "Isaac Low, James Duane, Philip Livingston, John "Morin Scott, and Alexander McDougal be nomi- "nated, agreeable to the question now carried;" but it was not the intention of the aristocratic, conservative majority of the Committee that the plebeian, revolutionary minority of that body should have the slightest representation in the proposed Delegation; and, notwithstanding its seeming fairness, the Resolution was promptly rejected, by a vote of twelve to twenty-five. The subject was subsequently disposed of, as it then appeared, by a Resolution, offered by John De Lancey and seconded by Benjamin Booth, providing for the nomination of the Delegates by the body of the Committee, of which the conservative aristocrats held the entire control, which resulted in the nomination of Philip Livingston, John Alsop, Isaac Low, James Duane, and John Jay, of whom John Alsop and John Jay, who had been substituted for the two candidates of the minority, John Morin Scott and Alexander McDougal, by reason of their known peculiarly conservative tendencies, were especially obnoxious to that revolutionary minority, as well as to the revolutionary portion of the unfranchised masses whom that minority indirectly represented. Another Resolution, requesting "the Inhab- "itants of this City and County to meet at the City- "Hall on Thursday, the seventh of July, at twelve "o'clock, to concur in the Nomination of the fore- "going five Persons, or to choose such others in their "stead as in their wisdom shall seem meet," was then adopted; and, the majority, probably, being well-contented with its apparent success, the Committee then adjourned.[1]

The minority of the Committee and those with whom it sympathized and acted, in political affairs—the "Bellwethers" and the "Sheep" of Gouverneur Morris's metaphor—were not inclined, however, to submit, tamely, to the arbitrary dictation of their "Shepherds," composing the majority of that body; and they promptly determined to carry the contest into a new field, and with heavy reinforcements. For that purpose, anonymous handbills were posted throughout the City,[2] on the day after the Committee's Meeting, calling a Meeting of "the good People "of this Metropolis,"[1] to be held in the Fields,[3] on the following day, [*Wednesday, July* 6] at six o'clock, "when Matters of the utmost Importance to their "Reputation and Security, as Freemen, will be com- "municated." At the appointed hour, it is said, "a "numerous meeting" was collected, with Alexander McDougal in the Chair, forming what continues to be known, in history, as "the great Meeting in the "Fields," at which several Speeches were made,[4] and nine Resolutions adopted, expressing the popular will.

One of the Resolutions adopted by that notable assemblage of the inhabitants of the City of New York, was almost identical, in words and sentiments, with that voted by the Town of Boston, on the thirteenth of May, of which mention has been made herein; another "instructed, empowered, and directed" the Deputies from New York, in the proposed Congress, "to engage with a majority of the principal "Colonies, to agree, for this City, upon a non-impor- "tation, from Great Britain, of all Goods, Wares, and "Merchandises, until the Act for blocking up the "Harbour of Boston be repealed, and American "Grievances be redressed; and, also, to agree to all "such other measures as the Congress shall, in their "Wisdom, judge advancive of these great Objects, "and a general Security of the Rights and Privileges "of America;" and another pledged the Meeting to abide by all that the proposed Congress should "come into, and direct or recommend to be done, "for obtaining and securing the important ends men- "tioned in the foregoing Resolutions." It also resolved "that it is the opinion of this Meeting that "it would be proper for every County in the Colony, "without delay, to send two Deputies, chosen by the "People or from the Committees chosen by them, in "each County, to hold, in conjunction with Deputies "for this City and County, a Convention for the "Colony, on a day to be appointed, in order to elect "a proper Number of Deputies to represent the Col-

[1] *Minutes of the Committee*, Adjourned Meeting. "New York, July 4, "1774."

See, also, *Lieutenant-governor Colden to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "New "York, July 6, 1774;" *the same to Governor Tryon*, "Spring Hill 6th "July, 1774."

[2] One of those handbills has been preserved and may be seen, among other broadsides of that period, in the Library of the New York Historical Society.

[3] What were then called, sometimes, "The Fields," and, at other times, "The Common," on which has occurred so much of public interest, in later as well as in earlier days, have been called, during more than half a century past, "The Park;" and by that name it is still known, notwithstanding the greater attractions which, for some years past, have been presented to merely pleasure seekers, in the new pleasure-grounds known as "The Central Park."

[4] Among the speakers at that Meeting, it has been usual, for some years past, to give a prominent place to Alexander Hamilton, then a mere lad, who had been thrown into this City, a few years previously, by those, in the West Indies, who, for domestic if not for social reasons, had desired his removal from the place of his nativity. As there is no contemporary authority for such a favor to the previously questionable reputation of that "young West Indian," however, and because the only modern authority for the statement is the young man's son, John C. Hamilton, (*Life of Alexander Hamilton*, by his son, New York: 1840, i. 22, 23,) in whose unsupported testimony, in historical subjects, we have no confidence whatever, we prefer to leave that portion of the history of "the "great Meeting," if it is truly such a portion of it, where those who were present and who recorded the doings of the great assemblage then left it, entirely untold.

"ony in the general Congress. But that, if the "Counties shall conceive this mode impracticable or "inexpedient, they be requested to give their appro- "bation to the Deputies who shall be chosen for this "City and County, to represent the Colony in Con- "gress;" and it "instructed" "the City Committee of "Correspondence" "to use their utmost Endeavours "to carry these Resolutions into execution." After ordering the Resolutions to be printed in the public Newspapers of the City, and to be transmitted to the different Counties in the Colony and to the Committees of Correspondence for the neighboring Colonies, the Meeting then adjourned;[1] but its great influence was continued to be felt, long after the circumstances which had caused it to be assembled had passed from the memories of those who were present and who participated in its doings.

Inspired by the strength and the spirit of the Meeting in the Fields, and led in their opposition to the majority of the Committee, by all the old-time experienced popular leaders, the "Inhabitants of the City "and County," of every class, met, agreeably to the published request of the Committee of Correspondence, at the City Hall, at noon, on the day after those Inhabitants had assembled in the Fields; but they did not confirm the Committee's Nominations, for Deputies to the proposed Congress; and the utmost bad feeling, between the aristocratic majority of the Committee and the great body of the plebeian Tradesmen, Artisans, and Workingmèn, whom it had betrayed, prevailed throughout the city.[2]

It is not within the purposes of this work, however, to present a narrative of the various movements and counter-movements of the rival factions of the confederated party of the Opposition, again disunited, in their determined struggle for supremacy—nominally, for the establishment of their respective principles, in opposition to or in support of a general "Suspen- "sion of Trade," but, really, for places on the ticket for Delegates to the proposed Congress of the Continent—which was continued, without ceasing, from the seventh until the twenty-seventh of July;[3] and which was terminated, on the last-mentioned day, only after Philip Livingston, Isaac Low, John Alsop, and John Jay, four of the nominees of the aristocratic and conservative Committee of Correspondence, had inconsistently and venally declared, in direct contradiction of the constantly declared policy of that Committee, previously concurred in by themselves, that "a general Non-Importation Agreement, faith- "fully observed, would prove the most efficacious "Measure to procure a Redress of our Grievances,"[4] which had been the peculiarly distinguishing feature in the declared policy of the revolutionary faction, in the City of New York, as well as in that of the similar faction, in Boston; and after those four of the nominees of the Committee had thus practically abandoned their aristocratic and anti-revolutionary associates; withdrawn from the Committee which they had largely assisted in organizing and by whom they had been nominated; and united with those whom they personally despised and by whom they were quite as earnestly distrusted and despised—when, after the fashion of such corrupt political alliances, then and since—the way was prepared for a peaceful Election of the nominees of the Committee,[5] four of whom no longer represented the declared policy of the Committee; and one, if not more of the number was more of a Spy, in the service of the Colonial Government, than anything else.

It will be seen that James Duane did not disgrace himself or his name by placing the latter, with those of his four aristocratic associates on the ticket for Delegates to the proposed Congress, on the letter through which those four bartered the little of political and personal integrity and the modicum of unselfish principles which they respectively possessed, for a small mess of very thin official pottage; and, in that instance, his backwardness was honorable and timely, since there is every reason for the belief that, at that time, he was not master of himself; that he had, already, been purchased by another; and that, then, he was, in fact, only the servant of his master.

History has revealed[6] what, otherwise, would have remained, concealed, in the files of the *Colonial Land Papers*, in the Secretary's Office, in Albany,[7] concern-

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[1] *Proceedings of the Meeting*, appended to the *Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence*, "New York, July 7, 1774."

See, also, Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1644, New-York, Thursday, July 7, 1774; Gaine's *New-York Gazette and Mercury*, No. 1185, New-York, Monday, July 11, 1774; *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 65, New-York, Thursday, July 14, 1774; *Lieutenant-governor Colden to Governor Tryon*, "Spring Hill, 2nd August, 1774;" Hamilton's *Life of Alexander Hamilton*, i., 21–23; Dawson's *Park and its Vicinity*, 34–37; Dunlap's *History of New-York*, i., 453; Bancroft's *History of the United States*, original edition, vii., 79, 80; *the same*, centenary edition, iv., 355, 356; de Lancey's *Notes* to Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 451.

[2] *Minutes of the Committee*. July 7, 13, 19, 25, and 27, 1774; Dunlap's *History of New York*, i., 453; Hildreth's *History of the United States*, First Series, iii., 39; Bancroft's *History of the United States*, original edition, vii., 80, 81; *the same*, centenary edition, iv., 356, 357; Leake's *Memoir of General Lamb*, 93; de Lancey's *Notes* on Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 451–466.

[3] Decidedly the most complete narrative of that notable factional struggle may be seen in de Lancey's *Note xiv.* on Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, (i., 449–467,) which has been prepared with great labor, and which contains carefully-made copies of many of the original handbills and placards which were, then, scattered throughout the city.

[4] *Philip Livingston, John Alsop, Isaac Low, and John Jay to Abraham Brasher, Theophilus Anthony, Francis Van Dyck, Jeremiah Platt, and Christopher Duyckinck*, "New York, July 26, 1774."

[5] *Proceedings of "a Meeting of a number of Citizens convened at the "House of Mr. Marriner,"* at which the nominations by the Committee of Correspondence were acquiesced in, by those who assumed to represent the unfranchised inhabitants of the City, "New York, 27 July, "1774."

[6] "Duane, justly eminent as a lawyer, was embarrassed by large spec- "ulations in Vermont lands, from which he could derive no profit, but "through the power of the Crown."—(Bancroft's *History of the United States*, original edition, vii., 79; *the same*, centenary edition, iv., 355.)

[7] *New York Colonial Manuscripts indorsed* "Land Papers," *in the office of the Secretary of State, at Albany*, xviii., 100; xix., 68; xx., 168, 169;

ing his speculations in the Crown lands, in New York and Vermont, to secure entire success in which the countenance of the Colonial Government was needed and had been secured; and the intimacy of his personal relations with the head of that Government, the venerable Cadwallader Colden,[1] and the remarkable similiarity of his views concerning the leading political questions of the day, among which the demand for a suspension of the trade of the Colonies with the Mother Country was one of the most prominent, and those, on the same questions, which were maintained by that unusually zealous servant of the King, are also well known to every careful reader of that portion of the political history of the Colony. Indeed, in the latter connection, it is known that, subsequently to his election as a Delegate to the Congress, and before he left New York, to take his seat in that body, as the trusted Envoy of all the inhabitants of that City, nominally charged with the great and honorable duty of seeking, in their behalf, a redress of the political grievances which had been imposed upon them by the Home Government, he visited and confidentially compared notes, on political subjects, with, if he did not also communicate information to, the official representative of that Government, in New York;[2] and, with that fact established, even in the absence of direct and positive testimony thereon, it would not be unreasonable to suppose or to say that specific lines of action, in the interest of the Crown, which were subsequently followed, within that Congress, individually and in concert with other Delegates, were, also, considered, and canvassed, and determined on, during that interview. In harmony, also, with that evident connection of James Duane with the Colonial Government,—in support, also, of the suspicion that particular lines of action, in the interest of the Crown, to be taken in the Congress, were considered and determined on, in advance of the meeting of the Congress, by that particular Delegate and the venerable Lieutenant-governor of the Colony—reference need be made only to that other patent fact, that the Congress had no sooner closed its sessions, at Philadelphia, than he hastened to his master, in New York, and reported to that anxious listener, for the use of the Ministry, in England, not only the doings of particular Delegations, in the Congress, and those of the Congress itself, but his own general dissent from the proceedings, his request that that dissent should be entered on the Journal, and the absolute refusal of permission to have that privilege given to him, all of which were thus communicated in open violation of his promise "to keep the Proceedings secret, until "the Majority shall direct them to be made Publick."[3] Indeed, he and Joseph Galloway, of Philadelphia, the latter of whom, also, had been a Delegate in the Congress, visited Lieutenant-governor Colden, soon after the adjournment of that body, and communicated to that distinguished member of the Government, all that he desired to know of the entire subject, not sparing even those portions of the proceedings of the Congress which it regarded as too delicate to be submitted to the light of day, in its subsequently published *Journal*;[4] and that, too, in the face of the notorious fact that each had already assented to and signed the *Association of Non-Importation* which the Congress had adopted,[5] which, *prima-facie*, carried with it, in each instance, to his constituents and to the world, a guaranty of his faithful discharge of the duties connected with the great trust which had been laid upon him; but, when regarded as only one of the links of a chain of evidence, concerning his entire conduct, in the political events of that period, it is one which, until the end of time, will establish the stern fact that James Duane, among others, was insincere, untrustworthy, and dishonest, as a man and as a politician.

The Colonial Government was decidedly and peculiarly opposed to the adoption of any measure, either by the people or the Congress, which would possibly disturb the Trade and Commerce of Great Britain; and James Duane, a dependent on that Government, was not at liberty to sign such a letter, approving the establishment of a Non-Importation Agreement, as that which his four associates on the aristocratic ticket, thus smeared with corruption, had signed, even if the consequence had been a sacrifice

xxi., 10, 95; xxii., 15; xxxiii., 19, 41; xxvii., 17; and the many papers, concerning Duanesburg, of which he was a principal Proprietor.

[1] He was the Clerk of the Colonial Court of Chancery; he was, often, the retained Counsel of the Colonial Government (*Opinions of Counsel in the Matter of Cunningham, Appellant, against Forsey*, and in the *Matter of Charges against Judge Wells*;) he was the Counsel of the Lieutenant-governor, in the celebrated Suit, in Chancery, concerning a division of the Fees of his office, with the Earl of Dunmore, (Letters, etc., in the *Matter of the Attorney-general* pro Rege *against Colden*;) and the tone and the terms of the letters which passed between them, as they have been preserved in "*the Colden Papers*," in the Library of the New York Historical Society, leave no room for doubt on the subject.

[2] "By my Letter of the 7th of September your Lordship would find I "entertained Hopes that the People of this Province would adopt moderate Measures and avoid giving any new offence to the Parliament. I "know such were the sentiments of Farmers and Country People in "general who make a great Majority of the Inhabitants. I had a confidential conference with one of the Delegates sent from this city to the "Congress now met at Philadelphia who I thought had as much influence as any from this place, and he gave me assurances of his disposition "being similar."—(*Lieutenant-governor Colden to the Earl of Dartmouth*, *No.* 7., "New York 5th October 1774.")

[3] The fourth Resolution or "*Rule of Conduct to be observed*," etc., is in these words: "Resolved: That the Doors be kept shut during the Time "of Business; and that the Members consider themselves under the "strongest Obligations of Honour to keep the Proceedings secret, until "the Majority shall direct them to be made Publick."—(*Journal of the Congress*, "Tuesday, September 6th, 1774, ten o'clock, A M.")

[4] *The Despatch of Lieutenant-governor Colden to the Earl of Dartmouth* dated, "New York, December 7th, 1774," in which the Home Government was informed of these dishonorable revelations of the action of the Congress, is too extended to be copied into this Note. The reader is consequently referred to it.

[5] A carefully prepared fac-simile of the last sheet of that *Association*, which contained the signatures of the several Delegations—those of James Duane and Joseph Galloway being among them—may be seen in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, i., opposite folios 915, 916.

of that opportunity to obtain, for himself, a seat in that Congress, a contingency which the Colonial Government was, probably, quite as anxious to avoid, and one which was evidently guarded against by means which were entirely effective. James Duane was not among those who were suddenly converted, in order to ensure their success at the Polls; but, nevertheless, on the day after the disgraceful political somersault of Philip Livingston, Isaac Low, John Alsop, and John Jay had been declared satisfactory by their plebeian and revolutionary auditory, that eminent adherent to the original policy of the Committee of Correspondence, as well as those who had so ignominiously abandoned it, was elected, at the Polls, by the unanimous vote of "the Inhabitants,"[1] affording an example, in political engineering, which has been too often followed, at the expense of individual integrity and of the good of the country, from that time until the present.

Perhaps the preceding detail belongs more properly to the political history of the commercial City of New York than to that of the purely agricultural County of Westchester; yet it would be impossible to present any narrative of the events of the Revolution which occurred within that portion of the Colony, which should pretend to completeness, or precision, or accuracy, without having previously explained the precise nature of those influences which were brought, from beyond the limits of the County, to undermine the fundamental and rigid conservatism of those staid, well-to-do, and contented farmers who occupied that County, and to draw any portion of them from the quiet of their rural homes into the seething vortex of partisan excitement, concerning measures of the Home Government which did not affect them nor their interests, in the slightest degree —a departure from the ways of their fathers, which, before many months had elapsed, transformed that quiet, and neighborly, and law-abiding community into one of entire unrest and disorder, of the most intense partisan bitterness, and of the most complete disregard of all law, human and divine; converting what had been a quiet, and well-cultivated, and productive agricultural region into one over which were spread the evidences of partisan lawlessness, of vigilant suspicion and distrust, of sullen neglect, and, too often, of hopeless and lamentable ruin. The purposes, apparent or concealed, of those who created the Committee of Correspondence in the City of New York; the purposes, published or withheld, of the Committee itself; and the purposes, generally well-concealed, of some of those who wielded the influence of that Committee, sometimes for the promotion of their individual and not always righteous interests and sometimes for the suppression of the aspirations of others which were quite as praiseworthy as their own, are, therefore, subjects which cannot be disregarded, in whatever relates to revolutionary Westchester-county, since it was that Committee, as has been already stated, who made the first assault on the long-established conservatism of the farmers of that ancient County—an assault which was made entirely unsuccessful by their sturdy disregard; since it was that Committee, returning to the assault and offering the tempting allurements of place and official authority to those who should break from the ranks of their conservative countrymen—who, as will hereinafter appear, by means of such corrupt allurements, first broke the line of those rural home-guards which had previously thrown back the power of the insidious invader; and because it was that Committee who called into existence, successively, the revolutionary Congress of the Continent and the yet more revolutionary Provincial Congress, whence, subsequently, flowed that torrent of disorders and disasters over which Westchester-county has not ceased to mourn, from that period until the present. These have been consequently presented, as briefly, however, as was consistent with perspicuity; and a more complete, and precise, and accurate understanding of the details of the revolution of sentiments within Westchester-county, as portions of that more extended revolution, throughout the Colony and the Continent, "in the "minds and hearts of the people,"[2] it is believed, will, therefrom, be more readily and more certainly, if not more permanently, assured to the greater number of readers who shall resort to these pages.

Without the slightest indication of any concern because of the humiliating defeat to which it had been subjected, in the abandonment of one of the principal of its peculiar and emphatically declared principles, and in the acceptance, in the place of that abandoned principle, by its own nominees, of one of the peculiarly antagonistic principles of those whom it had persistently endeavored to silence and suppress, on the day after the election of the Delegates to the proposed Congress, [*July* 29,] the Committee of Correspondence in New York addressed a second Circular Letter to the County Committee, where there was one, or to the Treasurer, where there was no Com-

[1] *Letter of the Committee of Correspondence of New York to the Committee in Charleston*, "NEW YORK, July 26th, 1774," Postscript, dated "July "28th;" *the same to the Committee in Philadelphia*, "NEW YORK, July 28th, "1774;" *the same to Matthew Tilghman, Chairman of the Maryland Committee*, "NEW YORK, July 28th, 1774;" *Lieutenant-governor Colden to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "NEW YORK 2 August 1774;" *the same to Governor Tryon*, "SPRING HILL 2 August 1774;" *the same to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "NEW YORK 7th Septr 1774;" *the same to Governor Tryon*, "Septr 7th "1774;" Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i, 34, 35; Bancroft's *History of the United States*, original edition, vii, 83; *the same*, centenary edition, iv., 358.

[2] "An History of Military Operations, from April 19, 1775, to Septem- "ber 3, 1783, is not an History of the American Revolution, any more "than the Marquis of Quincy's *Military History of Louis XIV*, though "much esteemed, is a History of the Reign of that Monarch. The "Revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people, and in the "Union of the Colonies, both of which were substantially effected before "hostilities commenced."—(*Letter from John Adams to Jedidiah Morse*, "QUINCY, *November* 29, 1815.")

mittee, in each of the several Counties in the Colony, in which, after it had stated the election of Delegates to represent the City of New York, in the proposed Congress, to be assembled on the first of September ensuing, at Philadelphia, it presumptuously and with an assumed air of leadership, continued, in these words: "It therefore becomes necessary that the "Delegates to represent the other Counties in this "Province be speedily appointed. The Counties will "judge of the propriety of confiding in the same per- "sons only which we have chosen, or to appoint such "others to go, with them, to the Congress, as they "may think fit to depute, for that purpose. Permit "us to observe that the number of Delegates is imma- "terial, since those of each Province, whether more "or less, will conjointly have only one vote at the "Congress. In order, however, that the representa- "tion of the different Counties may be quite com- "plete, it is absolutely necessary that your County "appoint, with all possible speed, one or more Dele- "gates to join and go with ours to the Congress, or, if "you choose to repose your confidence in our Dele- "gates, that you signify such your determination, in "the most clear and explicit terms, by the first op- "portunity, after the sense of your County can be "known, on so interesting a subject." [1]

To this Circular Letter which was thus sent to the several rural Counties throughout the Colony, only six of those Counties are known to have paid the slightest attention, those of Westchester, Duchess, and Albany having respectively authorized the Delegates whom the City of New York had elected, to represent them, also, in the Congress; [2] while those of Kings, [3] Suffolk, [4] and Orange, [5] respectively, sent Delegates of their own appointment; and Richmond, Queens, Ulster, Cumberland, Gloucester, Charlotte, and Tryon, respectively, did not manifest the slightest interest in the subject. [6] For the purposes of this work, only the action of the County of Westchester, on that Circular Letter, can be noticed in this place.

As the Committee of Correspondence evidently intended that only the united action of the entire County, in every instance, should be invited, on the subject of appointing Delegates to the proposed Congress, it is not probable that the sentiments of the individual Towns, on any other subjects, were considered desirable, or were expected to be ascertained, or, if ascertained, were desired to be given to the public. Be that as it may, for some reason, if more than four Towns in Westchester-county took any action whatever, in response to the Circular Letter of the Committee, concerning the political questions of that period, or for the appointment of Deputies to represent the County in the proposed Congress, or for any other purpose, the record of that action has escaped the notice of working historical students—the proceedings of Mamaroneck were communicated directly to the Committee, at New York, in a letter dated on the seventh of August; and those of Bedford were also communicated, directly to the same Committee, in a letter dated on the ninth of that month: [7] the proceedings of Rye and those of the Borough Town of Westchester, because of the respective opinions of those Towns, on other subjects, which were more fully and formally expressed, require more particular notice.

On the tenth of August, responsive to the Circular Letter from the Committee in New York, the Freeholders and Inhabitants of Rye, who sympathized with that Committee in its proposal that Westchester-county should appoint Delegates to represent it in the proposed Congress, met and appointed John Thomas, Junior, Esq., James Horton, Junior, Esq., Robert Bloomer, Zeno Carpenter, and Ebenezer Haviland, for "a Committee to consult and determine, with the "Committees of the other Towns and Districts within "the County," in County Convention, to be assembled at the Court-house, at the White Plains, on Monday, the twenty-second of August, "upon the ex- "pediency of sending one or more Delegates to the "Congress, to be held in Philadelphia, on the first "day of September next."

The Meeting appears to have patiently waited, without adjourning, while the Committee which it had appointed, organized, by the appointment of Ebenezer Haviland, as its Chairman; and considered the great political questions of the day; and expressed its conclusions on those questions, in a series of Resolutions, in the following words:

"THIS MEETING being greatly alarmed at the late "Proceedings of the British Parliament, in order to "raise a Revenue in America; and considering their late "most cruel, unjust, and unwarrantable Act for block- "ing up the Port of Boston, having a direct tendency to "deprive a free People of their most valuable Rights "and Privileges, an introduction to subjugate the In- "habitants of the English Colonies and to render "them Vassals to the British House of Commons:

"RESOLVE, FIRST, That they think it their greatest "Happiness to live under the illustrious House of "Hanover; and that they will steadfastly and uni- "formly bear true and faithful Allegiance to His

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[1] *Draft of the Circular Letter sent to the Committee or Treasurer of the different Counties*, "NEW YORK, July 29, 1774," appended to the *Minutes of the Committee*, "NEW YORK, July 28, 1774."

See, also, *Lieutenant-governor Colden to Governor Tryon*, "SPRING "HILL 2 August 1774."

[2] *Credentials of those Delegates—Journal of the Congress*, "Monday, "September 5, 1774."

[3] *Credential of Simon Boerum—Journal of the Congress*, "Saturday, "October 1, 1774."

[4] *Credential of William Floyd—Journal of the Congress*, "Monday, "September 5, 1774."

[5] *Credential of Henry Wisner—Journal of the Congress*, "Wednesday, "September 14, 1774, A.M." and that of *John Herring—Journal of the "Congress*, "Monday, September 26, 1774, A.M."

[6] *Lieutenant-governor Colden to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "NEW YORK, "7th September, 1774."

[7] *Minutes of the Committee*, "NEW YORK, August 29, 1774."

"Majesty, King George the Third, under the enjoy-
"ment of their constitutional Rights and Privileges,
"as fellow-subjects, with those of England.

"SECOND, That we conceive it a fundamental part
"of the British Constitution, that no Man shall be
"taxed but by his own Consent, or that of his Repre-
"sentative, in Parliament; and as we are by no means
"represented, we consider all Acts of Parliament
"imposing Taxes on the Colonies, an undue ex-
"ertion of Power, and subversive of one of the most
"valuable Privileges of the English Constitution.

"THIRD, That it is the Opinion of this Meeting
"that the Act of Parliament for shutting up the Port
"of Boston, and divesting some of the Inhabitants of
"private Property, is a most unparalleled, rigorous,
"and unjust piece of Cruelty and Despotism.

"FOURTH, That unanimity and firmness of
"Measures in the Colonies are the most effectual
"Means to secure the invaded Rights and Privileges
"of America, and to avoid the impending Ruin which
"now threatens this once happy Country.

"FIFTH, That the most effectual mode of redress-
"ing our Grievances will be by a general Congress of
"Delegates from the different Colonies; and that we
"are willing to abide by such Measures as they, in
"their Wisdom, shall think most conducive upon
"such an important Occasion."

These Resolutions were duly submitted to the Meeting; and, as the official record says, they "were "unanimously approved of;" when the assemblage quietly dispersed.[1]

Those who are acquainted with the questionable practices of ambitious, and, not unfrequently, unscrupulous politicians, will be prepared, without warning, for the reception of any modification of the recorded features of that Meeting, at Rye, of which mention has been made—the first demonstration, in Westchester-county, concerning the great political questions of the day, of which there is, now, any existing record.

It does not appear, nor is it pretended, that the Meeting of "the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the "Township of Rye," now under consideration, was numerously attended; and, as it was held during the busiest season of the agricultural year, there is no reason for supposing that many were present. In the same connection, it will be seen that the place of meeting is, also, unnoticed on the record. The master-spirit of the assembled farmers, whether many or few in number, was John Thomas, Junior, one of a family of officeholders under the Home and the Colonial Governments,[2] and, himself, an anxious office-seeker, from the revolutionary party;[3] and the well-considered and well-worded Resolutions, as well-adapted for the protection of the father's official positions as for the construction of others for the son's advancement, and evidently the work of a master-hand which was not seen in the Committee nor in the Meeting, promote a suspicion that that Meeting of "the Free-"holders and Inhabitants of the Township of Rye," the first indication of Westchester-county's inclination to enter the area of political strife, was nothing more nor less than a movement in the Thomas family, and for its particular benefit. Subsequent events, in connection with the doings of those who were present, at that particular Meeting, serve to strengthen that suspicion, if not to confirm it.[4]

While the politicians, in Rye, were discussing, with more or less satisfaction, the result of their doings, to which reference has been made, those in the Bor-

[1] Official report of the proceedings of the Meeting—Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1650, NEW-YORK, Thursday, August 18, 1774.

See, also, Gaine's *New-York Gazette, and the Weekly Mercury*, No. 1192, NEW-YORK, Monday, August 15, 1774, and *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 70, NEW-YORK, Thursday, August 18, 1774.

[2] The Grandfather of John Thomas, Junior, was the Rev. John Thomas, Rector of St. George's Church, Hempstead, Long Island, who, from his Ordination, in 1704, until his death, in 1727, was a Missionary in the employ of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in London. The father of John Thomas, Junior, was Hon. John Thomas, who, from 1743 until the dissolution of the Colonial Government, in 1776, was a Member of the General Assembly of the Colony, representing the County of Westchester; and, from May, 1755, until the dissolution of the Colonial Government, in 1776, he was the First Judge of the Colonial Court of Common Pleas for the County of Westchester—both of which offices could have been held by no one who was not well-disposed to the Colonial and Home Governments; and neither of which was surrendered by him, while he lived.

The following extract from a letter from Timothy Wetmore, the Venerable Society's Schoolmaster at Rye, to the Secretary of that body, at London, dated "RYE, May 6, 1761," affords additional evidence of the political tendencies of the Thomas family, and of its hankerings after the power to manipulate the "patronage" of those in authority, throughout Westchester-county: "Mr. Thomas, who is one of the Representa-"tives in this County, and who, in Governour De Lancey's time, being "favoured with all the Administration of all Offices in the Country, civil "and military, by the help of which he has procured himself a large in-"terest in the County, especially in the distant and new Settlements, "which abound with a Set of People governed more by venality than "any thing else. This Gentleman, although one of the Society's "Missionaries' Sons, is so negligent and indifferent toward Religion "(in imitation of some of our great Men) that it has been a steady "Method with him, for years, not to attend Publick Worship, perhaps "more than once or twice in a year, whose example has been mis-"chievous. This man is not only one of our Vestry (though very "little esteemed by the true friends of the Church), but has procured "that the Majority of the Vestry are Men that will be governed by "him; several of the Vestry are not of the Church; and not one of "them a communicant in the Church; accordingly, the Church are "not at all consulted with regard to a successor," to the former Rector, who had died in the preceding May.

With the father, on the Bench, and in the Legislature, and in the interest of the Crown, and the son in the front rank, if not the actual head, of the revolutionary element, what there was of it, within the County, it mattered very little to the Thomas family, which of the two, the Crown or the Colonists, should become the victors.

[3] John Thomas, Junior, by this early movement in behalf of the revolutionary element, placed himself in the front rank of successful politicians in Westchester-county—he was a member of the Committee of the County, and its Chairman; a Member of the Provincial Convention, representing Westchester-county, in 1775; a Member of the First and Second Provincial Congresses, representing Westchester-county, in 1775, 1776; Quartermaster of the Second Westchester-county Regiment, of which his brother, Thomas, was Colonel; and Sheriff of Westchester-county, from 1778 to 1781—his brothers, also, having been well provided for, in the public service.

[4] See the *Disclaimer of Isaac Gidney and eighty-three other "Freeholders "and Inhabitants of Rye,"* "RYE, New York, September 24, 1774," pages 32, 33, post.

ough Town of Westchester, within which the political family of Morris was seated,[1] prepared to follow their example. For that purpose, on Saturday, the twentieth of August, also in response to the Circular Letter received from the Committee of Correspondence in the City of New York, those of "the Freeholders "and Inhabitants" of that Borough Town who sympathized with that Committee in its request that Westchester-county should appoint Delegates to represent it in the proposed Congress, met, and appointed James Ferris, Esq., Colonel Lewis Morris, and Captain Thomas Hunt, "a Committee to meet the Com- "mittees of the different Towns and Precincts, within "this County, at the White Plains, on Monday, the "twenty-second instant, to consult on the expediency "of appointing one or more Delegates to represent "this County, at the general Congress, to be held at "Philadelphia, the first day of September next."

Like the similar Meeting, at Rye, this Meeting also waited, apparently without adjourning, until its Committee was formally organized, by the appointment of James Ferris, Esq., as its Chairman, and while that Committee considered the various political questions of the period—"the very alarming Situa- "tion of their suffering Brethren, at Boston, occa- "sioned by the late unconstitutional, arbitrary, and "oppressive Act of the British Parliament, for "blocking up their Port, as well as the several Acts "imposing Taxes on the Colonies, in order to raise a "Revenue in America"—and had prepared the following Resolutions expressive of the result of its deliberations on those very grave questions:

"First, *Resolved*, That we do and will bear true "Allegiance to His Majesty, George the Third, King "of Great Britain, &c., according to the British "Constitution.

"Second, That we coincide in opinion with our "friends of New York and of every other Colony, "that all Acts of the British Parliament, imposing "Taxes on the Colonies, without their Consent, or by "their Representative, are arbitrary and oppressive, "and should meet the abhorrence and detesta- "tion of all good men; That they are replete with "the purpose of creating Animosities and Dissensions "between the Mother Country and the Colonies; "and thereby tend to destroy that Harmony and "mutual Agreement which it is so much the Interest "of both, to Cherish and Maintain.

"Third, That we esteem it our Duty, and think it "incumbent on all the Colonies in America, to con- "tribute towards the Relief of the poor and distressed "People of Boston; and that a Person of this Bor- "ough be appointed to collect such charitable Dona- "tions, within the same, as may be offered for their "Support.

"Fourth, That as a Division in the Colonies "would be a sure means to counteract the present "Intention of the Americans, in their Endeavours to "preserve their Rights and Liberties from the Inva- "sion that is threatened, we do most heartily recom- "mend a Steadiness and Unanimity in their Meas- "ures, as they will have the happy Effects of averting "the Calamity that the late tyrannical Acts of the "British Parliament would otherwise most assuredly "involve us in.

"Fifth, That to obtain a Redress of our Griev- "ances, it has been thought most advisable, in the "Colonies, to appoint a general Congress, we will take "Shelter under the Wisdom of those Gentlemen who "may be chosen to represent us, and cheerfully ac- "quiesce in any Measures they may judge shall be "proper, on this very alarming and critical Occasion."

These Resolutions were duly presented to the Meeting; and the official record of the proceedings of that Meeting tells, to all comers, they "were unani- "mously agreed to;" after which the Meeting was dissolved.[2]

Because the numerous tenants and other dependents on the Morris family were residents of Westchester, and not distant, there is reason for the supposition that the Meeting was well-attended; and there can be no reasonable doubt that the proceedings were conducted with entire propriety and good order. But, like the Meeting at Rye, of which mention has been made, that at Westchester was evidently controlled by a single master-spirit; and, like the former, the latter was, also, unquestionably convened and conducted, not as much for the clear expression of the uncontrolled and intelligent opinions of "the Free- "holders and Inhabitants" of the Town, on the grave questions which were submitted to them, or for the honest promotion of the best interests of the Colony, as for a preparation of the way for the return of the Morris family to place, and authority, and influence in the political affairs of the Colony, from which, through the controlling power of the De Lanceys, it had been, for many years, entirely excluded.

It is probable that the other Towns throughout the County, if any such Towns, really or apparently, responded to the invitation of the Committee of Correspondence in New York, either contented themselves, like those of Bedford and Mamaroneck, with only the elections of Delegates to the proposed Convention of the County, without any further expression of their sentiments, or, if they expressed such sentiments or any others, that, in the absence of all other than merely local agitators, they did not crowd those sentiments before a people who were already surcharged with such wordy manifestations; and it remains only for us to record the additional

[1] Until 1846, the Borough Town of Westchester included, within its boundaries, the more modern towns of Westchester, West Farms, and Morrisania.

[2] Official record of the proceedings of the Meeting, in Gaine's *New-York Gazette: and the Weekly Mercury*, No. 1194, New-York, Monday, August 29, 1774, and in *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 72, New-York, Thursday, September 2, 1774.

facts that, on Monday, the twenty-second of August, 1774, a Convention of Delegates from the several Towns and Districts of Westchester-county, or from a number of them, was assembled in the Court-house, at the White Plains; that Colonel Frederic Philipse, Lord of the Manor of Philipseborough and a Member of the General Assembly of the Province, representing the County of Westchester in that body, was in the Chair of that Convention;[1] that it was determined to authorize a Delegation to represent the County, in the proposed Congress of the Continent, at Philadelphia; and that Isaac Low, Philip Livingston, James Duane, John Alsop, and John Jay, who had been elected to represent the City and County of New York, in that Congress, should be duly authorized, also, to represent the County of Westchester, therein.[2]

By that determination and action of its nominally authorized Convention, the County of Westchester, in history, if not in fact,[3] placed itself abreast of the most advanced advocates for the autonomy of the British Colonies in America; and no one can successfully dispute the fact that the Delegates whom, the records say, the County authorized to represent it, in the consultations and discussions and votes of the proposed Congress, no matter what, in the Congress or elsewhere, the doings of those who composed that Delegation may have been, were gentlemen of the highest social standing; that some of them were gentlemen of the highest intellectual powers; and that all possessed what, at that time, either consistently or inconsistently, honestly or dishonestly, they publicly assumed to have been the highest regard for the welfare of the Colony and of the Continent. It appears, however, notwithstanding that apparently general movement, in favor of the proposed Congress, among the farmers of Westchester-county, or, at least, a general acquiescence therein, that there was a very important portion of them, individually respectable and respectable in numbers, who had not been thus influenced; who, therefore, had not joined in the reported election of Delegates to the Convention; and who were without any sympathy with those who were promoting the call for a Congress of the Continent, even for consultation and mutual advice. There is reason, also, for supposing that there were many such cautious or timid conservatives, in each of the Towns, if, indeed, the great body of the inhabitants of each was not thus disposed to maintain the conservatism of the past; that they were not confined to any particular class of the inhabitants of those Towns; and that they included holders of freehold properties and of the right of suffrage at the Polls as well as holders of leasehold properties, Tenants on the Manors, who held no such political right—all of them men of intelligence and respectability. A specimen of the dissent referred to, may be seen in the following disclaimer, which was published in the newspapers of the day:[4]

"RYE, NEW YORK; September 24, 1774.

"We, the Subscribers, Freeholders and Inhabitants "of the Town of Rye, in the County of Westchester, "being much concerned with the unhappy Situation "of public Affairs, think it our Duty to our King and "Country, to Declare that we have not been con- "cerned in any Resolutions entered into or Measures "taken, with regard to the Disputes at present sub- "sisting with the Mother Country; we also testify "our dislike to many hot and furious Proceedings, in "consequence of said Disputes, which we think are "more likely to ruin this once happy Country, than "remove Grievances, if any there are.

"We also declare our great Desire and full Reso- "lution to live and die peaceable Subjects to our "Gracious Sovereign, King George the Third, and his "Laws.

"Isaac Gidney,	William Armstrong,
"Abraham Wetmore,	James Hains,
"John Collum,	Thomas Thaell,
"Henry Bird,	Dennis Lary,

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[1] "*Card to the Public*," reprinted in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, i., 1188, 1189.

[2] *Credentials of the Delegates from New-York, Journal of the Congress*, "Monday, September 5, 1774."

[3] The subsequently published disclaimer of inhabitants of Rye and other circumstances of the same tendency, incline us to the belief of what Lieutenant-governor Colden informed the Earl of Dartmouth, on that general subject, in his Despatch of October 5, 1774, that "a great deal of 'Pains has been taken to perswade the Counties to chuse Delegates for "the Congress or to adopt those sent by this City. Several of the Coun- "ties have refused to be concerned in the Measures. In Queens County "where I have a House & reside the summer Season six Persons have not "been got together for the Purpose and the Inhabitants remain firm in "their Resolution not to join in the Congress. In the Counties that have "joined in the Measures of the City, I am inform'd the Business has "been done by a very few Persons who took upon themselves to act for "the Freeholders. A Gentleman who was present when the Delegates "were chosen in Orange County says, there were not twenty Persons "present at that Meeting tho' there are above 1000 Freeholders in that "County: and I am told the case was similar in other Counties that it "is said have joined in the Congress."

In the same connection, Joseph Galloway, when he was examined before the House of Commons, testified, that "I don't think that one-fifth "part have, from principle and choice, supported the present Rebellion." * * * "The last Delegation to Congress, made by the Province of "Pennsylvania, and the appointment of all the Officers of that State, was "made by less than two hundred Voters, although there are at least "thirty thousand men intitled to Vote, by the Laws of the Province. "One instance more I beg leave to give. One of the Delegates from the "Province of New York, (with whom I sat in Congress in 1774) repre- "senting a considerable District in that Province, was chosen by himself "and his clerk only, and that clerk certified to the Congress that he was "unanimously appointed!" In a foot-note to this portion of that testimony, Galloway added: "The people of Kings County so much disap- "proved of the sending any Members to the Congress, that, although "due notice was given of the time and place of Election, only two of "them met: Mr. Simon Boerum appointed his friend Clerk, and the "Clerk appointed Mr. Boerum a Delegate in Congress, who was the only "Representative for that large County."—(*Examination*, 16 *June*, 1779—*The Examination of Joseph Galloway, Esq., before the House of Commons*. London: 1779, 10, 11.)

See, also, Galloway's *Letters to a Nobleman*, Second Edition, London: 1779, 21.

[4] *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 78, NEW-YORK, Thursday, October 13, 1774.

"Robert Merrit,	Roger Purdy,
"Roger Merrit,	Gilbert Brundige,
"Isaac Anderson,	Joseph Clark,
"John Willis,	James Gedney,
"Nehemiah Sherwood,	James Purdy,
"William Crooker,	John Adee,
"Andrew Carhart,	Nathaniel Purdy,
"Seth Purdy,	Joseph Wilson,
"Disbury Park,	Benjamin Willson,
"Major James Horton,	James Hart,
"Nathaniel Sniffen,	Silemon Halsted,
"Sol. Gidney,	James Budd,
"Bartholomew Hains,	Thomas Kniffen,
"Gilbert Hains,	Gilbert Merrit, Esq.
"Joshua Purdy,	John Carhart,
"James Wetmore,	Israel Seaman,
"William Brown,	William Hall,
"Joseph Purdy,	Capt. Abraham Bush,
"Jonathan Budd,	Andrew Lion,
"Ebenezer Brown, Jun.,	James Jamisson,
"Henry Slater,	Thomas Brown,
"Andrew Kniffen,	Gilbert Thaell, Jun.,
"Thomas Wilson,	Joseph Merrit, Jun.,
"Timothy Wetmore, Esq.,	Jonathan Gedney,
"Daniel Erwin,	John Guion,
"Roger Park,	Elijah Hains,
"Roger Kniffen,	John Affrey,
"John Hawkins,	Hack. Purdy,
"Andrew Merrit,	Charles Thaell, Esq.,
"Archibald Tilford,	John Kniffen,
"Adam Seaman,	John Park,
"Rievers Morrel,	Joshua Gedney,
"Abraham Miller,	Ebenezer Brown,
"Jonathan Kniffen,	John Slater,
"John Buvelot,	Benjamin Kniffen,
"Gilbert Thaell,	Nehemiah Wilson,
"Isaac Brown,	Gilbert Morris, Jr.,
"Peter Florence."	

Those who are acquainted with the methods which are very often employed by audacious partisans or by those more insidious supporters of a questionable proposition, for the instruction of an opponent in what way to do or to say what, if left to himself, he would not think of either saying or doing, in any manner, will be very likely to concur in the suspicion which prevails, that the following papers, each of them supplementary to the above-recited disclaimer and declaration, were the reasonable results of such, not always gentle, social or political or ecclesiastical or financial pressure as is, very generally, seen among the methods to which reference has been made.

"Rye, October 17th, 1774.

"We, the Subscribers, having been suddenly and "unwarily drawn in, to sign a certain Paper pub-"lished in Mr. Rivington's *Gazetteer*, of the 13th "instant; and being now, after mature deliberation, "fully convinced that we acted preposterously, and "without adverting properly to the Matter in dispute "between the Mother Country and her Colonies, are, "therefore, sorry that we ever had any concern in "said Paper; and we do by these Presents utterly "disclaim every part thereof, except our expressions "of Loyalty to the King and Obedience to the con-"stitutional Laws of the Realm.

"Abraham Miller,	William Brown,
"Adam Seaman,	Isaac Anderson,
"Andrew Carehart,	William Crooker,
"John Carehart,	Andrew Lyon,
"Gilbert Brundige,	John Buflot,
"John Willis,	John Slater,
"James Jameson,	Israel Seaman,
"Gilbert Merrit." [1]	

The following very cautiously worded Card, appended to a full copy of the disclaimer and declaration, dated on the twenty-fourth of September, which bore the signature of Timothy Wetmore, Esquire, was published, forty days afterwards:

"The above Paper, like many others, being liable "to misconstruction, and having been understood, by "many, to import a Recognition of a Right in the "Parliament of Great Britain, to bind America, in all "cases whatsoever, and to signify that the Colonies "labour under no Grievances, which is not the Sense "I meant to convey, I think it my Duty to explain "my Sentiments upon the Subject, and thereby pre-"vent future Mistakes

"It is my Opinion that the Parliament have no "Right to Tax America, tho' they have a Right to "regulate the Trade of the Empire. I am further of "Opinion that several Acts of Parliament are Griev-"ances; and that the execution of them ought to be "Opposed, in such Manner as may be Consistent with "the Duty of a Subject to our Sovereign; tho' I can-"not help expressing my Disapprobation of many "violent Proceedings, in some of the Colonies.

"Dated the 3d of November, 1774.

"Timothy Wetmore." [2]

The organization of the Congress of the Continent, and its Proceedings, as far as it permitted those Proceedings to be made public, and the series of papers which it sent forth, in behalf of the complaining Colonies, form important portions of the world's history which need not be repeated, in this place. It will not be improper, however, to notice, in this connection, the fact that two, if no more, of the Delegates who represented the revolutionary portion of the inhabitants of Westchester-county, in that Congress, were actively associated with Joseph Galloway, whom history has regarded as a "volunteer spy for the "British Government," [3] in a measure, proposed in the

[1] *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 79, New-York, Thursday, October 20, 1774.

[2] *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 82, New-York, Thursday, November 10, 1774.

[3] Bancroft's *History of the United States*, original edition, vii., 126; *the same*, centenary edition, iv., 392.

interest of the Crown, which the Congress not only rejected, with contempt, but would not permit to be laid on its table nor to be recorded on its published Journal;[1] that one of those two Delegates was subsequently discovered to have been quite as deeply implicated in a perfidious communication of the secret proceedings of the Congress, with quite as earnest a sympathy for the King and the Government, as Joseph Galloway is known to have been;[2] and that the other Delegate referred to signalized himself, throughout the entire period occupied by the Congress, not only by his earnest advocacy of "the insidious proposi-"tion" of Joseph Galloway, offered and supported in the interest of the Crown, but by his unceasing opposition to every assertion of republican principles and by his equally untiring support of whatever sustained the existing power of the aristocracy and the time-hallowed prerogatives of the Crown and the Parliament[3]—he has not, indeed, been found to have been, directly, in the service of the Colonial Government; but he is known to have been the willing associate and confidential friend of those who were actively employed in that service; and in their loyal labors, in behalf of their recognized Sovereign, he is known, also, to have been their open and untiring and most distinguished co-worker,[4] concealed from the light of open day, however, by the vote of secrecy which his friends and associates did not hesitate to disregard, in the presence of the official representative of the Crown, who was, also, their political master. It has been usual to screen the latter of the two Delegates from the censures of history and to regard him as peculiarly pure and virtuous, as a man and as a politician; but, as has been well-said by another, "there "are no tricks in plain and simple faith."

It will not be improper to notice, also, in this connection, that the proceedings and the recommendations of the Congress were not, by any means, unanimously accepted and approved, either by the several Colonial Assemblies, or by the several Towns throughout the Colonies, or by the Inhabitants of the Towns, individually; and that, in many instances, that dissent was made known to the world, in terms which could not be mistaken. Indeed, no intelligent person can arise from a careful and dispassionate examination of the unquestionable authorities which have come down to us, concerning the origin of that Congress, the expressed purposes for which it was called, its organization, the extent of authority which was delegated to the several Delegations of which it was composed, and the action of those Delegations, within the Congress, without having been entirely convinced that the Congress was not a legally constituted body, created in pursuance of Law, and entitled to recognition, in law or in fact, by any individual Colonist or by any legally organized body, of any class;[5] that, on the contrary, it was nothing else than a voluntary association, in which, every member acted entirely on his individual responsibility, without possessing or acquiring the slightest right, in law, to exact obedience from any, beyond what each, for himself, had already specifically consented to yield; that it was proposed and organized only for consultation and advice and united action, within the well-defined limits of the Law of the Land; that no authority was vested in it, by its several constituencies, to assume and exercise any legislative functions whatever, to publish decrees equivalent to Statutes, to require obedience to such decrees, nor to order the infliction of penalties where there should be any disobedience to its enactments; that, to the extent of its action beyond the letter of the authority which had been delegated to it and as far as that action was in violation of existing Statutes, it acted in open violation of the clearly expressed loyalty of its several constituencies, of its own ostentatious pretensions of fealty to the Sovereign, and of that obedience to the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, an alleged violation of which fundamental Laws, by the Parliament and the Ministry, constituted the gravamen of its denunciations of the Government, and the spirit of its own existence; that, to that extent, also, it was revolutionary; and, to that extent, therefore, it gave reasonable cause for discontent, and dis-

[1] "With a heart full of loyalty to my Sovereign, I went into Congress—'and from that loyalty I never deviated, in the least. I proposed a *Plan* "*of Accommodation* in the Congress, agreeable to my *Instructions*;—some "of the best men, and men of the best fortunes, espoused the *Plan*, and "drew with me."—(*Examination of Joseph Galloway before the House of Commons*, 18 *June*, 1779, London: 1779, 47–54.)

"His scheme" framed "in secret concert with the Governor of New "Jersey and with Colden of New York," "held out a hope of Continental "Union, which was the long cherished policy of New York; it was sec-"onded by Duane and advocated by Jay, but opposed by Lee of Vir-"ginia."—(Bancroft's *History of the United States*, original edition, vii., 140, 141; *the same*, centenary edition, iv., 402.)

"The scheme was intended to perpetuate the dependence of the Colo-"nies on England: and was proposed with the approbation of the loy-"alist Governors, Franklin of New Jersey, and Colden of New York. "Galloway urged it in an elaborate speech; and it was supported by "Duane, Jay, and Edward Rutledge. It was not only rejected, however, "but the members came at last to view it with so much odium that the "Motions in relation to it were ordered to be expunged from the *Jour-"nals*. This result was an end to the loyalist influence in Congress."—(Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, Boston: 1872, 367, 368.)

See, also, Hildreth's *History of the United States*, First Series iii., 46; Pitkin's *History of the United States*, i., 299, 300; Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, ii., 109; etc.

[2] Vide pages 26, 27, ante.

[3] John Jay opposed some of the extremely democratic utterances of Patrick Henry, very properly; but he opposed, also, the utterance of Roger Sherman, when that plain man "deduced allegiance from consent," as he continued to oppose that democratic dogma, throughout his entire life. The aristocratic Richard Henry Lee was in harmony with him; but the democratic element of the Congress was widely opposed to him, in all his fundamental propositions.

[4] Vide the extracts from Galloway's *Examination*, Bancroft's *History of the United States*, and Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, in Note 1, page 34, above.

[5] Although this is not likely to be disputed, by any one, it may be proper to state that it was not claimed to have been so, by those who promoted the call for it—"it is allowed by the most Intelligent among "them, that these assemblies of the People are illegal and may be danger-"ous, but they deny that they are unconstitutional when a national "grievance cannot otherwise be removed."—(*Lieutenant-governor Colden to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "NEW YORK 1st June, 1774.")

sent, and alarm, among those who had not been promised such a result; among those who were not inclined to be crowded into insurrection, without their consent; and among those whose best interests and whose families' best interests rested on a continued peace throughout the Colonies and on a due attention to their own affairs.

The purposes of this work afford no warrant for a more extended narrative than we have given of the really varied designs of those, in other Colonies than in that of New York, who promoted the assembling of a Congress of the Colonies; nor of the intrigues of those who, some for one purpose and some for another, desired to become members of that body; nor of the objects for which it was specially invited and convened; nor of the influences which controlled it, after it was convened, and which transformed it from that instrument for securing a peaceful redress of those grievances of which the Colonists had complained, that Reconciliation with the Mother Country which was "most ardently desired by all good men," that Harmony and good Will between Great Britain and her Colonists which only a very few revolutionists, in some of the Colonies, did not anxiously hope for, and that general Peace which would have restored prosperity and happiness to both the Colonists and the inhabitants of Great Britain, for securing all of which and for no other purpose whatever it had been specifically invited and convened, into an instrument for the violation of the rights of individuals and of property, previously regarded as sacred, and for the promotion of Insurrection and of Revolution and of Rebellion, of War and of Devastation and of Ruin, and these for nothing else than for the advancement of individual and sectional interests, for none of which latter purposes was there more than a handful of reckless advocates, in any of the Colonies, and against which, with the exception of the handful of "fire-eaters" of that period, to whom we have referred, there was, in each of the Colonies, nothing else than a firm and undivided opposition, in which every sect and every faction and every party were sincerely united. All these must be left for elucidation by other hands, in other works; but we may be permitted to say, here, in brief, that, since what were regarded as grievances, of which complaints had been made and which were sought to be redressed, were peculiarly of a commercial or mercantile character, the disaffection of the Colonists, in New York, because of those alleged grievances, was confined to the commercial and mercantile centres, the two Cities of New York and Albany, without affecting or disturbing the peace of or, indeed, exciting any particular interest within, the rural Counties, within the Colony; that, in consequence, whatever means were resorted to, by those of the commercial and mercantile classes, within those business centres and among those who were or who supposed they were aggrieved, for the purpose of obtaining a redress of their alleged grievances—of which means the proposed Congress of the Colonies, honestly or dishonestly, was said to have been one—were sustained and advanced, within those business centres, with an almost entire unanimity among their inhabitants and with all the energy and determination which self-interest, largely developed, can arouse among active, ambitious, unscrupulous, and wealthy men; while, among the agriculturists and small country traders, none of whom had been or were, in the slightest degree, aggrieved by the Colonial policy of the Home Government,—among whom, therefore, there was no disaffection, because of that policy; and whose individual interests would be more advanced and better secured by continued quiet, throughout the Colony, than by unrest and political excitement—there was an entire and generally prevailing indifference to the well-told complaints of the commercial and mercantile classes, within the Cities, as well as to the means for obtaining a redress of their particular grievances, to which those metropolitan Merchants and Traders had resorted, of all of which, the complaints as well as the means employed, these hard-handed rustics, with few exceptions, know almost nothing, and in none of which, the grievances or the means employed for the redress of those grievances, did they possess even the slightest personal interest. Each of these two classes of Colonists, in New York, the commercial and mercantile classes, within the two Cities, and the agricultural and dependent classes, throughout the country—the former assuming to have been aggrieved by the Home Government and originating means for the redress of those alleged grievances, on the one hand; the latter wholly indifferent to the complaints of the metropolitan Merchants and Traders and to the various means resorted to, by them, in their efforts to effect a removal of those grievances, on the other hand—was sincere, in maintaining what it did maintain, since each was prompted and controlled by nothing else than by its own personal interests; and what was really "patriotism," the interests of the aggregate body of the Colonists regardless of the interests of any individual or class of those Colonists, in either of those classes, if they were patriotic on any other subject, had no part nor lot in this matter.

The Congress of the Colonies, as the reader will remember and as we have stated, was one of those means which were resorted to, by the aristocratic, anti-revolutionary commercial and mercantile classes, within the City of New York and by those Traders whose seat was at Albany, for the purpose, it was alleged, of securing a peaceful redress of what those Merchants and Traders were pleased to consider as grievances—in other words, for the removal of those restraints on that "illicit trade" in which they had been so long, so corruptly, and so successfully engaged, which the Home Government had recently interposed, with more than usual efficiency; and for the exoneration of that lawlessness and reckless destruction of property, by mobs who had been in-

spired and directed by controlling members of those commercial and mercantile classes,for which property the local authorities had neglected or declined to compensate the owners—and, besides the indifference of the farmers, who constituted a vastly great majority of the adult males who were permanent residents of the Colony, which we have described, it encountered, from its inception, the earnest and active and unscrupulous handful of "fire-eaters," within the City of New York, because of the moderate temper in which it had been proposed; because of the disregard of the pretensions of the Town of Boston, with which they were in harmonious correspondence; and because the authors and promoters of the project of convening such a Congress had disregarded the aspirations of some of those "fire-eaters" for places in the Delegation who would be sent to that Congress, as representatives of the Colony of New York; and, reasonably enough, it encountered, also, the opposition, direct and decided, of that very small number who personally constituted the Colonial Government, and by some of those who occupied places of honor and emolument under its authority, and, most zealously of all these, by those hungry sycophants of authority —hangers on of that Colonial Government who never failed to "sneeze, whenever it took snuff"—the aggregate of whom was powerless in its legitimate opposition because of the smallness of its numbers.

Notwithstanding the direct opposition of the little clique of fire-eating revolutionists and that of the larger and more influential circle of the Colonial Government and its adherents—"friends of Govern- "ment," as they called themselves—and the chilly indifference of the great body of the farmers, constituting the vast majority of the inhabitants of the Colony, that Congress of the Colonies was convened under the auspices of those among whom it was originated; was turned from the pacific purposes for which it had been called, into others which were revolutionary in their character; and was dissolved, to take its place in the history of that very eventful period. The "fire-eating" few who had succeeded in effecting that radical change in its character and in securing from it an acquiescence in their revolutionary purposes, were, of course, well pleased with the results of the movement. The Colonial Government and its adherents were, of course, none the less antagonistic to it, because they were powerless to suppress the growing revolt or to protect the Colonists from the effects of the revolutionary action of the Congress. The farmers throughout the Colony continued their agricultural labors in continued indifference, unmindful of that approaching catastrophe which was, so very soon afterwards, to overwhelm themselves as well as others and to involve all, alike, in one common ruin of every thing which was or which could be dear to them. Of those commercial and mercantile classes among whom the Congress had originated and by whom it had been fostered, very many disapproved the violence of its declared policy—of that policy which had closed the doors to all hopes for Reconciliation and Peace, and which had opened the doors, invitingly, to Revolution and Rebellion, to War and Ruin—and drew back from those who continued to sustain the Congress and who, then, were preparing to enforce its decrees; while the latter portion of those classes, allied with the revolutionary faction whom those commercial and mercantile classes had previously declined to recognize and for whom, individually and collectively, only that superficial respect which practical politicians have always entertained for those, of lower ranks of society, whom they have sought to employ as the means of their own advancement to place and influence and wealth, was entertained, proceeded to enforce, by fair means or by foul, the various decrees, thinly disguised as "recommendations," which the Congress had enacted.

The memory of those readers whose hairs of gray reveal the advent or the presence of old age, will be very likely to compare all these circumstances with similar circumstances which have occurred, within our own country and within the period of their own personal recollections; and to the practical, personal knowledge of that hoary headed tribunal we may safely refer all these movements and counter-movements for the advancement or the obstruction of predetermined and unholy revolt, for its intelligent judgment. The glamour of success may have made all these transactions, before the Congress was convened and while it was in session and after its dissolution, appear to have been possessed of different characters from those which they really possessed; the diligence of personal descendants, whose best claim to distinction among men rests only on the apocryphal fame of their ancestors, actors in those events, may have transformed the pigmies and the political tricksters and those who were without honor or honesty or manliness, of that period, into great men and pâtriots and men of virtue, of integrity, and of personal uprightness; but, notwithstanding all these fictitious interpositions, the Truth remains, unchanged and unchangeable.

Among the conservative farmers of Westchester-county, generally, it is believed that the result of the Congress was not satisfactory—as will be seen, hereafter, some of the most influential of them, who had heartily approved the popular movement for the redress of the Colony's grievances, and who had earnestly united with their countrymen in calling the Congress, were forced to the seeming inconsistency of open dissent; and there was significance in that dissent, while such other communities as the Towns of Hollis, in New Hampshire;[1] Marshfield, in Massa-

[1] *Proceedings of the Town*, in legal Town-Meeting, November 7, 1774, reprinted in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, i., 1229.

chusetts;[1] Ridgefield,[2] Newtown,[3] Stratfield, (now Bridgeport,)[4] Greenwich,[5] Danbury and its vicinity,[6] Darien,[7] Norwalk,[8] Redding,[9] Stamford,[10] New Milford,[11] Morris,[12] Plymouth,[13] Salisbury,[14] etc., indeed the entire western portion of the Colony,[15] in Connecticut; Oyster Bay,[16] Jamaica,[17] Shawangunk,[18] all those in Richmond-county,[19] in New York, and many others,[20] some of them by formal Votes, in legal Town-meetings, and all of them, in practise, also declared their disapproval of the revolutionary measures adopted by the Congress and recommended by it, to be enforced in the several Colonies.

While the more conservative portions of the Colonists, in opposition to the Home Government, were earnestly laboring to maintain themselves in the leadership of the political elements of the Colony, and, at the same time, to secure a redress of the grievances to which the Colony had been subjected and to effect an honorable reconciliation between the Colonies and the Mother Country, the revolutionary portion of the same body of Colonists, strengthened by the accession to their number, of those, recently of the opposite portion, who were endeavoring to pose, for office-sake, both as aristocrats and as democrats, as might best suit successive audiences, nominally intent on the accomplishment of the same ends, was really employed in zealously promoting measures which were better adapted to the defeat of itself, in whatever it should really seek to accomplish, in the interests of peace.

On the seventh of November, James Duane, who had already distinguished himself, in connection with John Jay and Joseph Galloway, as everything else than an honest promoter of anything which was revolutionary in its tendencies, pandered to the revolutionary spirit which pervaded the revolutionary portion of the unfranchised inhabitants of the City, through whose influence he had once been elevated to a seat in the Congress and through whose continued influence, only, a similar favor might be secured, in the near future—that James Duane submitted a Resolution to the Committee of Correspondence, in the City of New York, for the election, by the Freeholders and the Freemen of the City, of eight persons in each Ward, for the purpose "of observing the conduct of all Persons touching the *Association*" [*of Non-Importation, and Non-Exportation, and Non-Consumption*] "entered into, by the Congress," against Great Britain and her Colonies, and for the purpose, also, of publishing the names of all those whom that Com-

[1] *Letter from Marshfield to a Gentleman in Boston*, January 24, 1775, published in *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 95, New-York, Thursday, February 9, 1775, reprinted in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, i., 1177, 1178; *Extract of a letter from Boston to a Gentleman in New-York*, January 26, 1775, reprinted in the same work, i., 1178; *Proceedings of the Town*, in legal Town-Meeting, 20th February, 1775, reprinted in the same work, i., 1249; *Protest of sixty four of the Inhabitants of the Town*, 20th February, 1775, re-printed in the same work, i., 1249, 1250.

[2] *Proceedings of the Town*, in Special Town-Meeting, 30th January, 1775, published in *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 94, New-York, Thursday, February 2, 1775, and reprinted in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, i., 1202, 1203; *Card signed by twenty-nine of the Inhabitants*, "Ridgefield, Connecticut, February 2, 1775," reprinted in the same work, i., 1210; *Proceedings of Adjourned Town-Meeting*, April 10, 1775, reprinted in Hurd's *History of Fairfield-county, Connecticut*, 339; the same work, 650, 653; Teller's *History of Ridgefield, Conn.*, 45, 46.

[3] *Proceedings of the Town*, in Town-Meeting, "Newtown, Connecticut, February 6, 1775," published in *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 97, New-York, Thursday, February 23, 1775, re-printed in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, i., 1215; Hurd's *History of Fairfield-county*, 405.

[4] Hurd's *History of Fairfield-county*, 78, 79, and the *Petition for Harbor Guard*, dated January 14, 1777, which is therein reprinted.

[5] Hurd's *History of Fairfield-county*, 373, 374, and the *Charges made against Rev. Jonathan Murdock, Pastor of the West Society*, dated July 12, 1784, printed therein; Mead's *History of Greenwich*, 153, 154.

[6] *Proceedings of the Town*, in legal Town-Meeting, February 6, 1775, in *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 97, New-York, Thursday, February 23, 1775, reprinted in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, i., 1216; Hurd's *History of Fairfield-county*, 184.

[7] Hurd's *History of Fairfield-county*, 268.

[8] Hurd's *History of Fairfield-county*, 502–504; Childs's *Burning of Norwalk*, in Hurd's *History*, 513, 514.

[9] *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 97, New-York, Thursday, February 23, 1775; Rev. Mr. Beach's *Reports to the Secretary of the Venerable Society*, 1765–1781; Hurd's *History of Fairfield-county*, 583.

[10] Huntington's *History of Stamford*, 205; Hurd's *History of Fairfield-county*, 706.

[11] *Protest of one hundred and twenty Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Town of New Milford*, February 27, 1775, reprinted in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, i., 1270; *History of Litchfield-county, Connecticut*, Phila.: 1881, 451.

[12] Dwight's *Travels*, ii., 369.

[13] *History of Litchfield-county*, 495, 496.

[14] *History of Litchfield-county*, 530.

[15] Hinman's *Historical Collections of the part sustained by Connecticut, during the War of the Revolution*, 18, 84, 570.

[16] *Letter from Oyster-bay to James Rivington, from "A Spectator,"* describing a Meeting of ninety Freeholders of that Town, on the thirtieth of December, 1774. (*Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 90, New York, Thursday, January 5, 1775.)

[17] *Declaration of ninety-one Freeholders and forty-five other principal Inhabitants of Jamaica*, "Jamaica, January 27, 1775," in *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 94, New-York, Thursday, February 2, 1775.

[18] Card, dated "Ulster-county, New York, February 11, 1775," published in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, i., 1230.

[19] *Proceedings of the Committee of Observation of Elizabethtown, New Jersey*, February 13, 1775, published in Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1676, New-York, Thursday, February 16, 1775; and those of the Committee for Observation for the Township of Woodbridge, New Jersey, "Woodbridge, February 20, 1775," published in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, i., 1249, each providing for "boycotting" the Staten Islanders.

[20] *Lieutenant-governor Colden to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "New York. "2 Nov. 1774;" *the same to the same*, "New York, December 7, 1774;" *the same to Governor Tryon*, "New York, Dec. 7, 1774;" *Governor Gage to the same*, "Boston, December 15, 1774;" *Joseph Reed to Josiah Quincy, Junior*, "Philadelphia, November 6, 1774;" *Proceedings of a Meeting of Freeholders of Middlesex-county, New Jersey*, "according to a "Notice," January 3, 1775, reprinted in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, i., 1083; *Proceedings of Town of Barnstable, Massachusetts, in Town-Meeting*, January 4, 1775, reprinted in the same work, i., 1092; *Letter from Georgia to a Gentleman in New York*, dated February 18, 1775; reprinted in the same, i., 1160; *Proceedings of the General Committee*, [establishing non-intercourse with Georgia] "Charlestown, "South Carolina, February 8, 1775;" *Duchess-county* [New York] *Association*, January 18, 1775; *Letter to James Rivington*, dated "Flush-"ing, in Queen's County, Long-Island, Jan. 14," published in *Rivington's New York Gazetteer*, No. 92, New-York, Thursday, January 19, 1775; *Letter to the same*, dated, "Newtown on Long Island, Jan. 12, "1775," published in the same issue of that paper; *Letter to the same from Ulster-county, New-York*, published in the same paper, No. 93, New-York, Thursday, January 26, 1775; *Letter to the same, from Duchess-county*, published in the same paper, No. 95, New York, Thursday, February 9, 1775; etc.

mittee should condemn, for having violated that *Association*, in order "that, thenceforth, the parties to the "said *Association* should respectively break off all deal-"ings with him or her"—in more modern phraseology, in order that the alleged offender, whether guilty or innocent of any violation of law, on the mere condemnation of a local Committee, on whom individual animosity or local prejudice might exercise a greater power than either justice or equity could control, might be promptly boycotted, in all his or her business relations, and, thereby, be involved in disaster and ruin. At the same time, John Jay, Peter T. Curtenius, Isaac Low, and James Duane were appointed to prepare a Circular Letter to the different Counties, recommending them, also, to appoint similar "Com-"mittees of Inspection," "agreeably to the provisions "of the eleventh resolve of the Congress."[1]

"Some difficulties having arisen relative to the Ad-"vertisement published by the Committee, for choos-"ing a Committee of Inspection"—in other words, the handful of professional politicians who assumed to represent the unfranchised Mechanics and Working-men of the City, having repudiated the limitations imposed by the Congress, and insisted that the votes of the great body of the inhabitants, as well as those of the Freeholders and Freemen, of the City, should be received, in the election of the proposed Committee of Inspection—an interview, between the leaders of those plebeian and revolutionary claimants of political authority and their aristocratic and conservative neighbors of the Committee of Correspondence, was invited by the latter;[2] and, on the following day [*November* 15, 1774,] such an interview was had; but not until the Committee of Correspondence, meeting separately, had ordered "that, when "a Committee for carrying the *Association of the Con-"gress* into execution shall be elected, this Committee "do consider themselves as dissolved; and that this "Resolution be immediately made public."[3]

It was thus acknowledged by that Committee which had been originated in the memorable Caucus, at Sam. Francis's, six months previously, and which had been subsequently organized, with so much ostentation, at the Coffee-house, nominally, for the promotion of "the common cause" of the Colonies, in their reasonable dispute with the Home Government; but, more surely, for the protection of the conservative and aristocratic elements of the City's population from the already unwelcome and yet more threatened aggressions of those which were more democratic and revolutionary in their inclinations; and, less prominently, but most surely, for the advancement of the individual purposes of those who were its originators and master-spirits—by that hitherto respectable Committee of Fifty-one which no longer represented, without wavering, those political principles on which it had been originally founded and for which it had resolutely contended, not always unsuccessfully; which was no longer controlled by those who even appeared to be actuated simply by an unselfish de-

[1] *Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence*, "NEW-YORK, November 7, 1774."

The eleventh Resolution of the Congress, referred to in the text, provided "that a Committee be chosen in every County, City, and "Town, by those who are qualified to vote for Representatives in the "Legislature, whose business it shall be attentively to observe the con-"duct of all persons, touching this *Association*" [*of Non-Importation, Non-Consumption, and Non-Exportation,*]; "and when it shall be made "to appear to the satisfaction of a majority of any such Committee, that "any person within the limits of their appointment has violated "this *Association*" [*whether he may have consented to it, or not*] "that "such majority do forthwith cause the truth of the case to be published "in the *Gazette*, to the end that all such foes to the Rights of British "America may be publicly known and universally contemned, as the "enemies of American Liberty; and, thenceforth, we respectively will "break off all dealings, with him or her."

The reader will judge how ill-adapted such a "smelling Committee" as was thus ordered, in every Town, must have been, to promote harmony among the Colonists, or to give support to those who were seeking a redress of the grievances of the Colonies and a restoration of harmony between the Colonies and the Mother Country.

[2] *Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence*, "NEW YORK, November "14, 1774;" *Letter from the Committee of Correspondence to the Committee of Mechanics*, "COMMITTEE CHAMBER, November 14, 1774."

The uncertainties, if nothing else, of political office-seeking, and the tricks, if nothing else, of office-seekers, during that eventful period, may be seen, although they may not be entirely understood, in a comparison of the contemptuous manner in which the aristocratic Committee had spurned the democratic Committee, when it was proposed that the latter should be consulted, in the nomination of the ticket for Members of the proposed Congress, (*Minutes of the former*, June 29 and July 4, 1774,) with the eagerness with which the aristocratic nominees on that ticket, very soon afterwards, repudiated the fundamental principle maintained by their own organization, and accepted that of their plebeian neighbors' organization, in order to secure the support of that body, at the Polls, and to assure their election, (*Correspondence between Abraham Brasher and others, a Committee, and Philip Livingston and others, nominees for the office*, July 26 and 27, 1774); and with the voluntary invitation, from the aristocratic to the democratic Committee, to meet in conference, in the instance mentioned in the text, when the primary movement was to be made, toward the election of another Delegation, to meet in another Congress, in the ensuing May. If the reader will closely watch the successive events, in that connection, and notice the final result, he will see, also, how well the consolidation of aristocracy and democracy, into one mass of political conglomerate, for the advancement in authority of particular men, accomplished that purpose, the interests of the Colonies and those of political honesty, in the meanwhile, having been entirely disregarded.

[3] *Minutes of the Committee*, "NEW YORK, November 15, 1774."

Judge Jones, in his *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, (i., 24,) said, "This Committee met frequently, and violent Resolutions "were proposed, but ever rejected. Mr. Low and the republicans of the "Committee finding it not to answer their purposes, actually dissolved "it, and nominated one of their own, without an election or the least "notice to the Citizens. Mr. Low continued Chairman. They acted as "a legal body, legally chosen, and fined, imprisoned, robbed, and ban-"ished His Majesty's loyal subjects with a vengeance." As will be seen, hereafter, the Judge was in error, when he supposed and stated that the second Committee, that of "Inspection," was not elected, and was created secretly, without notice to the Citizens. On the contrary, the two factions of the Opposition, in the City, having been consolidated in order to secure such a result, that "Committee of Inspection" was elected by "a respectable number of the Freeholders and Freemen "of this City, assembled at the City Hall, where the Election was con-"ducted under the inspection of several of the Vestrymen" of the City.

The unquestionable records of the doings of both Committees, as well as all known authorities brought down from that period and relating thereto, abundantly prove that there is nothing which was inaccurately stated, in any other portion of the statement, notwithstanding the learned Editor of the Judge's work, singularly enough, appears to entertain a different opinion on that subject.—(*Notes to the History*, i., 438.)

sire to promote the common weal; and which had been invaded, if it was not, then, controlled, by those, of the opposite and less comely faction of the party of the Opposition, with whom the majority of its members, by a formal vote, had already declined to affiliate—that its mission was completed, and that its original authority and power, through corrupt influences with which it was not unacquainted, had passed into other hands. It had, indeed, asserted and successfully maintained those conservative political principles, directly antagonistic to the more revolutionary political principles which the men of Boston had asserted and insisted on, which it believed to have been better adapted for the promotion of "the "common cause" and for that of the best interests of the Colonies; and, for the further promotion of "that "common cause," consciously or unconsciously, it had unselfishly prepared a way for the advancement of those, within itself, who coveted place and its prerogatives, by nominating them for seats in the Congress of which it had been the originator and the unyielding promoter. It had seen, however, the nominees of its selection, with one exception, barter that fundamental principle which it had especially cherished, for the votes, at the Polls, of those whom it had previously declined to recognize as parties in the struggle; it had subsequently seen those nominees, after their election, as members of the Delegation from New York, concur in the adoption of measures which it had already declined to approve and which were nothing if they were not aggressive and revolutionary; and, at last, it had seen the party of the Opposition crowded toward Rebellion, by the Congress of its own creation; and its own whilom master-spirits in conservative exclusiveness, anxious for a further advancement in place-holding and for the promotion of that particular purpose, joining hands with the principal supporters of what was, very clearly, only democratic and revolutionary. There was a fitness, therefore, that those of the Committee who had honestly and unselfishly opposed the aggressions of the Home Government, should cease to allow their names and whatever influence those names might possess, to be used by those who had betrayed the confidence which had been reposed in them, directly, for the advancement of their own personal ends, and, indirectly, for the promotion of Revolution, if not for that of Rebellion; and there was a peculiar fitness, also, that, whatever those conservative members of the Committee of Fifty-one should do or decline to do, in the interests of the Colonists and of the Colony, they should not remain, associated with, if not controlled by, those of the opposite faction of the confederated party of the Opposition, whose ultimate object, very clearly, was nothing else than the advancement to place and political authority of those who were its leaders, even if that advancement should be made at the cost of a Revolution and of a Civil War. The Committee of Correspondence did well, therefore, in thus providing for its own dissolution, without permitting itself to be crowded out of its existence by that faction of its own political party for whom it had, generally, no respect—by that faction of that party of the Opposition, hitherto its only political antagonist, which, then, appeared with John Jay and James Duane, lately two of the Committee, among its nominal leaders.

The result of the interview which the Committee of Correspondence had thus invited—one of the high contracting parties rapidly approaching its own dissolution, with only twenty-three of its fifty-one members present, and with eight of the twenty-three predestinated by their associates to an early retirement: the other of the two parties to the conference flushed with that most recent and most important of its victories over the aristocracy of the City—was a determination to nominate sixty persons who should be agreeable to both the Committee of Correspondence and the Committee of the Mechanics, all of whose names should be submitted to the Freeholders and Freemen of the City, at a Meeting to be called for that purpose, at the City Hall, for their approval and election;[1] all of which was evidently done and completed, on the twenty-second of November, exactly in conformity with the programme which the two political "rings" of that period, consolidated for the purpose of promoting their mutual political interests, had already prepared and promulgated.[2]

There is abundant evidence concerning the peculiar zeal of that new-formed Committee of Inspection—sometimes styled "THE COMMITTEE OF SIXTY," and at others, "THE COMMITTEE OF OBSERVATION"—in the discharge of its self-imposed duties;[3] but, generally, the purposes to which this work is specially devoted do not require a more extended notice of them, in this place. Those purposes require, however, that mention shall be made of the fact, in this connection, that whatever the Circular Letters which were sent to Westchester-county, by the Committee of Correspondence or by any other body, for the purpose of

[1] *Proceedings of the Conference with the Committee of Mechanics*, in the *Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence*, "NEW YORK, November 15, "1774."

[2] Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1664, NEW-YORK, Thursday, November 24, 1774; and *Rivington's New York Gazetter*, No. 84, NEW-YORK, Thursday, November 24, 1775.

"The first Thing done by the People of this place in consequence of "the Resolutions of the Congress, was the Dissolution of the Committee "of 51, in order to choose a new Committee of Inspection, to carry the "Measures of the Congress into effect. A Day was appointed by Adver-"tisement for choosing sixty Persons to form this Committee. About 30 "or 40 Citizens only appeared at the Election, & chose the 60 who had "been previously named by the former Committee. I can no otherwise "my Lord account for the very small number of People who appeared on "this occasion, than by supposeing that the Measures of the Congress "are generally Disrelished."—(*Lieutenant-governor Colden to the Earl of Dartmouth*, No. 9, "NEW YORK, December 7th, 1774.")

[3] *Lieutenant-governor Colden to Captain Montague*, "NEW-YORK, [illegible], "1775;" *the same to General Gage*, "NEW-YORK, 20th Febry, 1775;" *the "same to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "NEW YORK, 1st March, 1775;" Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 34; Leake's *Memoir of General John Lamb*, 97; etc.

enlisting her farmers in the support and execution of the *Association* or of any other of the measures or recommendations of the recent Congress, may have been or may have proposed, they were evidently entirely disregarded; and that, at least as recently as the early Winter of 1774–75, there was not sufficient interest, friendly to the revolutionary movements which were so deeply exciting the inhabitants of the neighboring City, within any portion of that rural County, to do even the paltry service of circulating those Circular Letters throughout the Towns; although there were a few, a very few, who were beginning to look favorably on those movements, and to talk and write, in the support of them. We shall notice all of these earlier demonstrations of which we possess any information, since they were the small beginnings of that Revolution, within the County of Westchester, of which so much has been said and written.

The first of these was a Letter, in support of the revolutionary movements and in answer to the tracts of "*A. W. Farmer*," which had made so much excitement, throughout the Colonies. It was written by a Weaver and published in Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1668, NEW-YORK, Thursday, December 22, 1774. The Editor assured his readers that it was actually written by a working Weaver, who lived in Harrison's Purchase;[1] and it was in these words:

"*To the city and country inhabitants, of the province of New York.*

"Friends, and fellow mortals,

"THE division between Britain, and her Colonies, is very alarming; but what I think "would be more alarming, is a division between the in- "habitants of the colonies; the effect of which we have "from holy writ, *that a house divided against itself*, "*cannot stand.* I have seen a pamphlet printed by "Mr. Rivington, entitled the *Country Farmer*, which "seems to be calculated to throw all into confusion, "& to no other end; and artfully to gain his point, "as a *Farmer*, he addresses himself to the Farmers, "and their wives; he tells the latter, they cannot "treat a neighbour with a dish of tea; and that will "be a dreadful thing indeed; to the former, he saith, "their produce will rot on their hands, and they can- "not pay their weaver, &c. Being a *Weaver* myself, "and tho' they be generally poor, still they are as "useful a set of men, as any in the world, and so will "remain, as long as, from the King to the peasant, "all are born naked. I therefore, would beg leave "to say a word in answer to our pretended Farmer, "and make no doubt but the lowness of stile I shall "speak in, will be excused, when it is considered that "a man may be a profound Weaver, and no gram- "marian; and being a useful branch of mankind as "above, ought to have the privilege of speaking in "his own stile. If so, then my first answer to our "*Farmer* is, that we Weavers, and I believe I may "say most of other trades too, cannot live without "meat, bread and clothing, all which I shall gladly "take in exchange for my labour; and If I could "earn more at the year's end, than a supply for my "family, I would be content, (at this troublesome "period, which our Farmer sets up for such a terror) "to have my employer say to my creditor. *I owe "the Weaver so much, which I will engage to pay to you, "when I can sell my produce.* It may be my creditor "may answer, *the produce will suit me*, and then all "will be well; but if not, the promise will answer at "this time, with every creditor that hath any spirit of "patriotism. Now to the *wives*, I would address my- "self as follows, viz. to remember when their parents "were first placed in the garden, that it was said to "the woman, *yea, hath God said ye shall not eat of "every tree of the garden?* but the woman was pre- "vailed on by a deceiver, to disobey the command, "and to eat. But O! the consequence! and so like- "wise, a deceiver now says to you *what! are you de- "nied the pleasure of drinking tea?* But I beg of you "not to be now deceived, nor prevailed on to bring "ruin and slavery on your country and posterity, by "tasting of that detestable herb, which hath already "been the cause of so much confusion. But if you "will not be entreated, but will persist in using it, "you will find your case similar to that of *Eve*, she "lost her innocence, and plunged all her descendants "into everlasting misery; you will lose liberty, and "plunge your descendants into everlasting slavery.

"The *Farmer* too, complains bitterly about not "transporting *sheep*. I wish to God, the congress "had let us send away our *black sheep;* for then per- "haps this pretended *Farmer*, might have been *trans- "ported* before he could have made such a *bleating*.

"Now I would beg leave to say a few words on his "clamour against our *delegates*. He calls them *trait- "ors*, which name, he had much better have taken "on himself, where it might have been applied "with propriety. I cannot see any room for this vil- "est of mankind, to insinuate, that those men would "attempt to betray their country. Besides their un- "spotted characters, are they not men of extensive "interests in America? have they estate in any other "country? No, what then should induce them to "betray America, seeing that if America falls, they "must fall with it? This consideration alone, is suf- "ficient to clear them from our *Farmer's* aspersion. "But in my opinion, a still stronger security for their "integrity and faithful discharge of the trust reposed "in them, is, the unblemished character they have

[1] "The public may be assured, that the following letter is the produc- "tion of a real, and not a fictitious weaver in West Chester. It is the "offspring of an honest warmth in the cause of his country; and tho' "his sentiments, and remarks, appear in a homespun dress, they never- "theless are not without force, and we presume, will contribute to the "entertainment of our readers."—(*Editorial, introductory to the letter of the Weaver.*)

" ever supported; nor in this do I trust alone to " common fame, having known Mr. Jay, from his " early youth, and had some acquaintance with Mr. " Duane, from which I have had so much reason to " confide in them, that I could contentedly trust them " to contend for my liberty, or my life. And on the " whole, I think that it would be well for us farmers, " and mechanicks to consider whether it is not likely " that each colony took as much care in choosing " their delegates, as we did. That is, to send men of " knowledge, men of interest, and men of honour. If " so, we must look on our *farmer* to be a man wholly " given to ridicule, misrepresentation, and malevo- " lence; for he hath declared that most honourable " and never to be forgotten congress, to be either a " set of *ignorant men*, or else to be *traitors!*

" I would now recommend to the notice of every " reader of *Rivington's Farmer*, that it is the usual " practice of evil minded persons, when they would " disturb the quiet of any man, or body of men, " against whom they can find no just cause of com- " plaint, to raise against them, without any evidence, " the highest clamours, suggest the most criminal de- " signs, and if possible, represent even their most " laudable actions in an odious light: The best char- " acters and most commendable actions, are no secur- " ities against attacks like these of the *Farmer*, to " which the best of men are most exposed; but it is " a proof against them, that they are unsupported by " *reason*, or by *credible evidence;* when, if either had " existed, they would certainly have been produced " by the same malevolence that raised the clamour " without them. I would only desire the reader to " consider the *Farmer's* clamour, invectives and " abuse, calmly and dispassionately, give them their " due weight and no more. I would not even desire to " turn them upon his own head, and cause him, like " Haman, to be hanged on his own gallows—I only " desire that, unjust and unreasonable as they are, " they may have no weight with the reader, or raise " any prejudice in his mind against the cause of truth " & his country, or against any man or body of men, " especially those worthy men who have nobly stood " forth and exerted themselves to save their country " from slavery and destruction.

" I come now to consider his clamour against the " citizens, in which he declares, at a certain time, " there was no magistrate with virtue enough to do " his duty; and that there is no merchant he would " trust. I don't recollect any thing said of the law- " yers, but he hath been severe upon the mayor and " commonalty, on account of the *snipe act*, with " which act, if he had gone a little further, he would " amply have justified our struggle, with the mother " country.

" I would ask, why does not that act continue in " force to this day?

" The answer is, because the country people were " very unanimous in opposition to it; though it was " to the loss of individuals, myself for one, still they " stood out; which caused the framers of that act to " consider closely the consequences which would at- " tend its continuance—and so it was thought best to " make it void. Here we may see the effect of a " steady opposition to an odious law; and similar " causes will produce similar effects. We may assure " ourselves that a steady and firm opposition to the " late acts of Parliament, will cause our sovereign to " examine into the state of the case with great atten- " tion; and when he finds he has been led into un- " warrantable acts by diabolical counsellors, he will " dismiss them from their offices, by which they have " wickedly devised to throw the nation all into con- " fusion, and thereby to dethrone the King.

" Therefore my fellow mortals, let me beseech you, " as you value your liberty, and the liberty of your " posterity, take the advice of the ever to be admired " and revered Congress, stick close to the non-con- " sumption agreement, and lay aside those unneces- " sary diversions, which but too often end in the de- " struction of both soul and body. If it should seem " grievous for the present, we have this for our con- " solation, that as good men as you and I, have been " afflicted: The devil was permitted to afflict Job " worse than wicked Ministers, or Counsellors of " state can you and me; and let us take patern by " his stability, when his friends came and clamoured " against him, as bad as our Farmer doth in this day, " against the best men we have among us; and when " his wife advised him to *curse God and die*, what was " the effect? why nothing at all, for it was full conso- " lation for him to say, *I know that my redeemer liv- " eth;* and in another place, *all the days of my ap- " pointed time will I wait, till my change come.*

" This is an amiable example of stability, which, " may Americans imitate. May they join corre- " sponding actions to fervent *prayers*, that they may be " enabled to maintain their rights and liberties! That " the British arms may never be employed but in a " just cause,—to protect the weak and innocent from " wrong, and to be the terror of oppressors and evil " doers. That the illustrious house of Hanover may " continue to be the defenders of true religion and " virtue, the faithful guardians of our freedom and " property! That our sovereign, George the third, " may discover every wicked design, that any of his " Ministers, or others, have conceived against him, or " any of his people! That he may be endowed with " wisdom and virtue to become a blessing to his peo- " ple, and a terror only to his enemies! That his " days may be prosperous and many, and his end " peaceful and happy! And may all the subjects of " him and his successors, be ever watchful and reso- " lute to prevent the least encroachment upon their " rights and liberties, on the preservation of which, " the happiness of both King and people depends!

" And as a powerful means of preserving the bless- " ings of freedom, may we be all duly sensible of the

"importance of choosing proper persons to represent "us in our legislative assembly, and of being ex- "tremely careful in our choice.—All which are the "fervent wishes of A WEAVER, in Harrison's Pur- "chase, West Chester County."

About the same time that this letter appeared, there was a movement, in the vicinity of the White Plains, to obtain a nominal approval, if no more, of the action, the revolutionary action, of the Committee of the City of New York; but if what was said of the result of the effort by those who were opposed to the movement, without contradiction, may be believed, only "three or four persons in the White Plains" participated in it; and, practically, it was a failure.

Very soon after the end of the movement referred to, however, there was a counter-movement, in the same vicinity, in which a *Declaration* was circulated and signed by the Freeholders and principal Inhabitants, in which the conservatism of those who signed it was distinctly asserted. As a part of the earlier literature of the Revolution, in Westchester-county, we have thought that *Declaration* possesses sufficient of interest to entitle it to a place in this narrative. It was in these words, very carefully copied from the original publication, in *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 91, NEW-YORK, Thursday, January 12, 1775:

"To the PRINTER.

"Sir,

"WE the subscribers, freeholders and inhabit- "ants in the White Plains, in the county "of Westchester, think it our duty to our King and "country, to declare, that we have never given our "consent to any Resolves touching the disputes with "the mother country, nor are we any ways concerned "in any measures entered into relative to them. We "are rather induced to do this, because we under- "stand, that three or four persons in the White "Plains, have taken upon them to declare to the "Committee at New-York, the consent of the "inhabitants of the White Plains to the resolutions "entered into, in New-York, and their acquiescence "with the measures taken there; when the major "part of the few people who attended the meeting, "did not choose to be concerned in the matter. We "also testify our disapprobation of many hot and "furious proceedings against the measures taken by "the mother country, as, in our opinion, they will "rather tend to ruin this once happy continent, than "remove grievances. We also declare that we desire "to live and die peaceable subjects to our gracious "Sovereign King *GEORGE* the Third and his laws. "This is to inform the public, that the above declara- "tion was signed by forty-five freeholders and in- "habitants, in the small precinct of the White "Plains, against the proceedings of the New-York "Committee, besides Miles Oakley."

A few weeks afterwards, Miles Oakley, one of those who had signed it, undoubtedly, for good and sufficient reasons,[1] retracted what he had uttered in the above-recited *Declaration;* and we have carefully copied from Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1681, NEW-YORK, Thursday, March 23, 1775, what he said on that latter occasion. It was in these words:

"Westchester County, White Plains.

"WHEREAS, there was a petition published in "Rivington's paper, some time past, that "forty five of the freeholders and inhabitants, be- "sides Miles Oakley, did sign a petition—I did sign "a petition, something like it, by being misled; and "afterwards being informed into the right state of "the matter, I got the petition, and struck my name "out, and forwarned the Esq. A. H—not to return "my name and he swore by God he would; and "many others that signed it, has told me, they was "sorry they had any concern in signing the petition.

"MILES OAKLEY, and
"DANIEL HORTON."

There was no portion of the County of Westchester, in which the conservatism of the inhabitants was so general and so decided in its character, as in the Manor of Cortlandt;[2] and, during the Winter

[1] On the 8th of May, 1775, Miles Oakley was appointed a member of the County Committee, (*vide page* —, *post;*) soon afterwards, he received a Warrant for Second Lieutenant in Captain Mills's Company; (*vide page* —, *post;*) and he served in that office, under Colonel Holmes, in the bloodless Campaign of 1775; leaving the service, when the Campaign closed.—(*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Committee*, XXV., 94.)

Daniel Horton, whose name accompanied that of Miles Oakley, on the disclaimer now under notice, was a resident of Rye; and in the re-organization of the Militia of the County, he was made Second Lieutenant of the Rye and Mamaroneck Company, commanded by Captain Robert Bloomer.

[2] Illustrative of the statement made in the text, is the following, taken from the *Upcott Clippings*, iv., 297, in the Library of the New York Historical Society: "It is said that at least three-fourths of the people "in Cortlandt's Manor, New York, have declared their unwillingness to "enter into the Congressional measures: that a great number of the "people in general in Westchester County are preparing to do the like; "and that the *Association* against the Continental Congress has been "signed by three hundred persons in the neighborhood of Poughkeepsie "only. Many lists are sent about Dutchess County, on which also "many hundreds have subscribed."

As far as it related to Westchester-county, the above was copied from Gaine's *New-York Gazette: and the Weekly Mercury*, No. 1220, NEW-YORK, Monday, February 27, 1775.

It must not be supposed, however, that the farmers in Westchester-county supported the Home Government, in its Colonial policy: on the contrary, neither in the well-known *Declaration and Protest*, nor elsewhere, as far as we have knowledge, was there the slightest leaning in that direction—they did no more, at any time, than to prefer and accept that opposition to the Home Government which had been made by the General Assembly of the Colony of New York, instead of that which was made by the Continental Congress of 1774; and, at no time, as the reader will hereafter learn, was the great body of them inclined to support the Royal Cause, with their persons and their properties. There were some who were smarting under the outrages which had been inflicted on them or on their friends, by local and other despots, of high or low degree; and these were, sometimes, compelled to find refuge and protection within the lines of the Royal Army; and there was a floating, vicious class, within the County, which the lawlessness of the revolutionary faction and the succeeding War had produced—ready to enlist on that side which offered the greater inducements—but the great body of the farmers was patient, law-abiding, peacefully inclined, stayers at home, industrious, and severely conservative.

of 1774–75 and early in the Spring of the latter year, there was considerable activity, among the farmers on that particular Manor, in opposition to the revolutionary spirit which was seeking to force itself on them. *An Association*, referred to in the Note 2, on page 42, ante, had been prepared and numerously signed in Duchess-county; and copies of it had been also circulated and signed within Westchester-county, especially within the Manor of Cortlandt, which adjoined the Duchess-county of that period;[1] and, about the same time, an *Address*, accompanied with an *Association* adapted to that particular locality, was prepared and widely circulated; and the *Association* was numerously signed. That very interesting and very important *Address* and the *Association* which accompanied it,—the latter, generally known, among those who favored the revolutionary faction, as "*The Loyalist's Test*"—because they form very important specimens of the literature of revolutionary Westchester-county, and because of their importance as reliable authorities for the guidance of the student of the history of that County, during that eventful period, may properly find a place in this narrative; and we have carefully copied them from *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 96, NEW-YORK, Thursday, February 16, 1775. They were in the following words:

[1] The following is a copy of those notable "RESOLVES," as that *Association* was frequently called, carefully made from Gaine's *New-York Gazette: and the Weekly Mercury*, No. 1218, NEW-YORK, Monday February 13, 1775, where they were printed among the current news of the day:

"WE the subscribers being desirous to convince mankind that "we are firmly attached to our most happy constitution, "and are disposed to support and maintain peace and good order under "his Majesty's government, do therefore declare, that our sovereign lord "king George the third, is the only sovereign to whom British America "may, can, or ought to owe and bear true and faithful allegiance, and "that there is no legal power or authority therein but what is duly "derived from him; that our representatives in General Assembly con-"vened, are the only guardians of our rights and liberties; that without "them no laws can here be made to bind us, and that they only are the "channel through which our grievances can properly be represented for "redress, and that to support their right and authority, we do hereby "associate and mutually covenant and engage to and with each other "as follows, namely:

"*First.* That we will upon all occasions stand by and assist each other "in the defence of his life, liberty and property, when ever the same "shall be attacked or endangered by any bodies of men riotously assem-"bled, upon any pretence or any authority whatsoever, not warranted "by the laws of the land.

"*Second.* That we will upon all occasions mutually support each "other in the free exercise and enjoyment of our undoubted right to "liberty, in eating, drinking, buying, selling, communing and acting "what, with whom, and as we please, consistent with the laws of God, "and the laws of the land, notwithstanding the association entered into "by the Continental Congress to the contrary.

"*Lastly.* That we will endeavour to promote, encourage, and when "called to, enforce obediance to the rightful authority of our most gra-"cious sovereign king George the third, and the laws which can, do, or "may constitutionally extend to, or in the British colonies in America.

"In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands, this eighteenth "day of January, in the fifteenth year of the reign of our sovereign "lord George the third, by the grace of God of Great-Britain, France, "and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c., and in the year of our "lord Christ, 1775."

"An Address to the Inhabitants of Cort-"landt's Manor.

"I am one amongst you, tho' yet a "stranger, an inhabitant of Cort-"landt's manor; I have nothing to dread or fear "from the resentment of any person or persons, as "I mean to give no offence to any individual; "only wishing, that reason and common prudence "may take place of present bickerings, and the "detestable poison of party faction. It is a matter no "longer to be hid under a cloud, whether we are in "reality, his Majesty's loyal subjects or not; I have "all the reason in the world to believe, that the "worthy people of this Manor are so to all intents "and purposes; I mean as to their private sentiments; "but alas! my friends, the time is at hand, when "those sentiments alone will not be of sufficient va-"lidity to justify the loyalty of your hearts. It re-"quires no great penetration to assign reasons for your "silence in matters of so great importance; your con-"duct, my friends in this last point, is not to be "blamed; it rather redounds to your credit in the "eyes of every one that knows the life of a farmer. "The farmer is brought up to peace and tranquility; "politics, and the designs of crafty men are strangers "to his honest minds; his care and toil, with the "sweat of his brow, is to turn the furrows which give "us subsistence: It is from industry, that worthy "merchants are enabled to extend their commerce,— "commerce! the vitals of a nation, every country has "its share in different commodities, designed by the "will of an omnipotent Being to depend on each other, "linked in a chain of civil society. I presume it will "not be improper to see what part of this advantage "providence has allotted us; the question may be "easily solved; we are placed in a fertile land, teem-"ing forth, in abundance, the necessaries of life for "ourselves, and a superfluity, which brings the wealth "of other nations to our own coffers.—Every individ-"ual enjoys his share according to his industry and "situation in life; he is protected in his possessions, "by what? 'Tis by the paternal care, the penetrating "eye, and the mighty arm of his mother country; who "like a hen, when the hawk is near, hovers round her "chickens, takes them under her wings, and preserves "them from the enemy. I think I have accounted "for your inattention to political matters, as not being "within the sphere of your occupations, but confined "to the laudable pursuit of your own business; and, "I sincerely wish it to continue without interruption; "to effect which, there is only one method left.—I "have already observed, that our good intentions, "kept in silence, are not sufficient to distinguish our "loyalty; It may do amongst ourselves; but let us "consider facts which we know to be true; they are "recent in our memories, and need not recapitula-"tion; it is sufficient that we are informed of the con-

"sequences in England, where they are considered as "actions founded on rebellious principles, subversive "of all law and government, and abusive, in the high- "est degree, to his Majesty's crown and dignity. I "have said, I am one amongst you, my situation has "given me opportunity to form ideas of your behav- "iour and sentiments, I believe you, in a general "sense, firmly attached to loyalty and our admirable "constitution; that you wish to live and die subjects "only to the British empire; but how is this to be "manifested, and that it should be declared, there is "an absolute necessity, without delay, for the follow- "ing reasons: That the colonists of New-York are "under the same dilemma with the other provinces "and the continent throughout, considered as com- "binants in a general plan, which gives so much "offence to the supreme authority, whose dignity "cannot, nor will not, be insulted. Let us of Cort- "landt's manor, clear ourselves of the general impu- "tation; we do not deserve it, then, why should we "suffer it? We never consented to congresses nor "committees, we detest the destruction of private "property, we abhor the proceedings of riotous and "disorderly people, and finally, we wish to live and "die the same loyal subjects we have ever been, to his "most sacred Majesty GEORGE the THIRD. Let us "my friends, declare, and acknowledge this, our in- "dispensible duty, by signing our names to the paper "now circulating in this manor, wrote and adapted "for the subscription of none but ROYALISTS.—It is "not enough for a man to say, that I am a loyal sub- "ject, no more than to say I am a pious and true "christian; it must be his work, his dependance on, "his energy, his indefatigable effort; to promote honor "and glory to the true system of his preservation. As "charity, my friends, is a characteristic of a good man "and a christian, I wish by no means it should be im- "paired, in this our manor of Cortlandt; permit me, "my neighbours, to instance one point in particular "to which I hope you will pay strict adherence, viz. "If you should disagreeably find any one, or more "amongst you who are blind to their own happiness, "let me intreat you to take no advantage of their "weakness, rather use lenient and mild persuasions; "tell them their true interest; use all your endeav- "ours that if possible they may return to their right "senses:—In this you will shine in triple capacity, "you recover the lost man, you draw together the "bands of unity, and are an honor to your King and "country."

Form of an Association in Cortlandt's Manor.

"WHEN the minds of people "are agitated, some with "just, and some with false ideas of their rights "and privileges, when anarchy and confusion are "spreading their baneful wings over this once "happy and flourishing Continent: At this most "interesting period, it is the duty of every indi- "vidual, for the good of himself and posterity, to "pursue that course which conscience dictates to be "right. No one, if impartial, can be at a loss for the "clue of direction, the object is plain to every honest, "tho' ever so illiterate capacity: The loyalty we owe "to the best of Kings is the grand magnetic point, "that will infallibly fix us on a solid basis. There are "none amongst us (if we cooly reflect) but what will "find themselves bound by the strongest ties of grati- "tude, to acknowledge that we have been, and still "may be, the happiest people on earth, under the "glorious and unparalelled constitution of Great "Britain! And if prejudice, popular declamations, "and the hateful current of party faction, are not too "strong for truth and matters of fact; we must allow "that the grand pitch of commerce we have arrived "at, the progress we have made in arts and sciences; "the amazing repadity in extending, settling and im- "proving our land estates; the magnificent appear- "ance and flourishing condition of our towering cit- "ies; the opulence of the inhabitants, and every other "blessing under God which we *do*, and still *may* en- "joy, derived their origin from, and have their exis- "tence in the laws, the lenity, and the unlimited "indulgence of our parent state; which has hitherto "protected us, is ever able, and would be ready, if we "deserve it, to defend us against all invaders of our "peace and tranquility, by sending to our support the "terror of the universe, the BRITISH ARMS!—For a "proof of this let us revert to the late war, when the "French and Savages with fire and sword, were rav- "aging the country; when the cries of murder and "scalping were echoed from every quarter of the "woods; the infants brains dashed out before the eyes "of its afflicted parents; the parents tortured to death "by the horrid and shocking barbarities of the Indi- "ans; and numbers flying from their habitations, ex- "posed to famine, and every species of distress. Let "us reflect on those direful calamities; Let us be "grateful to the power which preserved us, which sent "forth her INVINCIBLE VETERANS, vanquished our "enemies, and finally reinstated us in quiet posses- "sion of our own.—If we have a right to complain of "the British acts of parliament, we have a Governor, "Council and Assembly, to represent our grievances "to the KING, LORDS and COMMONS; we are assured "that we shall be heard: We have no business with "*Congresses* and *Committees*. Such methods only serve "to irritate our best friends. Let us proceed in the "direct line of our duty: We are contending with a "mighty nation, of great mercy and long forbearance, "ever sparing of the effusion of blood; but when "rouzed to resentment, we may feel the weight of her "indignation.—Therefore we, the subscribers, free- "holders, and inhabitants of Cortlandt's Manor, in "the county of Westchester, being actuated by no "other motives than the dictates of conscience and

"common sense, are led to declare our firm and indis-
"soluble attachment to our most gracious Sovereign
"GEORGE the THIRD, his crown and dignity; and
"with grateful hearts to acknowledge, that we are in-
"debted to his paternal care, for the preservation of
"our lives and fortunes: And as we have ever been a
"happy and free people, subject only to the laws and
"government of Great-Britain, we will pay no regard
"to any resolves, or restrictions, but such as are en-
"joined us by our CONSTITUTIONAL DELEGATES.
"Everything to the contrary, we deem ILLEGAL."

An answer to this *Address* and this *Association* was published in *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 99, NEW-YORK, Thursday, March 9, 1775, in these words, which we have carefully copied from the original publication:

"To *every* American to *whom it is applicable;*

"But chiefly to

"The ASSOCIATORS *of* Cortlandt's Manor.

"*O ye Tame Pigeons!*

"EXCUSE, my friends, the manner of addressing
"you, for if we advert to a passage in Holy
"Writ, we are told, that the professors of our excel-
"lent religion, should be *as wise as serpents, and*
"*harmless as doves;* I must, in some measure, think
"you a Christian people, as both the above properties
"are discovered in Cortlandt's Manor, tho' they
"seem not to be properly blended together.—The
"framer of the Association, and the elaborate piece
"that attended it, in Mr. Rivington's paper of Feb-
"ruary 16, has certainly all the subtilty of the ser-
"pent; and has as dexterously wormed himself
"round your estates, with as much address, and will
"probably have the same success, as the first serpent
"had, when he attacked our old grandmother.—And
"you, my friends, resemble the simple dove, for you
"seem to be innocent and secure, although the de-
"luder has already catched you in the snare: Then
"be not offended at my calling you pigeons; for
"naturalists assure us, it is the very nature of this bird,
"that she seems always calm and secure, and has no
"inclination to defend herself, or her young ones,
"from the attacks of men, beasts, or vermin, but al-
"ways returns to the same hole to make her nest,
"notwithstanding the experience she has had, of its
"being utter destruction to her family.—Just so it is
"with you, ye people of Cortlandt, *ye have eyes, but*
"*see not, and ears, but hear not.* The Spectator, in
"some of his beautiful lucubrations, mentions a young
"Eastern Prince, who being severely reprimanded for
"some unguarded folly of youth, immediately fell
"down at the feet of his preceptor, and expressed
"himself to this effect:—O father, I now perceive,
"that I have two souls, a good soul and a bad, in
"your absence the bad soul predominates; passion
"and pleasure, with their attendant train of delusions,
"absorbe my frame; reason and virtue are forced to
"quit their seats!—But in your presence, the good
"soul assumes the throne; reason, truth, and virtue
"appear in all their native forms, and every vicious
"passion is banished from my heart.

"However this may be with an individual, it is
"clearly evident, that the inhabitants of the British
"dominions are actuated by two sorts of souls, and
"these are of very different kinds: But let us exam-
"ine them; the soul of the virtuous son of Freedom,
"is the soul of God! the soul of nature, and the soul
"of the British Constitution; it is a soul that dares
"to think, that dares to speak, that dares to die!
"This soul has animated every kingdom on the face
"of the earth, till by their own crimes and their own
"folly, they have voluntarily banished it
"their soil: This is the soul that has sup-
"ported the British state through various revolu-
"tions, and will maintain its empire, either in that,
"or some other part of the globe, till Heaven, in its
"vengeance, shall extirpate the human race.—Now,
"the souls of the other cast, may be divided into two
"classes; and first, those in the island of Britain,
"who erroneously call themselves friends to govern-
"ment; and are generally distinguished by the name
"of Tories: and these should be called despotic
"souls, as they well deserve the appellation; for, by
"their alert address, they have had influence enough
"to buy all the votes in the Kingdom; and the min-
"istry has had foresight enough to buy all them; so
"that, all the laws of that once great nation, are now
"framed, passed, and executed by one branch of the
"legislature: And the consequences have been cor-
"respondent; equity, justice, and reason, with all
"the antient props of the state, are banished the sen-
"ate: tyranny mounts her throne, and says,—I
"WILL! The other class of souls reside in America,
"and must be called souls of the basest mould; these
"wretches, by the God of nature, have been suffered
"to receive their being in a land of happiness, and
"have been nursed up in a land of liberty and
"plenty; but O monstrous ingratitude! Without
"the least remorse, without any spur to real ambi-
"tion, they forsake their country! in short they are
"divested of every trace of human perfection, except
"one trifling gleam of hope, which the devil has ever
"made use of to delude his votaries; and this, will
"eventually end in despair. Yet these mens souls,
"dare attempt with their Syren songs, to lull even
"virtue itself to sleep, in the hopes that she may yet
"split on the rocks.—One day we are charmed with
"peace, clemency, and pardon; riches and plenty
"are to be powered into our dwellings; tyrants and
"heroes are to drop their crowns and their laurels at
"our feet, that we may partake of the banquet, if we
"will only bow the knee to satan. But, if we are
"stern enough to deny passive obedience, then ter-

" ror and dismay are to assault us, all the British " navy shall knock down our pompous cities; thou- " sands and tens of thousands of forces are to crimson " o'er the spacious plains with blood; Canadian big- " otry and persecution is to pour in upon us from " the North; the Indians, with horrid barbarity, are " to torment us from the West; and perhaps pesti- " lence and Spaniards from the South.—This, ye sor- " did mortals, is the true picture of your base hearts; " this is the scene, on which you could feast your " eyes with rapture, provided the rocks and the " mountains might cover you.—But now let me tell " you, that were all this possible, there are fifteen out " of twenty, throughout this vast continent, all Free- " dom's sons, whose blood is neither contaminated " with paltry bribe, or coward fear; who would face " all this terror, rather than sell their birthright for a " mess of pottage, or be a means of transmitting mis- " ery and infamy to their posterity.

" But, O ye men of Cortlandt, let us for a moment " view the windings of that arch serpent which hath " beguiled you; with what pleasing sensations, he " surveys your fine fields, your harvests, and your " herds; and how he commends and admires the " trickling drops that pour down your brows; no " doubt these are delicious charms to him; yet, one " thing on your part, is absolutely necessary; and " that is, your loyalty, only establish that, and he can " easily take care of the rest of your business.—With " what elegance of stile he describes your fertile " plains, your splendid cities, your noble towers, and " the oppulence of your marts, which has poured all " the riches of the globe into your laps! and all this, " thro' the paternal indulgence of a tender mother. " But he has neglected to inform you, that, for these " 12 years past, this kind mother has become a " monster! Like the cruel ostrich, she has forsaken " her young ones; with the fierceness of a tyger, she " lays waste our own fair inheritence, and dashes " her sons against the stones!—Shakspeare makes " Hamlet express himself thus; 'But, I am pigeon " 'livered, and lack gall to make oppression bitter.' " Whether it is the lack of gall, or the lack of sensi- " bility, that makes you callous to that bitter oppres- " sion that now surrounds you, I will not determine; " but for creatures, that are said to wear the image of " the Deity, to be so lost to every noble sentiment " that ornaments the man; must bespeak the most " amazing apathy.—Then let me conjure you, to rise " from your lethargy, assume the dignity of freemen; " smite the serpents that have spread their poisons " round you; burn your associations; and with " dauntless intrepity, join the sons of freedom, who " are the only temporal guardians of the human race.

" B. E."

No further attempt to answer this *Address* nor to counteract the effects of the *Association* appears to have been made until late in the Spring, a long time after the farmers throughout the Manor had commenced their work of ploughing and sowing and planting, when the following letter, signed by "An "Inhabitant," was published in Gaine's *New-York Gazette: or the Weekly Mercury*, No. 1236, New-York, Monday, June 19, 1775.

" To the inhabitants of the Manor of Cort- " landt, New-York.

" Manor of Cortlandt, May 19, 1775.

" Gentlemen:

" The dangerous innovations and in- " fringements attempted by certain mercenary Min- " isterial tools and infamous traitors (in this Manor) " to their Country, who assume to themselves the " name of Loyalists, on the liberties of their fellow- " subjects, have greatly alarmed the impartial friends " of Liberty herein. A fool, says an author, has " great need of title; it teaches men to call him " Count and Duke, and to forget his proper name of " Fool.

" In a day when American pulse beats high for " Liberty; when it is the subject of almost every " public paper, as well as topic of discourse, it might " justly have been expected that no American would " be so hardy as to violate the rights of his fellow- " subjects; and if any such monster should appear " in this land of Liberty, that there would not be " wanting advocates for so glorious and important a " cause, as to expose those of its members who are " trampling on the sacred rights of the people.

" I have waited with great impatience, expecting " that some able hand would have undertaken the " benevolent task to warn you to beware of the con- " duct of some of the basest villains that ever dis- " graced any society, and draw the attention of the " inhabitants to its danger; but finding that although " now some months are elapsed since the commence- " ment of the measures of these traitors, &c., yet none " has appeared to sound the friendly alarm to the " very indolent inhabitants, I have attempted what " I so ardently wished might have been done by some " more able hand. While we are straining every " nerve to baffle foreign attempts to enslave us, surely " it must be very criminal in the descendants of " Britons, who ought to love life and liberty alike, to " be so assiduous in exerting themselves to enslave " their fellow-subjects.

" It may not be improper to inform you, Gentle- " men, of the springs and motives which induce these " principal movers to forget their duty to God, their " fellow-countrymen, and their posterity.

" They, anxious to secure to themselves and their " posterity power and authority, and to engross some " offices or pensions from or under the Crown, have " made a sacrifice of all public virtue on the altar of " self-interest. This desperate spirit it was that in- " duced these traitors or mercenary hirelings to exert " their influence to bring about the detestable meas- " ures proposed by a certain paper handed about here

"last Winter, entitled '*The Loyalist's Test.*'[1] But, "happily for this Manor, this very dangerous scheme "was disconcerted by some lovers of Loyalty and "Liberty. For the men who would make such in- "roads on the liberties of the people, as they were "aiming at, to gratify their thirst for power, and give "Administration a high idea of their influence in this "Manor, would, from the same principle, exert every "nerve of influence to carry any ministerial mandate "into execution, at the expense of the liberties of "their fellow-countrymen.

"Can any judicious American son of liberty behold "these traitors of their Country without the utmost "abhorrence, by whose influence the more illiterate "and those who are unacquainted with the principles "of the present dispute, are so besotted as to resign "their liberties into the hands of the most ambitious "and designing fellows, who are aiming to make a "merit with the Ministry by enslaving their fellow- "countrymen, and to aggrandise themselves and "their posterity? Surely he cannot. If Charles the "First deserved the axe, and James the Second the "loss of his Kingdom, for changing the Constitution, "and thereby trampling on the rights of their sub- "jects, I leave you, my Countrymen, to judge what "punishment would be adequate to the crimes of "these loyalists and their tools, who are aiming at "the same by a sacrifice of all public virtue and the "liberty of their Country.

"An Inhabitant."

With the publication of this letter, the Manor of Cortlandt probably closed its literary labors, in the cause of either party, since the work of the successive seasons occupied the entire attention of the Tenantry, and the Proprietors, also, found other subjects which commanded their attention; but the great body of the farmers, on the Manor, like those in the neighboring County of Duchess, continued to be conservative and without sympathy with those who were in rebellion, to the end of the War.

During the greater portion of the period in which had occurred the various transactions of which mention has been made, herein, the General Assembly of the Colony of New York had not been permitted, by the Colonial Government, to meet for the consideration of the public affairs and for the transaction of the public business of the Colony; but a large proportion, if not a majority, of the Members of the House, in their individual characters, were known to have sympathized, to a greater or lesser extent, with the less radical portion of the party of the Opposition, in the Colony, while the Committee of Correspondence of the House, in which was vested, *ad interim*, much of the authority of the House, was also known to have united with the local Committees of Correspondence, in New York and elsewhere, in proposing the convention of a Congress of all the Colonies, for consultation and advice, in the matter of the great grievances to which the Colonies were said to have been subjected, unconstitutionally, by the Parliament and the Ministry of Great Britain. It was a matter of deep concern, therefore, both in the Colonial Government and among the Colonists, generally, when, on the tenth of January, 1775, that body was permitted to assemble, in an Adjourned Session;[2] and, in the absence of more exciting occurrences and in view of many anxious hopes that that Assembly, which had not been concerned in any of the extraordinary occurrences of the preceding twelve months, might, possibly, become instrumental in restoring harmony between the Mother Country and the Colonies—"most ardently "desired by all good men"[3]—the eyes of all careful observers, in Europe and America, were directed, wistfully, toward the little chamber, in the old City-Hall, in Wall-street, in the City of New York, in which that General Assembly was assembled.

The members of that Assembly, as was well-known, like the body of the Colonists whom they respectively represented, were of the confederated party of the Opposition, and, to a man, antagonistic to the Colonial policy of the Home Government; but, also like their constituents, they were divided—in some instances, they were radically divided—in their views and in their inclinations, concerning the manner in which that opposition should be presented and through what instrumentality it should be exercised. A portion of those members, respectable in character and ability, but a minority in numbers, led by George Clinton, Philip Schuyler, and Peter R. Livingston, asserting its continued loyalty to the Sovereign, its desire to effect a redress of the grievances under which the Colonies were laboring, and its hope that a reconciliation between the Colonies and the Mother Country might be secured, nevertheless, fell back on the Congress and on the line of action on which the Congress had determined, notwithstanding the well-known tendency toward Revolution of all which that Congress had done, and notwithstanding, also, the equally well-known effects of that action, because of its ill-concealed encouragement of Insurrection if not of Rebellion, on a large portion of the Colonists, throughout the Continent, and on the Home Government. Another portion of those members, equally respectable in character and ability, constituting a large majority of the House, and led by Isaac Wilkins, James De Lancey, and Crean Brush, was not less opposed to the Colonial policy of the Home Government, nor less decided and sincere in its opposition to that policy, nor less desirous of effecting a redress of the grievances under which the Colonies were said to have been suffering, nor more hopeful that a recon-

[1] Vide pages 43, 44, 45, ante.

[2] *Journal of the Assembly*, Du Martis, 10 hor. A.M., the 10th January, 1775.

[3] *Resolution of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts*, in favor of a Meeting of Deputies, in a Congress of the Continent, June 17, 1774.

ciliation between the Colonies and the Mother Country might be effected; but it also maintained, in opposition to the minority of the House and more consistently with the uniform profession of loyalty to the Sovereign and of respect for the fundamental principles of the Constitution, in both of which all, the minority as well as the majority, professed to be in harmony, that a removal of the causes of the disaffection and a restoration of harmony between the excited disputants could not be secured by the use of such means as the Congress had recommended and authorized, no matter by whom organized and controlled; and that, for those well-defined purposes, it would be preferable to adopt and employ only those means which would give offence to no one, and only those instrumentalities concerning which there could not be raised any question of their legitimacy nor of their entire fitness, within the law, for the due promotion of the great ends for which, alone, all professed to be contending. The first-named portion of the members, was, evidently, determined to force the Assembly into the line of the radical portion of the party of the Opposition, for no other purpose, however, than that of increasing the moral weight of that particular faction of the party, in its desperate struggle for the possession of the controlling power, in political affairs, within the Colony; and this, too, notwithstanding that success in such determined effort could only result in destroying the one remaining body, legally constituted and entirely unsmirched by any association with any less legally constituted body, through which the Home Government could be reached, officially, in whatever action should be taken in behalf of "the common cause;"[1] and notwithstanding, also, that the supporters of the Congress, in the event of their success, would, thereby, destroy a most powerful instrumentality, then preparing to labor, independently, in a line which whilst parallel to that already occupied by the Congress itself, was, nevertheless, for the accomplishment of the great purposes for securing which that Congress had been originally proposed and was subsequently organized, and was, then, among other less desirable purposes, through its own appointed instrumentalities, apparently laboring. The last-named portion of the members, not less determined than the other, resolutely maintained that the Assembly should remain entirely independent from all those popular Committees and Congresses which had been moving and laboring, during the preceding year, in lines of action which they had respectively approved, each for itself, for the common purposes; and, with equal resolution and consistency, it evidently determined, also, that the Assembly should take no official action on any of the occurrences of the preceding year, except such as should be brought before it, officially, or such as might have arisen from some prior action of the Assembly itself; and, more important than all else, it determined that, with all the weight of its legitimate and official authority and influence and with all the personal influence of its individual members, but after a fashion and in terms of its own selection, and without any violation of official or individual propriety or of the Laws of the Land--especially without officially recognizing the existence of any other opposition to the Ministry or the existence of any other organized body which had been, which was, or which might become, similarly employed—it would vigorously oppose the obnoxious Colonial policy of the Home Government, earnestly seek a redress of the serious grievances under which the Colonies were then laboring, and honestly endeavor to effect that honorable and permanent reconciliation of the Colonies and the Mother Country, which all factions, and all parties, and all sects, and all classes of society, throughout the Colony, professed to consider necessary and desirable; and which, some in one manner and some in others, each faction for itself, they were endeavoring to secure, for the common weal.[2]

The County of Westchester was ably represented on the floor of the Assembly, in the persons of Colonel Frederic Philipse and Judge John Thomas, who represented the body of the County; Pierre Van Cortlandt, who represented the Manor of Cortlandt; and Isaac Wilkins, who represented the Borough of Westchester. Of these, Thomas and Van Cortlandt were of the minority of the Assembly, of which mention has been made; and Philipse and Wilkins

[1] "The Ministry alledged that the Congress was no legal body, and "none could be heard in reference to their proceedings, without giving "that illegal body some degree of countenance; that they could only "hear the Colonies through their legal Assemblies and their Agents prop-"erly authorized by them, and properly admitted here; that to do "otherwise would lead to inextricable confusion and destroy the whole "order of Colony Government."—(*Annual Register for the year* 1775, 56.) See, also, *Parliamentary Register* (Almon's) i., 115, 116, 124.

[2] There is no subject connected with the history of the United States which, from the beginning until now, has been more systematically and recklessly falsified than the political character of the members of that Assembly, the influences which controlled that body, and the action which it took, on the great political questions of the day.

Notwithstanding there was not a member of the party of the Government in the Assembly, Murray (*Impartial History*, i., 434) Lossing (*Field Book*, ii., 793) and, with his characteristic indirectness and malignity Bancroft (*History of the United States*, original edition, iv., 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, etc.; *the same*, centenary edition, iv., 455, 456, 457, etc.) stated or insinuated that the "friends of the Government," or "the Tories," were in the ascendency and controlled it.

Notwithstanding the Despatches of Lieutenant-governor Colden to the Home Government, which are (and have been, since 1775) accessible to everybody, abundantly prove that the Colonial Government possessed no more influence, which it could exercise over the Assembly, than was possessed by any other political opponent,—that, in fact, that body was not in harmony with the Government, and acted adversely to the hopes of the, Government—Murray, (*Impartial History*, i., 434) *History of Civil War in America*, Dublin: 1779, i., 68; Soule, (*Histoire des Troubles*, i., 129;) etc., assert that whatever action was taken by the House, was under the influence of the Lieutenant-governor of the Colony.

The action, on the great questions of the day, which the Assembly took, from day to day, tells its own story, wherever it is known, and stamps the brand of infidelity to their duties, as historians, on by far the greater number of those who have undertaken to discharge those duties, on these particular subjects.

were of the majority of that body, which has been already described; and because of the prominent parts which those Representatives of that County respectively took, in the debates concerning the momentous questions which were considered and determined in that Assembly, and because of the ills which befell three of those Representatives, because of what they had respectively said and done in that Assembly, there is no portion of the history of revolutionary New York which possesses a deeper interest to those who are of the Westchester-county of more recent days, than that which relates to the action taken by that General Assembly of the Colony of New York, on the political grievances under which the Colony was then said to have been laboring, on the Colonial policy of the Home Government through which those alleged grievances had been inflicted on the Colonies, on the means which were best adapted to the redress of those alleged grievances, and on its employment of those means for that purpose.

Although the Assembly had been prorogued to meet on the tenth of January, 1775, the members from the distant Counties were not present on that day, nor on several succeeding days; and, on the twentieth of that month, a "Call of the House" was ordered to be made on the seventh of February ensuing; and the Clerk of the House was ordered to write to the absent Members, to require their punctual attendance on that day,[1] both factions of the House evidently understanding that that particular "Call of "the House" carried with it, in honor if in nothing else, the additional provision that no leading question which was likely to be brought before the Assembly, during that Session, should be thus introduced, until after that "Call" should have been made, agreeably to that Order.[2] It appears, however, that the minority was strengthened by the arrival of two of the absentees, within a few days after the "Call" had been ordered and nearly a fortnight before the day on which it was ordered to be made—at which time, too, it appeared to the minority that it had temporarily acquired the control of the House—and the majority was surprised, on the twenty-sixth of January, by the introduction of a Resolution, submitted by Colonel Abraham Ten Broeck, of the Manor of Rensselaerwyck, to "take into consideration the Proceed-"ings of the Continental Congress, held in the City "of Philadelphia, in the Months of September and "October last."

Under any circumstances and in any assemblage, there would be aroused an earnest, if not an angry, opposition to any movement which was covered with as much of bad faith and dishonor as was seen, surrounding the Resolution which Colonel Ten Broeck had thus submitted in violation of the honorable understanding, between the two factions, which had been entered into when the "Call of the House" was agreed to, by both; and, in the instance under consideration, "a warm debate ensued," between the rival factions of the Assembly, which was followed by a call "for the Previous Question," submitted by Colonel Philipse, of the County of Westchester, on which, agreeably to the parliamentary usage of that period, the House was carried from the consideration of the Resolution which was then before it, to the consideration of that "previous question," whether the question on the original Resolution should then be taken, in other words, if that original Resolution should not, then and there, be absolutely rejected, without being permitted to linger until another day, in the hands of an adverse majority. By a vote of ten to eleven, the House determined that the question on Colonel Ten Broeck's ill-timed Resolution should not "be now put," thereby entirely defeating the minority, in its certainly dishonorable attempt to force a consideration of the proceedings of the Congress, on the Assembly, in open violation of its own particular undertaking, and at the expense of its own honor.[3]

Very reasonably, although the welcome act was done by those who were not of the "friends of the "Government," the result of that early struggle in the General Assembly of the Colony, on such a momentous question, was very acceptable to the Colonial Government[4] as well as to the Ministry, at London;[5] and, from that date until this, separated from the motives of the majority of the Assembly who had thus rejected the Resolution, and from the other acts of the series, in opposition to the Government, of which

[1] *Journal of the House*, "Die Veneris, 10 ho., A.M., the 20th January, "1775."

[2] "It was some Days before a sufficient number of Members got to Town "to make a House, and there are still twelve of their number absent, "which has occasioned the House to put off the farther consideration of "their Important Business to the 7th of next Month, at which Time "they have ordered all their Members to attend."—(*Lieutenant-governor Colden to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "NEW YORK, 21 January, 1775.")

In the Lieutenant-governor's Despatch to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated on the first of February, 1775, it is stated that the Call of the House referred to was made on a Motion offered by the minority of the House, for what was supposed would be beneficial to its purposes; and when it is remembered that the majority already possessed the control of whatever was brought forward, it will be seen that that majority not only had no occasion to make such a Call, but, also, that, when it consented that such a "Call" should be made, it had entire confidence in its continued supremacy, even when the entire strength of each of the two factions should have been brought into the House, an instance of its temerity which, very nearly, became disastrous to it.

[3] *Journal of the House*, "Die Jovis, 10 ho., A.M., the 26th January, "1775;" *Lieutenant-governor Colden to General Gage*, "NEW YORK 29th "Jany 1775;" *the same to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "NEW YORK 1st Feby "1775;" *the same to Governor Tryon*, "NEW YORK, 1st Feby, 1775;" *the "same to Admiral Graves*, "NEW YORK 29th Feb. 1775."

[4] The venerable Lieutenant-governor of the Province was evidently in excellent spirits, from that result, when he wrote the Despatches to General Gage and the Earl of Dartmouth, which were referred to in the last preceding Note.

[5] "When the question to adopt the Measures recommended by the Con-"gress was negatived by a Majority of one only, in this Assembly of "twenty-six Individuals, the Ministers were in high spirits; and these "Individuals were then represented as 'all America.'"—(Governor Johnstone's *Speech in the House of Commons*, May 15, 1775—Almon's *Parliamentary Register*, i., 47.)

that rejection of Colonel Ten Broeck's Resolution was only the prelude, that Vote of the Assembly has supplied a theme on which those who have seemed to play the part of historians of that portion of America's history, have based much of what they have said, unduly commendatory of Massachusetts and Virginia and quite as unduly denunciatory of everything which pertained to New York, unless of some of the men of New York, of that early period, whose characters, for fidelity to the truth and uprightness in the discharge of public duties, were no better than their own.[1]

The lesson which the defeat of its dishonorable movement, under Colonel Ten Broeck, had given to the minority of the Assembly, appears to have been well-studied by those who were of that minority; but it did not prevent it from continuing to hanker after the leadership of whatever movement, in the direction of a redress of the grievances of the Colonies, the Assembly should be inclined to take. Subsequent events very clearly indicated, indeed, that the minority desired to promote its own factional interests rather than to serve the Colony; and, undoubtedly with that end in view, five days after the defeat of its first ill-timed movement, and apparently actuated only by purely patriotic motives, Peter R. Livingston, of the Manor of Livingston, one of the leaders of the minority, offered a Resolution "that a day "may be appointed to take the state of this Colony "into consideration; to enter such Resolutions as the "House may agree to, on their *Journals;* and, in "consequence of such Resolutions, to prepare a humble, firm, dutiful, and loyal *Petition to our most gracious Sovereign.*" Whatever may have been the purposes of the minority, in submitting that Resolution, however, it certainly gathered no special advantages to itself, in doing so, since the majority promptly accepted a proposition which was perfectly agreeable to it, and added importance to it, *per se*, by uniting with the minority in support of it, all the members who were present, the conservative as well as the radical, uniting in the unanimous adoption of it.[2]

Immediately after the adoption of the Resolution submitted by the Representative of the Livingston Manor, James De Lancey, of the City of New York, one of the leaders of the majority and the head of that powerful family, moved "that a *Memorial to the Lords*, and a *Representation* "*and Remonstrance to the Commons of Great Brit*"*ain* may be prepared, together with the *Petition* "*to his Majesty;*"[3] and, like the Resolution which

[1] Gordon (*History of American Revolution*, i., 471) led off, in the work of detraction, by saying "The Massachusetts Congress were displeased with "the proceedings of the General Assembly of New York," for this Vote, among others, as if the approval of any merely insurrectionary body were necessary to ensure the respectability, in history, of any General Assembly, legally elected, legally convened, and acting in conformity with law. Ramsay (*History of the American Revolution*, i., 143) insinuated, in the absence of sufficient authority to assert, that "the party for "Royal Government,"—although there was not a member of that party within the Assembly, and although the Colonial Government was confessedly without influence enough to be made acquainted with its intentions—led the Assembly to reject the Resolution. Grahame (*History of the United States*, iv., 360) following Ramsey, and, generally, in his *uncredited* words, repeated the slander which that early writer insinuated. Leake (*Memoir of General Lamb*, 97) regarded the Vote as unpatriotic and "an important ministerial triumph." Lossing (*Field Book of the Revolution*, ii., 793) made "fifteen of the twenty-four Members of the As"sembly, Loyalists;" and he attributed the Vote to that unduly assumed cause, although, in fact, every member professed to have been equally loyal to the Sovereign. Bancroft, also, as far as his fragmentary paragraphs may be regarded as history (*History of the United States*, original edition, iv., 207–210; *the same*, centenary edition, iv., 454–456) insinuated what he would have been glad to have asserted, had he possessed even a shadow of evidence to support him, that it was the influence of the Government and that of the Established Church, the venality of the Representatives in the Assembly, the timidity of the Colonists themselves, and prejudice against lawyers and Presbyterians, combined, which produced that notable Vote. The servility of the Assembly to the Ministry, singularly enough, produced it, if the acute and untrustworthy John C. Hamilton (*History of the Republic*, i., 79), is to be believed. Lodge (*History of the English Colonies*, 491,) one of the latest specimens of Massachusetts dilettanteism, sneeringly refers to the Assembly of New York as "the close corporation known as the Assembly," as if the General Court of Massachusetts, locked in its Chamber, was not quite as "close" a body, while it was in session, as even he could find. Others, including Frothingham (*Rise of the Republic*, 398) told only of the rejection of Colonel Ten Broeck's Resolution, and, by the suppression of much of the truth concerning the subject, left their less informed readers to infer, if the latter are not directly told so, that the Assembly was influenced, in that action, by an antagonism to the popular cause.

No one, unacquainted with the facts and depending on any of the above-named historians for information, can possibly learn, from them, that the Vote referred to was taken in the interest of the common cause, as a prelude to what the Assembly intended to do, in its own manner, in support of that cause; that there was not a "friend of the Government," or "Tory," or member of the "party of the Government," among the members of that Assembly; that the Colonial Government was not consulted, respecting anything which was done, or to be done, by that Assembly; and that not even the Congress of the Continent, as will be seen hereafter, more earnestly, more powerfully, or more successfully opposed the Ministry and demanded a redress of the grievances of the Colonies, than that Assembly, in every thing which it did, on those subjects. Pitkin (*History of the United States*, i.. 324, 325,) and Hildreth (*History of the United States*, First Series, iii., 56,) notwithstanding they were New Englanders, did not permit the truth to be suppressed; but they gave to the Assembly of New York, at least a portion of what was due to it, in honestly written history.

[2] *Journal of the House*, "Die Martis, 10 ho., A.M., the 31st January, "1775."

[3] The peculiar force, if not the peculiar assertion of the political standing of the General Assembly, with which the proposed papers were vested, in the words of the Resolution, was noticed, in the Parliament, and used as one of the reasons for the Parliament's rejection of them—in the House of Lords, it was said, "the title of the paper rendered it "inadmissible. It was called 'a *Memorial:*' now, '*Memorials*' are pre"sented from one crowned head to another; but as to a '*Memorial*' from "an American Assembly, it was unheard of, and ought not to be read." In the same debate, it was said, also, by another Peer, that "the title "given to the paper was suspicious: a '*Petition*' from the same Assem"bly had been presented to the King, the Colonies not denying the "supreme Rights of His Majesty; a '*Remonstrance*' to the Commons; "and, now, a '*Memorial*' to the Lords. They dropped the usual word "'*Petition*,' lest, from that, it should be imagined that they acknowl"edged the supreme power of those branches of the Legislature."—(*Speeches of the Earl of Denbigh and Earl Gower, in the House of Lords*, May 18, 1775.)

In the House of Commons, Mr. Jenkinson, in opposition to receiving the paper addressed to that House, "urged that the House had never re"ceived Petitions of this nature: that, here, the name of a Petition was "studiously avoided, lest anything like an obedience to Parliament "should be acknowledged. The opposition of the Colonies was not so "much against the tax which gave rise to the present dispute, as to the "whole legislative authority of Parliament, and to any restrictions of

had immediately preceded it, that Resolution, also, received the affirmative vote of every member of the House who was then present. [1]

Continuing the commendable work in which it had thus commenced the proceedings of the day, and apparently without any dissent from any one, the House then ordered that James De Lancey, and Benjamin Kissam, of the City of New York, Colonel Philip Schuyler, of Albany-county, George Clinton, of Ulster-county, Dirk Brinkerhoof, of Duchess-county, Samuel Gale, of Orange-county, Isaac Wilkins, of the Borough of Westchester, Crean Brush, of Cumberland-county [*now a part of Vermont*], Christopher Billop, of Richmond-county, John Rapelje, of Kings-county, and William Nicoll, of Queens-county, or the major part of them—all, except Philip Schuyler and George Clinton being of the majority of the House—be "a Committee to prepare *a State*[2] *of the* "*Grievances of this Colony*, and report same to this "House, with all convenient speed, after the Call "thereof, to be had on the seventh of February "next." [3] Having thus indicated what the House proposed to do, in the common cause in which the body of the Colonists was so earnestly engaged, the House was then adjourned.

Time, very often, produces marvellous changes in the tempers and purposes of politicians, especially in those of politicians who are not of the controlling majority, in their own party or in the State; and, very often, the actions of those politicians, when the latter are engaged in a personal, or factional, or partisan struggle, cannot be brought within the provisions of any known rule of action, of any class. No reasonable reason which would be honorable to the minority of the Assembly, therefore, can be given for the eagerness which it displayed, on the sixteenth of February, to disturb the harmony of that body, in which all of both factions appeared to have been united in both purpose and action; but, on that day, Colonel Philip Schuyler, of Albany-county, in behalf of that minority, renewed the conflict of factions which had been opened, unsuccessfully, by Colonel Abraham Ten Broeck, of the Manor of Rensselaerswyck, on the preceding twenty-sixth of January. For that unseemly purpose, that distinguished member of the minority, on the day referred to, moved that certain specified letters, written by the Assembly's Committee of Correspondence, during the recess of the House, and urging the convention of a Congress of the Continent for the consideration of the grievances of the Colonies,[4] should be entered on the *Journals of the House*, and copies of them be sent to the newspapers, for publication; and, of course, "debates arose upon the said Motion," which was followed by the emphatic rejection of it, by a vote of nine, in the affirmative, against sixteen, in the negative—Judge Thomas and Pierre Van Cortlandt, of course, being among the former, and Colonel Philipse and Isaac Wilkins, of course, among the latter.[5]

On the following day, [*February* 17], Colonel Nathaniel Woodhull, of Suffolk-county, also a prominent member of the minority, continued the factional strife, by offering a Resolution of Thanks to those gentlemen who had represented this Colony in the recent Congress, "for their faithful and judicious dis-"charge of the trust reposed in them, by the good "people of this Colony;" and, of course, "debates "arose upon the said Motion;" after which, by a vote of nine, in the affirmative, against fifteen, in the negative, it was rejected—Judge Thomas being among the former, and Colonel Philipse and Isaac Wilkins being among the latter.[6]

On the twenty-first of February, Peter R. Livingston, of the Manor of Livingston, continued the struggle of the minority, by offering a Resolution giving "the Thanks of this House to the Merchants "and Inhabitants of this City and Colony, for their "repeated, disinterested, publick-spirited, and patri-"otic Conduct, in declining the Importation or Re-"ceiving of Goods from Great Britain, and for their "firm Adherence to the *Association* entered into and "recommended by the Grand Continental Congress, "held at Philadelphia, in the Months of September "and October last, and that Mr. Speaker signify the "same to the President of the Chamber of Commerce "in this City, at their next Meeting, and order a copy "of the same to be published in the public Prints." Like the other Resolutions of the series, which had preceded it, this peculiarly inappropriate Resolution, before such a deliberative body, after it had been amply discussed, was promptly rejected by a vote of ten, in the affirmative, among whom were Judge Thomas and Pierre Van Cortlandt, against fifteen,

"their trade."—(*Speech of Mr. Jenkinson, in the House of Commons*, May 15, 1775.—Almon's *Parliamentary Register*, i., 470.)

Besides the peculiarity of the titles of those several papers, to which reference has been made there was a grave significance in the fact that they were moved for, with those titles, by the head of the leading family in the Colony; and that they were ordered by an unanimous vote of the Assembly. It has suited those who have preferred to traduce New York and her General Assembly, however, to regard both the General Assembly and its papers as only favorable to the Home Government and antagonistic to the common cause.

[1] *Journal of the House*, "Die Martis, 10 ho., A.M., the 31st January, "1775."

[2] In the language of that period, the word "State," as it was used in this and similar connections, was the equivalent of the word "State-"ment," which, in such connections, is now employed.

[3] *Journal of the House*, "Die Martis, 10 ho., A.M., the 31st January, "1775."

[4] One of those letters, if not more of them, was noticed in our statement of the measures of the Committee of Correspondence in New York, relative to its proposition for the convention of a Congress of the Colonies, page 23, *ante*.

[5] *Journal of the House*, "Die Jovis, 10 ho., A.M., the 16th February, "1775."

[6] *Journal of the House*, "Die Veneris, 10 ho., A.M., the 17th February, "1775." *Incontinent-gouvernor Colden to General Gage*, "New York 24th "Febry, 1775."

See, also, Dunlap's *History of New-York*, i., 454, 455.

in the negative, among whom were Colonel Philipse and Isaac Wilkins.[1]

On the twenty third of February, Crean Brush, of Cumberland-county, from the Committee which had been appointed to prepare a *State of the Grievances of this Colony*, presented a Report from that Committee; which was "referred to the consideration of a Com-"mittee of the Whole House, and be proceeded on, "by the said Committee, on Wednesday next."[2]

Immediately after the Report on the Grievances of the Colony had been thus referred, Judge John Thomas, one of the Representatives of Westchester-county, and a leading member of the minority, offered a Resolution providing that "the sense of this House "be taken on the necessity of appointing Delegates "for this Colony, to meet the Delegates for the other "Colonies on this Continent, in General Congress, "on the tenth day of May next." The introduction of that resolution led to a spirited Debate in which the motives of the rival factions composing the confederated party of the Opposition and the undue assumption of authority which had not been delegated to it, by the recently held Congress of the Continent, were freely and ably discussed by Colonel Philip Schuyler and George Clinton, in support of the Resolution, and by Crean Brush and Isaac Wilkins,[3] in opposition to it; and the consideration of the subject was closed by the rejection of the Resolution, by a vote of nine in the affirmative and seventeen in the negative, the four Representatives from the County of Westchester being divided between the two factions, as they had been in the previous divisions of the House.[4]

The well-considered and, under the circumstances, the judicious determination of the majority of the General Assembly, to unite in the general opposition to the Colonial policy of the Home Government, in the general demand for a redress of the assumed grievances of the Colonies, and in the generally expressed desire to restore the harmony between the Colonies and the Mother Country, which the infliction of those grievances had disturbed, without, however, recognizing the existence of any other opposition thereto, in any other person, in any other organization, or in any other line of action, in New York or elsewhere, in order that its particular opposition might not encounter that reasonable disregard of the Home Government which the opposition of those who were in open insurrection would surely encounter, was as well known to the minority of that General Assembly, especially after the rejection of the Resolution offered by Colonel Ten Broeck and the subsequent adoption of those offered, respectively, by Peter R. Livingston and James De Lancey, as it was to the greater number of the members of that body, who sustained it; and a decent respect for the welfare of the Colony, that great end which all professed to regard as greater than all others, if that profession had been honestly made, would, unquestionably, have induced every member of each of the factions to have labored, earnestly and harmoniously, in the sincere promotion of the common cause. But it was clearly shown that "the common cause," which was so loudly talked of, was only a secondary matter; that personal and factional interests were, in fact, regarded as superior to the interests of the country; that it was the purpose of the minority and of those with whom it affiliated, for the especial advancement of their individual and factional interests, to obtain the entire control of the political affairs of the Colony, even at the expense of a revolutionary overthrow of the entire structure of the Colonial Government; that, for the promotion of that purpose, the series of Resolutions submitted by the minority, from that submitted by Colonel Schuyler to that submitted by Judge Thomas, was prepared and submitted with an entire knowledge that it would be promptly rejected by the House, as inconsistent with the line of action which the majority had adopted, for its guidance; and that the successive votes of the General Assembly, by which those Resolutions were successively rejected, divested of all that was so well known of the purposes of that body and surrounded with all of insinuation and falsehood which individual animosity and factional zeal could contrive, were industriously presented, one after another, in their naked form, to the populace in New York City and elsewhere, as evidences, as false as they were mischievous, of what was unduly assumed to have been the antagonism of the General Assembly to the common cause, and, at the same time, for the purpose of gradually undermining the affection for the Mother Country, which generally prevailed, throughout the Colony, and of preparing the populace for a revolutionary transfer of the legislative, as well as for that of the executive and judicial, authority of the Colonial Government, into other channels, in the interest of Rebellion, wherein the control would be assumed by other, if not by better, men.

Having fully accomplished its preliminary purpose, in securing from the legally constituted Legislature of the Colony a rejection of the several revolutionary Resolutions which it had submitted, and in, thereby,

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[1] *Journal of the House*, "Die Martis, 10 ho., A.M., the 21st February, "1775;" *Lieutenant-Governor Colden to General Gage*, "NEW YORK 20th "Febry, 1775."

[2] *Journal of the House*, "Die Jovis, 10 ho., A.M., the 23d February, "1775." *Lieutenant-governor Colden to General Gage*, "NEW YORK, 20th "Febry 1775;" *the same to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "NEW YORK, 1st March, "1775."

[3] Speeches, made by Brush and Wilkins, on that occasion, may be seen in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, i., 1290–1297, the former re-printed from *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 98, NEW-YORK, Thursday, March 2, 1775; the latter from the same paper, No. 103, NEW-YORK, Thursday, April 6, 1775. Students of the history of the Revolution in the Colonies will be well paid for the time occupied in a careful perusal of those Speeches, in connection with the other literature of that subject, published during that period.

[4] *Journal of the House*, "Die Jovis, 10 ho., A.M., the 23d of February, "1775;" *Lieutenant-governor Colden to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "NEW YORK, "1st March, 1775."

affording a pretext to those of its confederates, not of the General Assembly, for the assumption, by them, of authority, nominally in the name of the body of the Colonists but really in known opposition to the inclinations of by far the greater number, to call a Convention of the Colony, in the interests of Rebellion, in which should be reposed the uncontrolled power of exercising the various functions of an independent, despotic Government, without any limitation, and in open disregard of the existing, legally-constituted Government of the Colony—having accomplished that preliminary purpose, the minority of the Assembly discontinued the submission of Resolutions of any character; and, as will be seen, all its labors were subsequently devoted to the promotion of its factional purposes, only, in the consideration of the papers which the House had ordered to be prepared and laid before it, in which, however, the majority afforded very slight reasons for complaint.

On the appointed day, [*March* 1, 1775] the Assembly, in Committee of the Whole House, Colonel Benjamin Seaman, of Richmond-county, occupying the Chair, commenced the consideration of the *State of the Colony's Grievances*, which had been reported by the Special Committee which had prepared it;[1] and after having spent the entire day thereon, as well as the whole of the following day[2] and the greater portion of the succeeding day,[3] also, in Committee of the Whole House, the latter day's session was closed by the adoption of the Report, by the Assembly, with a single Amendment, which was submitted by Colonel Philip Schuyler, and supported by nine of the minority, and five of the majority—the only Amendment which was submitted by any one—a marked feature of the proceedings having been that the amended *State of the Grievances of this Colony* was adopted by the House, without a division.[4]

The *State of Grievances* which was thus adopted by the General Assembly of New York included not only all those Acts of the Parliament of Great Britain, relating to or affecting the Colony of New York, for which Colony only the Assembly presumed to legislate, which the Congress of the Continent had included in the *Bill of Rights and Grievances* which that body had adopted and published, but it included the additional Grievance inflicted in the Act of 6th George III., Chapter XII., "declaring the Right of "Parliament to bind the Colonies in all cases what-"soever," and that inflicted in the Act of 35th Henry VIII., Chapter II., authorizing the removal of prisoners accused of Crimes committed in America, to England, for Trial, neither of which was included in that *Bill of Rights and Grievances* which the Congress had published. It included, also, the Act of 7th George III., Chapter LIX., "requiring the Legisla-"ture of this Colony to provide for the Services there-"in mentioned, without application made to the "Representatives of the People of this Colony, in "General Assembly, and holding up, by any other "Acts, a Suspension of the legislative powers of this "Colony, until such Requisitions be complied with;" the Act of 14th George III. Chapter LXXXIII., "so "far as it may be construed to establish the Roman "Catholic Religion in the Province of Quebec," and "so far as it imposes Duties upon certain Ar-"ticles of Merchandise imported into that Province," "which by another Statute of the same year, Chapter "LXXXVIII., is so extended as to comprehend all the "Indian Country, from Hudson's Bay to the Mouth "of the Ohio-river;" and the four Acts especially relating to Boston and the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, all of which it declared to be Grievances of this Colony;[5] and, as has been said, it concurred in that

[1] *Journal of the House*, "Die Mercurij, 10 ho., A.M., the 1st March, 1775."

[2] *Journal of the House*, "Die Jovis, 10 ho., A.M., the 2d March, 1775."

[3] *Journal of the House*, "Die Veneris, 10 ho., A.M., the 3d March, "1775."

[4] With that lack of modesty and truthfulness which characterized all, concerning his own family, which John C. Hamilton wrote, that gentleman (*History of the Republic*, i., 81, 82) has undertaken to glorify Colonel Schuyler, his grandfather, by falsifying the record, concerning this *State of Grievances*.

In the Committee which had been appointed for the preparation of the *State*, in which every member brought forward whatever he regarded as a Grievance, and not in the body of the Assembly, as is meanly insinuated, Colonel Schuyler introduced the Act of 4th George III., Chapter XV., as such a Grievance, which was approved and accepted by the Committee, with only two dissenting votes, notwithstanding the overwhelming majority, in that Committee, who was opposed to Colonel Schuyler. When the Report was considered in Committee of the Whole House, there was not the slightest opposition to it; and when the Committee of the House reported the completed paper to the House, John C. Hamilton to the contrary notwithstanding, the entire *State* was adopted without a division.

He also alluded to the third of the Grievances, offered in the original Committee, by James De Lancey, recognizing the Right of the Government of Great Britain to regulate the Trade of the Colonies and to impose Duties on such articles, the products of foreign Nations, as should be imported, directly, into the Colonies—the same, in substance if not in words, as that, on the same subject, which the Congress of the Continent had recently adopted—and he glorified his grandfather, because of that gentleman's labors in opposing it, and in endeavoring to qualify the Assembly's recognition of that Right, through an Amendment, which the Committee had rejected; without, however, alluding to that other fact that, in all that his grandfather did, on that occasion, he did in open antagonism to the action of the Continental Congress, on the same subject—he does not say, also, that all that which has been described was done in the original Committee; that when the Report of the Committee was submitted to the Committee of the Whole House, that larger body reversed the action of the original Committee, and united with Colonel Schuyler and his associates in the minority, in their qualification of that portion of the proceedings of the Continental Congress; nor that the House itself, when it accepted the completed *State*, endorsed and approved that emphatic repudiation of James Duane, and of John Adams, and of their unqualified recognition of the Right of the Mother Country to regulate the Trade of the Colonies and to receive the benefits of that Commerce.

Philip Schuyler needed no such fictitious praise, even from his grandson; and, although he was willing to promote the interests of his faction, he does not appear to have been thus employed, in what he did as a member of that Committee for preparing a *State of the Grievances of this Colony*, nor in any proceedings thereon, either in Committee of the Whole House or in the Assembly.

[5] "I was inform'd that the Boston and Quebec Bills were at first re-"jected in the Committee as not being Part of the Grievances of this "Colony; it seems however they were at last brought into the Report, "and I am affraid may not now be got rid of in the House."—(*Lieuten-*

action of the Continental Congress, moved by James Duane and supported by John Adams, and nearly in its words,[1] recognizing the Right of the Parliament "to regulate the Trade of the Colonies, and to lay "Duties on articles that are imported, directly, into "this Colony, from any foreign Country or Planta- "tation, which may interfere with the Products or "Manufactures of Great Britain or any other parts of "His Majesty's Dominions," qualified however, by "excluding every idea of Taxation, internal or exter- "nal, for the purpose of raising a Revenue on the "Subjects in America, without their Consent." It will be seen, therefore, that the *State of the Grievances of this Colony*, adopted and published by the General Assembly, was more extended than the *Bill of Rights and Grievances* which the Congress of the Colonies had adopted and published; and it will be seen, also, by any one who will compare the two papers, that the former, both in its tone and in its terms, was quite as firm and quite as plain spoken, on the several subjects to which it was devoted, as was the latter; and that, in the adoption and promulgation of that *State*, the majority of the Assembly openly maintained its character and standing, as intelligent and fearless opponents of the Colonial policy of the Home Government, without impairing its consistency as Members of the Legislature of a Colony—even the factional confederates of the minority, out in the populace, because of that Act, was compelled to acknowledge the fidelity of the majority, and to admit, in their correspondence with each other, that the *State of the Grievances in this Colony* which it had prepared and promulgated, was an accurate exposition of the feelings and opinions of the great body of the Colonists, in New York, wherever any feelings or opinions, on those subjects, really existed, concerning their grievances, and altogether favorable to the common cause.[2]

On the seventh of March, James De Lancey, and Benjamin Kissam, of New York City, and George Clinton, of Ulster-county, were appointed a Committee to prepare the series of Resolutions required as a basis for the *Petition to the King*, which had been ordered by the House, on the thirty-first of January preceding;[3] and, on the following day, Benjamin Kissam reported, from that Committee, a series of Resolutions, agreeably to that Order. The Assembly promptly went into a Committee of the Whole House, with Colonel Benjamin Seaman, of Richmond-county, in the Chair; and proceeded to consider the Report which had thus been presented; and, after having made some amendments in the proposed Resolutions,[4] the Chairman reported the result of the Committee's deliberations to the House; and, after some discussion, the House agreed with the Committee, in its Report and Resolutions.[5]

The first of these Resolutions, following the general sentiment of the Colonists, acknowledged the Faith and Allegiance to the King which were due to him from "the people of this Colony." The second acknowledged that the Colonists "owe obedience to all "Acts of Parliaments calculated for the general weal "of the whole Empire and the due regulation of the "Trade and Commerce thereof, and not inconsistent "with the essential Rights and Liberties of English- "men, to which they are equally entitled with their "fellow-subjects in Great Britain." The third declared "that it is essential to Freedom and the un- "doubted Right of Englishmen, that no Taxes be "imposed on them but with their consent, given per- "sonally or by their Representatives in General As- "sembly." The fourth maintained "that the Acts of "Parliament, raising a Revenue in America especially "to provide for the support of the Civil Government "and administration of Justice in the Colonies, ex- "tending the Jurisdiction of the Courts of Admiralty "beyond their ancient limits, authorizing the Judge's "Certificate to indemnify the Prosecutor from Dam- "ages he would otherwise be liable to, giving them a "concurrent Jurisdiction of Causes heretofore cog- "nizable only in the Courts of Common Law, and by "that means depriving the American Subject of his "Trial by a Jury, are destructive to Freedom, and "subversive of the Rights and Liberties of the Colo- "nies." The fifth and last of these Resolutions declared "that a Trial by a Jury of the Vicinage, in all "Capital Cases, is the grand Security of Freedom and "the Birthright of Englishmen; and, therefore, that "the seizing any Person or Persons, residing in this "Colony, suspected of Treasons, Misprisions of "Treason, or any other Offences, and sending such "Person or Persons out of the same, to be tried, is dan- "gerous to the Lives and Liberties of His Majesty's "American Subjects."[6]

The politicians of New York, those of later as well

ant-governor Colden to the Earl of Dartmouth, "NEW YORK, 1st March, "1775,")

[1] Bancroft's *History of the United States*, original edition, vii., 139, 140; *the same*, centenary edition, iv., 401, 402.

[2] In a letter written by Alexander McDougal, the well-known popular leader, addressed to Josiah Quincy, Junior, then in London, and dated "NEW-YORK, April 6, 1775," the student of the history of the Revolution, in New York, may find much, relating to the opinions of the revolutionary elements in that Colony, concerning this *State*, as well as conce ning other kindred subjects.

[3] *Journal of the House*, "Die Martis, 10 ho., A.M., the 7th March, "1775."

[4] As the action of the Committee which resulted in those Amendments was not generally noticed on the *Journal* or in the *Report*, it is very evident that they were, generally, only verbal corrections, unimportant in character, and involving no distinguishing principles. But there were two amendments, proposed by Colonel Nathaniel Woodhull and George Clinton, respectively, which were rejected, although the the motions for amendment were supported, in each instance, by several members of the majority, as well as by the full force of the minority; but because the principle involved in each of the proposed Amendments was distinctly declared in another of the Resolutions, the rejection of the proposition to repeat it, possessed no political significance whatever.

[5] *Journal of the House*, "Die Mercurij, 10 ho., A.M., the 8th March, "1775."

[6] *Ibid.*

as those of earlier periods, have always been unlike those of any other Colony, or State, or Country; and in the matter of these declaratory Resolutions, the spirit and terms of which were quite as radical in their character as could have been desired by the most advanced republican who was not an anarchist, the well-established reputation of those politicians was amply sustained—every member of the majority of the Assembly, including James DeLancey, John Cruger, Benjamin Kissam, Crean Brush, Isaac Wilkins, and Frederic Philipse, except John Coe, of Orange-county, and Dirck Brinckerhoff, of Duchess-county, voted in favor of the adoption of them and, of course, in favor of the embodiment of their terms in an *Address to the King;* while every member of the minority of the House, with Coe and Brinckerhoff of the majority, voted in opposition to the adoption of them. Factional and partisan bitterness, very often, produces such remarkable instances of the inconsistency, if not of the incomprehensibility, of mere politicians; but history affords few, if any, such examples, among those who were really patriotic, as were afforded by John Thomas and Pierre Van Cortlandt, by Peter R. Livingston and Nathaniel Woodhull, by George Clinton and Philip Schuyler, in the instance under consideration, when they voted against the Resolutions which have been fully described and, consequently, against the great political principles which were asserted and maintained therein, for no other reason which is now discoverable than the peculiar fact that those Resolutions had proceeded from and were, then, supported by the majority of the Assembly, by that faction of the great party of the Opposition of which all were equally members, to which they—those who have been named and those who were with them—did *not* belong.[1]

Whatever may have influenced those who had assumed to be the peculiarly disinterested and sincere supporters of the common cause, in their united vote to reject the Resolutions which are, now, under consideration, those who are of the Westchester-county of the present day will continue to be interested in the fact that, on that very critical occasion, when the eyes of all sober-minded men, in Europe as well as in America, were turned toward that small Assembly-chamber, Isaac Wilkins, of the Borough of Westchester, and Frederic Philipse, representing the body of the County, manfully declared the Rights of the Colonists and those of the Colonies, and bravely resisted what were regarded as the usurpations of the Home Government; while Pierre Van Cortlandt, of the Manor of Cortlandt, and John Thomas, representing the body of the County, quite as manfully opposed them, and, indirectly, quite as bravely denied the existence of those individual and Colonial Rights, and quite as boldly sustained the Home Government, in what it had done, as any open and avowed "friend of the Government" could have done, had one been present,—a lesson of the highest importance to those who shall incline to ascertain the exact truth, concerning the origin of the American Revolution and the purposes of those who promoted it, within the Colony of New York, may be seen in the simple record of this single action of the Representatives of Colonial New York, in her General Assembly, in 1775.

On the day after these Resolutions had been adopted by the Assembly, [*March* 9th,] that body ordered the appointment of "a Committee to prepare and lay "before the House, with all convenient speed, the "Draft of an humble, firm, dutiful, and loyal *Petition*, "to be presented to our most Gracious Sovereign," pursuant to Colonel Peter R. Livingston's Motion on the thirty-first of the preceding January; and William Nicoll, of Suffolk-county, Leonard Van-Kleeck, of Duchess-county, and Isaac Wilkins, of the Borough of Westchester, were appointed the Committee for that purpose. During the same day, Crean Brush, from Cumberland-county, Colonel Benjamin Seaman, of Richmond-county, and Samuel Gale, of Orange-county, were appointed a Committee "to prepare the Draft of a *Memorial to the Lords;*" and Daniel Kissam, of Queens-county, and James De Lancey and Jacob Walton, of the City of New York, were appointed a Committee "to prepare the "Draft of a *Representation and Remonstrance to the* "*Commons of Great Britain*," both of them pursuant to the Resolution offered by James De Lancey, to which reference has been already made.[2] The House directed, also, that the Drafts of those several papers should be laid before it, "with all convenient "speed."[3]

It will be seen that on neither of these Committees was there a single member of the minority of the House, notwithstanding the Resolution on which the first-named of those Committees was appointed originated with a leading member of that faction, and notwithstanding, also, both the Resolutions pursuant to which all the Committees were appointed, had been adopted in the Assembly by an unanimous vote, every member of each of the two factions, in temporary harmony and good-will, having united in approving and supporting them—an evident result of the bitter factional feeling which had been aroused, first by the evidently dishonorable conduct of the minority, in springing upon the Assembly the Resolution which was offered by Colonel Ten Broeck, on the twenty-sixth of January, for taking into consideration the Proceedings of the Congress of the Colonies, while a "Call of the House," asked for by itself and for its

[1] The official record of the votes of the several Members of the Assembly, of both factions of the party of the Opposition, as it may be seen in the *Journal of the House*, is one of the most curious and most unaccountable, within our knowledge.

[2] Vide pages 50, 51, ante.

[3] *Journal of the House*, "Die Jovis, 10 ho., A.M., the 9th of March, "1775."

peculiar advantage, was pending;[1] and, subsequently, by the peculiarly factional proceedings of the minority, in the presentation of Resolution after Resolution, only for the promotion of Revolution; and in its dishonorable opposition, while the Assembly was considering the *State of the Grievances* and the series of declaratory Resolutions, to all of which proceedings reference has been herein made.[2]

On the sixteenth of March, Isaac Wilkins, from the Committee appointed to prepare it, reported "the "Draft of a *Petition to the King;*" and, immediately afterwards, Crean Brush, from the Committee appointed to prepare it, reported "a Draft of a *Memor-*"*ial to the Lords.*" During the same day, James De Lancey, from the Committee appointed to prepare it, reported "the Draft of a *Representation and Remon-*"*strance to the Commons of Great Britain;*" and the Assembly promptly referred all those papers, for consideration, to a Committee of the Whole House.[3]

On the twenty-fourth of March, the Assembly resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole House, upon the Draught of a *Petition to the King*, Colonel Benjamin Seaman, of Richmond-county, being in the Chair; and, again, the minority displayed its factional animosity by presenting Amendment after Amendment, by far the greater number of them being merely verbal, without disturbing either the sense or the spirit of the original. In one instance, however, very unaccountably and not very consistently, Colonel Philip Schuyler appeared to have entertained a more than usually tender regard for His Majesty's "prerogative," in the matter of the Paper Currency of the Colony, "in the preservation of which prerog-"ative," he said, "we are deeply interested;" and an Amendment, on that subject, which he submitted, was adopted by the House, without a division. Another Amendment, concerning the Judiciary of the Colony, and entirely cancelling the paragraph, on that subject, which the Committee had reported, was submitted by George Clinton, of Ulster-county, and agreed to, by an unanimous vote of the House; and another Amendment, submitted by Colonel Frederic Philipse, by striking the words "seem to," from one of the paragraphs, and, by doing so, making the Acts relating to Boston and the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay *really* "establish a dangerous precedent, by inflict-"ing Punishment without the formality of a Trial," instead of only *seeming* to do so, as the original paragraph described them, really strengthened the *Petition*, in its assertion of the Grievances to which the Colonies had been subjected.[4] As the records of the closing portion of the proceedings of the Committee of the Whole House and those of all that the House, itself, did, on this subject, "are missing," in our copy of the *Journal*, the details of those proceedings cannot be given;[5] but history bears testimony to the general fact that, in its amended form, the *Petition to the King* was duly agreed to, by the Assembly.[6]

On the same day, [*March 24th*], the *Memorial to the House of Lords* and the *Representation and Remonstrance to the House of Commons*, after several Amendments, none of them possessing any importance whatever and only three of them having called for a division of the House, had been negatived in the Committee of the Whole House, were successively reported to the House; and, in the respective forms in which they were thus reported, the House adopted them, in each instance, without a division of the House.[7]

On the following morning, [*March 25th*] the engrossed copies of the *Petition to the King*,[8] the *Memorial to the Lords*,[9] and the *Representation and Remonstrance to the Commons of Great Britain*[10] were respectively presented to the House, read, and again agreed to, in each case without a division of the House. In each instance, also, the Speaker was ordered to sign the document, in behalf of the House; and, after having ordered the Speaker to transmit these three several petitions to the King, the Lords, and the Commons, "with all convenient speed, to Edmund "Burke, Esquire, Agent of this Colony at the Court "of Great Britain; and that a Letter be prepared, to "be approved by this House, to the said Agent, with "directions that he present the same, in behalf of "this Colony, as they are respectively directed, as "soon after the receipt thereof as possible;" and with the additional *Order* "that Mr. Speaker trans-"mit, at the same time, to the Agent, the *State of the* "*Grievances of this Colony* and the Resolutions of "this House thereupon," the House adjourned.[11]

On the thirty-first of March, the Assembly ordered the Speaker to send to the Speakers of the several Houses of Assembly on this Continent, as soon after

[1] Vide pages 49, 50, ante.

[2] Vide pages 51–53, ante.

[3] *Journal of the House*, "Die Jovis, 10 ho., A.M., the 16th March, "1775."

[4] *Journal of the House*, "Die Veneris, 10 ho., A.M., the 24th March, "1775."

[5] The original *Journals of the Assembly* which included the proceedings of the entire Session which is now under consideration, were lost during the troublesome times of that period; and the only known copy of the original printed edition of those *Journals* wanted four pages, in this portion of it. Those missing pages contained the closing portion of the proceedings of the House, on the *Petition to the King*, as stated in the text, and the opening of its proceedings on the *Memorial to the House of Lords*.

[6] The completed Petition to the King, signed by the Speaker of the Assembly, may be seen in the *Journal of the Assembly*, "Die Sabbati, 10 "ho., A.M., the 25th March 1775."

[7] "*Journal of the House*, "Die Veneris, 10 ho., AM., the 24th March "1775."

The defect in the *Journal*, as it is now known to us, to which reference has been made, leaves us without any information concerning the proceedings of the House on the first twenty paragraphs of the *Memorial to the House of Lords*.

[8] *Journal of the House*, "Die Sabbati, 10 ho., A. M., the 25th March "1775."

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Journal of the House*, "Die Sabbati, 4 ho., P.M., the 25th March, "1775."

[11] *Ibid.*

the rise of this House as conveniently may be, copies of the *State of the Grievances*, of the Resolutions of the House, of the *Petition to the King*, of the *Memorial to the Lords*, and of the *Representation and Remonstrance to the Commons*, requesting those several Speakers to lay the same before their respective Houses of Assembly, at their first meeting after the receipt thereof.[1]

On the following day, [*April 1st.*] the Assembly appointed "a Standing Committee of Correspondence," composed of the Speaker, [*John Cruger,*] James De Lancey, James Jauncey, Benjamin Kissam, and Jacob Walton, all of them from the City of New York, Benjamin Seaman, of Richmond-county, Isaac Wilkins, of the Borough of Westchester, Frederic Philipse, of Westchester-county, Zebulon Seaman, of Queens-county, John Rapalje and Simon Boerum, of Kings-county, Samuel Gale, of Orange-county, and George Clinton, of Ulster-county, or any seven of them, "whose duty it shall be to obtain the most "early and authentic intelligence of all such Acts "and Resolutions of the British Parliament or Pro-"ceedings of Administration as do or may relate to "or affect the Liberties and Privileges of His Ma-"jesty's Subjects, in the British Colonies in America "and to keep up and maintain a Correspondence and "Communication with our Sister Colonies, respecting "these important considerations; and the result of "their Proceedings to lay before the House."[2]

On the following Monday, the third of April, the Assembly adjourned until the third of May;[3] and that eventful Session of the last General Assembly of the Colony of New York, which was assembled for the discharge of legislative duties, was ended.

That General Assembly and all that it did, from the opening of the Session until the final declaration of its Speaker brought that Session to a close, have been made the themes of unceasing misrepresentation and abuse or of absolute and contemptuous silence, from far the greater number of those who have assumed to write or to speak concerning the history of that notable period. They have been the themes, sometimes, of ignorant and unscrupulous bigots and, sometimes, of intelligent and unscrupulous tricksters; sometimes a personal and sometimes a local end has been served by either a falsification or a concealment of the truth, concerning them; and, sometimes, fragments of useless and glittering rhetoric, strung together, as farmers string fragments of useless and glittering tin and display them in order to deceive and to scatter unsuspecting birds from their cornfields, in like manner, have been employed by literary prestidigitators, in order to deceive those who are less intelligent than themselves, concerning that Assembly, and its members, and their doings; and, through that deception, to promote their own or their party's or their sectional purposes. Individual members of that Assembly, men of honor and unimpeachable integrity, have been stigmatized as "wretches," and as "the veriest reptiles on earth" and charged with "corruption" and every kindred vice—some of them were driven from their families and their homes; others of them were lawlessly seized and carried from their families and their homes, exiled, and held in lawless bondage; and others of them were stripped of their patrimonial estates or of the estates of their own creation—only because they had preferred, as Members of that Assembly, to assert the Grievances under which the Colony was said to have been laboring and to demand a Redress of those alleged Grievances, not with any less distinctness of words nor with any less firmness of manner, but after a manner and through instrumentalities of their own selection and which possessed their greater confidence, rather than after a manner and through instrumentalities which others would have thrust on them, which their own sense of fitness and adaptability had not approved, which were controlled by men in whose noisy pretensions to personal and political integrity they could not repose confidence. Measures which were sincerely intended for the promotion of the common cause of the Colonies, in their struggle with the Home Government,—measures which presented nothing else than political principles or recitals of facts which no one, of any sect or faction, pretended to dispute — were opposed, vehemently and without measure, within as well as without the Assembly, only because they had not originated and were not supported before the House, by the opposite faction of the Opposition; and, with that hereditary, or sectional, or sectarian, or partisan bitterness which the lapse of years has served only to intensify, that work of depreciation and misrepresentation of those measures and of all who favored them, continues to disgrace much, at the present day, which is audaciously called "history."

A candid and carefully-made comparison of the terms of those several *State of Grievances*, and declaratory Resolutions, and *Petition*, and *Memorial*, and *Representation and Remonstrance*, which were prepared, and agreed to, and presented, and published by that much-abused General Assembly of Colonial New York, with the several Resolutions, and *Declaration of Rights*, and *Association*, and *Addresses*, and *Memorials*, and *Petition*, which, in like manner, were prepared, and agreed to, and presented, and published by the much-eulogized Congress of the Continent, which had assembled in Philadelphia, in September, 1774, will clearly establish the fact that the former were quite as decided, in their tone, and quite as clear and distinct, in their terms, as the latter; and such a comparison will also clearly establish the fact that, in its continuous and violent opposition to the former,

[1] *Journal of the House*, "Die Veneris, 10 ho., A.M., the 31st March, "1775."

[2] *Journal of the House*, "Die Sabbati, 10 ho., A.M., the 1st April, "1775."

[3] *Journal of the House*, "Die Lunæ, 10 ho., A.M., the 3d April, 1775."

in every stage of its progress through the House, the minority of that General Assembly was clearly actuated by some other motive than that of simple, uncontaminated patriotism.

It will be seen, also, by every careful and candid reader of the published proceedings of that Congress to which reference has been made, that, notwithstanding the gravamen of the declared Grievances of the constituent Colonies, of that notable body, consisted of sundry Acts of Parliament, all of which were considered as oppressive, it had made no attempt whatever, either by Petition or otherwise, to induce the Parliament to remove or even to modify those Grievances, or any of them, by a repeal or even by an amendment of the obnoxious provisions of those oppressive legal enactments, contenting itself, instead, with preparing, and agreeing to, and presenting, only *Addresses to the People of Great Britain, to the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec*, and *to the King*, and a *Memorial to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies*, respectively, not one of whom possessed the slightest legislative authority, nor the slightest ability, in any way, to remove nor even to modify those Grievances, whatever might have been its disposition to have done so — indeed, notwithstanding the well-known desires of the great body of the Colonists, throughout the entire Continent, notwithstanding the known purposes for which that Congress had been convened, and notwithstanding the express provisions of the greater number of the Credentials of the several Delegations, the proceedings of that Congress were mainly declaratory and justificatory of Rebellion, with scarcely an effort to obtain a redress of Grievances, and nothing whatever for the yet more desired reconciliation and union with the Mother Country, "so beneficial to the "whole Empire, and so ardently desired by all British "America,"[1] for "the restoration of union and har-"mony between Great Britain and the Colonies, most "ardently desired by all good men."[2] The tone and the tendency of all that it did, however, were peculiarly revolutionary, in all which it was eminently successful;[3] and, to that extent, if no further, it had failed to represent, truly, those in whose name it had nominally acted. On the other hand, the General Assembly of Colonial New York, the legitimacy of whose organization and the entire legality of whose action, in behalf of the common cause, no one has ever presumed to question; without compromising its dignity, as a General Assembly; with that common sense which, in Europe as well as in America, was, then, so peculiarly uncommon; without entangling itself with any questionable alliance; and without belittling its legitimate influence by expressing its official sympathy with any other body, even in relation to those measures which were similar, in character and purpose, to those of its own enactment—that General Assembly, quite as clearly and quite as energetically as the Congress had done, in behalf of its constituents, boldly declared the Grievances of those whom it represented, in a clear recital of the several Acts of Parliament which had been employed by the Home Government for the oppression of the Colonists; and, in addition to that recital of specific Statutes which were grievous in their provisions, it adopted a series of Resolutions, declaratory of the general Rights of the Colonists, as Englishmen, "to which they were "equally entitled with their fellow-subjects in Great "Britain"—Resolutions which no one could have made stronger, in support of the common cause. But, unlike that Congress, and more consistently with its duty to its constituency than anything, in that connection, which the Congress had professed to do, that General Assembly, in its official character, approached the King and the two Houses of Parliament, in whom, acting together, rested the only legitimate authority which could possibly be exercised for the removal of those Grievances which it had described, and for the restoration of that harmony, between the Colonies and the Mother Country, which the former so earnestly desired; and, unto these, respectively, it respectfully presented its manly, and dignified, and legally-expressed prayers for the repeal of those several Acts or parts of Acts which were oppressive or which threatened to become so. In all these, it violated no law and fostered no spirit of disaffection. Without the loss of any of that dignity which legitimately belonged to it, and without sacrificing any of that respect for its constituents which its duty required it to maintain, it recognized the sovereignty of the King, as the Congress had also done; and, consistently with that dignity and that respect, but with a boldness which was peculiarly its own, at the same time, it also asserted its own standing, as a General Assembly, by memorializing instead of petitioning the Peers, and by representing the facts of the usurpation, to the Commons, and by supplementing that "representation" with a "remonstrance" against the action of that distinguished body, in its serious disregard of the Rights of the Colonists. In all these several prayers, with whatever titles and in whatever form they were presented, the General Assembly employed terms which commanded the respect of those to whom they were respectively addressed; and, in one instance, so clearly was the Grievance represented and so earnest was the remonstrance which was made against it, in the Assembly's *Remonstrance*, that even Lord North was obliged to acknowledge the force and the fitness of the plea, and, in his place in the House of Commons,

[1] *Credentials of the Delegation from Virginia, to the Congress.*

[2] *Credentials of the Delegation from Massachusetts, to the Congress.*

[3] It is matter of history, well known to every student, that the action of the Congress on the *Suffolk-county Resolutions*, (*Journal of the Congress*, "Saturday, September 17, 1774, A.M."), closed the door of reconciliation against the Colonies, and led the Home Government to regard the great body of the Colonists as only rebels, against whom it had become the duty of that Government to throw the weight of its authority, a determination for which those Colonists, in their individual relations, had given no warrant, either in their actions or their dispositions.

to declare his willingness that that Grievance, if no other of the series, should be duly removed.

Notwithstanding all that has been said in depreciation of that particular Colonial General Assembly, it did not consider it necessary, nor even expedient, to override the minority of its members without even recognizing their existence on its *Journal*, under cover of the subsequently notorious "unit-rule," in recording the votes of its members, nor in any other manner; nor did it conceal its proceedings, whether honestly or questionably determined, by publishing as complete what were only mutilated copies of its *Journal*, all of which the Congress had done. It might have been charged with "corruption," with some degree of propriety, had it purchased an appearance of unanimity in its votes with unexplained exceptions in the mandatory provisions of some of its general enactments—exceptions in favor of one of the high-contracting parties, which were necessarily conceded as equivalents for commercial trickery in another—as the Congress had done; but the divided votes which are presented on nearly every page of its *Journal* very clearly indicate that, whatever of factional bitterness there might have been, neither codfish nor rice was recognized as an element in the determination of grave questions, affecting the peace of the Colonies and the welfare and happiness of millions, in Europe as well as in America. On the contrary, what it did was done honorably, and openly, and in conformity with the requirements of parliamentary, as well as of constitutional, Law; not by unanimous Votes, actual or fictitious, but by a majority of its members, duly and courteously exercising the authority with which that majority was duly and legally vested. It was not done by the action of the minority of that Assembly, which represented the revolutionary element of the Inhabitants of the City of New York more completely and with greater zeal than it represented those several constituencies who had given seats, in that body, to it; but it was done in the face of that factious minority, and notwithstanding its open, persistent, and resolute opposition. It was not done by reason of any prompting or influence of either the Colonial or the Home Government; but in well-known opposition to the wishes and the expectations of both. It was not done because of any popular influence, present or prospective; but only from the personal knowledge of its members, concerning the great wrongs to which, it was said, the Colonies had been subjected, concerning the rights and the interests of the Colonists which had been invaded, and concerning the measures which were necessary for the protection of those invaded rights and interests, for securing a redress of those great wrongs, and for the restoration of harmony and peace. In fact, that General Assembly, in all the proceedings of which mention has been made, more clearly and more faithfully represented the interests and the opinions and the inclinations, concerning governmental matters, of the aggregate body of the Colonists, in New York, including every class, and sect, and political party—and it possessed no authority to represent any other, and made no pretension to do so—than either the Congress of the Continent or the fragmentary revolutionary faction within the Colony had done or possibly could do; and there is very great reason for the belief that its orderly, and dignified, and more practically sensible influence would have been recognized beyond the limits of New York, and that it would have succeeded in its honorable efforts and evidently earnest purposes to restore, permanently and without dishonor, that harmony between the Colonies and the Mother Country which all professed to desire, had not the rashness of General Gage, in Massachusetts, during the brief recess which it had voted to itself, broken the well-strained barriers of Peace, loosed the worst elements of human nature in the Colonists, overturned everything which pertained to a Government of Law, and plunged the Continent into all the horrors of a needless and, necessarily, a bitter fratricidal War—a War which, at its conclusion, the farmers of Westchester-county, or those of them who remained, more than all New England combined, had sorrowful reasons for remembering, because of the devastated homesteads, the divided families, the antagonistic neighbors, and the remembrance of plunder, and outrages, and butcheries, among them, of which that War had been so abundantly and so sadly productive.

A few words only are required to complete the record of the results of that much-slandered General Assembly; and the space which they will occupy cannot be better occupied.

The Petition which was officially sent to the Agent of the Colony, the celebrated Edmund Burke, for presentation to the King, was duly laid before the Sovereign;[1] but, inasmuch as the General Assembly had, also, addressed the Parliament, on the same subjects, it is not known that any particular attention was paid to it.

On the fifteenth of May, the distinguished Agent of the Colony, offered to be presented to the House of Commons, the *Representation and Remonstrance* which the Colonial General Assembly had addressed to that body; and, in doing so, Mr. Burke made a short Speech, in which he told the House that "they never "had before them so fair an opportunity of putting "an end to the unhappy disputes with the Colonies, "as at present; and he conjured them, in the most

[1] "Mr Burke having delivered to me the Petition to the King, I had "the honour to present it to His Majesty, who was pleased to receive "it with the most gracious expressions of regard and attention to the "humble request of his faithful subjects in New-York, who have, on "this occasion, manifested a duty to His Majesty and a regard for the "authority of the Parent State, which, had they not, in the *Memorial* "*to the House of Lords* and in the *Representation to the House of Commons*, "been unfortunately blended with expressions containing Claims which "made it impossible for Parliament, consistent with its justice and dig-"nity, to receive them, might have laid the foundation of that Recon-"ciliation we have so long and so ardently wished for."—(*The Earl of Dartmouth to Governor Tryon*, "WHITEHALL, May 25, 1775.")

"earnest manner, not to let it escape, as possibly, the "like might never return;" closing his remarks with the statement that "he had, several times in "the Session, expressed his sentiments, very fully, "upon every thing contained in that *Remonstrance;* "as for the rest, it spoke so strongly for itself that he "did not see how people in their senses could refuse "at least the consideration of so reasonable and de- "cent an address;" and, after having "stated the "heads of the *Remonstrance*," "he moved for leave to "bring it up." The Ministry was not as well disposed, however, as Mr. Burke appeared to suppose; and Lord North promptly took the floor, to reply to what that gentleman had said. He commenced by asking the Clerk to read the official record of the proceedings of the House, in December, 1768, on a Petition of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, and what was known as the *Declaratory Act;* and he continued by saying that he was "greatly in favour of "New York; and that he would gladly do everything "in his power to shew his regard to the good behaviour "of that Colony;" but he declared that the "honour "of Parliament required that no paper should be pre- "sented to that House, which tended to call in ques- "tion the unlimited Rights of Parliament." "As to "the Quebec Duties," which was one of the Grievances against which the General Assembly had remonstrated, he said "he did not pretend to be infal- "lible; he confessed they were not laid as they ought "to be; and he declared that he was willing to give "satisfaction, in that point, immediately." "This, "however," he said, "was but a trifle to the general "objects of the *Remonstrance*." An earnest Debate ensued, Messrs. Cornwall and Jenkinson supporting the Ministry, and Messrs. Cruger, Aubrey, Charles James Fox, and Governor Johnstone supporting Mr. Burke; and that was followed by the submission by Lord North, of an Amendment to Mr. Burke's Motion "for leave to bring up," making it read thus: "That "the said *Representation and Remonstrance* (in which "the said Assembly claim to themselves Rights derog- "atory to, and inconsistent with, the legislative "authority of Parliament, as declared by the *Declara- "tory Act*) be brought up." By a vote of one hundred and eighty-six to sixty-seven, the Amendment was adopted; and the amended Motion, of course, was promptly rejected, without a division.[1]

Three days after that rejection of the *Representation and Remonstrance of the General Assembly*, by the House of Commons, [*May* 18, 1775] the Duke of Manchester brought the *Memorial* which that General Assembly had addressed to the House of Lords, before that House, and moved that it be read. The Earl of Dartmouth opposed the Motion; and a spirited Debate ensued, in which the Earls of Buckinghamshire, Denbigh, Gower, Hillsborough, and Sandwich, and Lord Mansfield, supported the Minister, and the Duke of Richmond, the Earls of Shelburne and Effingham, and Lord Camden, opposed him. The only objection raised against the reading of the *Memorial* was the bare suspicion that "it contained "matter derogatory to the supreme legislative power "of Great Britain;" and on that suspicion, alone, the *Memorial* not having been even described, the House sustained the Minister, and declined to allow the *Memorial* to be read, by a vote of twenty-five to forty-five, sending it, of course, into the legislative limbo.[2] Well might Edmund Burke subsequently say of that rejection of the *Memorial* and of the *Remonstrance* of the General Assembly of Colonial New York, by the two Houses of Parliament, "nothing done in Parlia- "ment seemed to be better calculated to widen the "breach between Great Britain and the Colonies."[3]

[1] Almon's *Parliamentary Register*, i., 467–473; *Annual Register for* 1775, "History of Europe," *115, *116.

[2] Almon's *Parliamentary Register*, ii., 152–156; *Annual Register for* 1775, "History of Europe," *116, *117.

It is a reasonable case, in such instances as those cited and in those of the earlier historians of the American Revolution who lived and wrote in Europe, that no more than the rejection, by the Parliament, of the two papers which were sent to that legislature by the General Assembly of New York, was mentioned in the writings of those gentlemen; but there is no valid excuse for those, in America, who have exhausted all their resources of misrepresentation and abuse on that General Assembly, charging it with having been everything which was detrimental to the honor or the integrity or the interests of the Colonies, and closing their respective narratives, on the subject of that Assembly, by reciting no more than the facts, stated in the text—that its *Memorial* and *Remonstrance* had been rejected by the two Houses of Parliament, without having been read—without having pretended to explain how it were possible that so bad an Assembly as they had described, could, by any possibility, have been, the author and publisher of such papers as, because of their peculiarly republican averments, the Home Government and the Parliament would not allow to be even read in their presence.

Bancroft, after having consolidated the *Remonstrance* and the *Memorial*, making them one paper, obliged Burke to offer both, on the same day, and in the same House, all of which were described in the narrow compass of four lines, without even a hint how such an Assembly as he had previously described, could have produced such a paper—his silence serving to screen his unfaithfulness, as a historian, both in a falsification and in a suppression of the truth. (*History of the United States*, original edition, iv., 286; *the same*, centenary edition, iv., 515.) John C. Hamilton, of course, by his suppression as well as by his falsification of the truth, in order that his father and his grandfather might he unduly eulogized, is equally untrustworthy (*History of the Republic*, i., 86.) Lendrum, (*History of the American Revolution*, i., 87;) "Paul Allen" (*History of the American Revolution*, i., 237, 238;) Gordon, (*History of the American Revolution*, i., 500;) Ramsay, (*History of the American Revolution*, i., 171, 172;) and others, less prominent but not less popular, have been equally unfaithful, as historians, in this matter.

Lossing, (*Field Book of the Revolution;*) Frothingham, (*Rise of the Republic;*) Ridpath, (*History of the United States;*) Lodge, (*History of the English Colonies in America;*) Morse, (*Annals of the American Revolution;*) Warren, (*History of the American Revolution;*) and others, although abounding in facts and fictions concerning Massachusetts, have not spared a line for the recognition of what was done for "the common "cause," by the General Assembly of the Colony of New York.

Pitkin, (*History of the United States*, i., 324, 325;) and Hildreth, (*History of the United States*, First Series, iii., 56, 65,) with that fidelity to the truth which distinguished them, as historians, and notwithstanding they were New Englanders, not only recited enough of the facts to enable their respective readers to understand what the General Assembly of New York really did, but they also compared the result of those doings with the doings of the Continental Congress, very much to the credit of the former, without belittling what they regarded as also due to the latter.

[3] *Annual Register for* 1775, "History of Europe," *117.

Except those matters to which we have already referred, nothing which requires especial notice in this narrative, occurred until, in February, 1775, the General Assembly of the Colony rejected the Resolution, submitted by Judge Thomas, of Westchester-county, which provided for the election, by that General Assembly, of Delegates to the proposed Congress of the Continent, to be held at Philadelphia, on the tenth of May ensuing, reference to which has been already made.[1] Four days after that determination, by the General Assembly, to take no official action on the subject referred to, [*February* 27, 1775,] Peter Van Brugh Livingston brought it before the "Committee "of Observation," by which name the Committee of Inspection evidently preferred to be known; and that Committee, notwithstanding its authority was limited to other and entirely different lines of duty, entertained and agreed to a Resolution, offered by that gentleman, "that the Committee take into Consider- "ation, the Ways and Means of causing Delegates to "be elected, to meet the Delegates of the other Col- "onies on this Continent in General Congress, to be "held at Philadelphia, on the 10th Day of May "next."[2] If any other action on the subject of that Resolution was taken at that time, it was not completed when the Committee adjourned; and not until the following Wednesday, [*March* 1, 1775,] at an Adjourned Meeting of the Committee, was the subject disposed of, by ordering the publication of an *Advertisement*, addressed "to the Freeholders and Freemen "of the City and County of New York," in which were made a recital of the recommendation that another Congress should be convened at Philadelphia, on the tenth of May ensuing; a suggestion that an Election of Delegates "ought not longer to be de- "layed;" an acknowledgment that that Committee possessed "no Power without the Approbation of "their Constituents, to take any Measures for the "Purpose;" and a "request" "that the Freeholders "and Freemen of the City and County of New York, "will be pleased to assemble at the Exchange, on "Monday the 6th Instant, at 12 o'clock, to signify "their Sense of the best Method of choosing such "Delegates; and whether they will appoint a cer- "tain Number of Persons to meet such Deputies as "the Counties may elect for that Purpose, and join "with them in appointing out of their Body Dele- "gates for the next Congress."[3] That *Advertisement* was published on the following day, [*March* 2, 1775;][4] and, what was very unusual, those who were opposed to the revolutionary faction of the confederated party of the Opposition appear to have organized, for the purpose of joining issue with the latter, at the proposed Meeting, on the questions which had thus been referred only to those who were either Freeholders or Freemen of the City, in whom, alone, the right of the elective franchise was, then, legally vested.[5]

An unusual excitement appears to have been aroused by the placards with which the walls and the fences throughout the City were covered,[6] and by the impassioned appeals with which the newspapers were filled; and the morning of the sixth of March opened with many appearances which betokened the approach of a serious conflict between the rival factions. As early as nine o'clock, the revolutionary faction, strengthened by many who were neither Freeholders nor Freemen, began to assemble around the Liberty-pole,[7] on which a large Union Flag had been raised, at an early hour; and, at eleven o'clock, preceded by a Band of Music and a large Union Flag, it moved, by a circuitous route, toward the appointed place of meeting, picking up, as it went, such a motley crowd of "boys, sailors, negroes, and New England and "New-Jersey boatmen" as a noisy Band and continuous invitations to "fall in," which have always been incidental to partisan political processions, could not have failed to secure. The conservative faction, strengthened by "some Officers of the Army "and Navy, several of His Majesty's Council, and "those Members of the House of Representatives "who had refused taking into consideration the Pro- "ceedings of the Congress, together with the Officers "of the Customs and other Dependents of the Court, "&c."—the Governmental Party, as far as there was one, having evidently united with the conservative faction of the party of the Opposition, on that occasion—assembled at the Widow De La Montagnie's, at ten o'clock; and that, also, moved, quietly, in a procession, to the Exchange, in season to take part in the proceedings of the proposed Meeting. It is said that "soon after the parties met some confusion "arose, but subsided without any bad consequences" —in other words, blows were exchanged, which, at one time, threatened to become a serious riot.

Isaac Low presided, as Chairman of the Committee who had requested the Meeting and proceeded to explain the purposes of that request, after which he pro-

[1] See page 52, ante.

[2] *Proceedings of the Committee of Observation for the City and County of New York*, at its Adjourned Meeting, February 27, 1775.

[3] *Proceedings of the Committee of Observation for the City and County of New York*, at its Adjourned Meeting, 1st March, 1775.

[4] Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1678, NEW-YORK, Thursday, March 2, 1775.

[5] That organization was effected at a public Meeting of the Inhabitants who disapproved the "request" of the Committee, which was held at the Widow De La Montagnie's, in Broadway, opposite the Fields, on Friday evening, March 3, John Thurber presiding.—(*A Broadside, signed by John Thurber*, in the Library of the New York Historical Society.)

[6] The Committee of Observation called its Meetings by means of handbills posted throughout the City; and the Meeting at the Widow De La Montagnie's was called in the same manner.

[7] As nearly as can be ascertained, the Liberty-pole stood in the Fields, now the Park, near the present line of Broadway, opposite the block which is bounded by Murray and Warren-streets.

It occupied a small lot of ground which had been bought for that purpose, by those who styled themselves "Sons of Liberty;" and, as lately as 1785, Isaac Sears, the assign of one of those who had bought it, many years previously, made a claim on the City, and was paid for his interest therein.—(*Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York for* 1856, 433.)

posed the following question: "Whether a certain "Number of persons shall be appointed and author- "ized to meet such Deputies as the Counties may "elect, and join with them for the *sole* object of ap- "pointing out of their body on the 20th of April next, "Delegates to the next Congress?" Those who were opposed to the question, the conservative faction and its governmental allies, promptly demanded a Poll of the Voters, giving as reasons for their demand, that the business of the day was to take only the sense of the Freeholders and Freemen; that none but those of these two classes of persons had a right to vote on the question; and that it was impossible to discriminate them from those who had not such a right. The large body of the members of the Committee who was present, "who had taken upon themselves the part of "Returning-officers," of course, refused the demand—as the number of qualified voters, then present, who were known to have been opposed to the question, was evidently so very largely in the majority, a Poll of the Voters, had one been permitted, would have determined the question in the negative, and have defeated the purpose of those who were seeking another advancement to place and authority, in the proposed Congress of the Colonies—and the question was, of course, declared to have been carried, in favor of the proposition. The second question which was proposed: "Whether "this Meeting will authorize the Committee to nomi- "nate Eleven Deputies for their Approbation?" being of secondary importance to those who had opposed the first, a Poll of the Voters was not demanded thereon; and, of course, like the preceding question, it was adopted "by a very great Majority of the Peo- "ple," promiscuous in its qualifications for such an action, voting *viva voca*. "The Business of the day "being finished," as the record stated, the assemblage dispersed; and, as far as that notable Meeting was concerned, the purposes of those who had evidently obtained the control of the Committee of Inspection, had been fully secured.[1]

There appears to have been thirty-eight of the Members of the Committee of Inspection present at the noon-day Meeting, on the Exchange, which has been described; and, on the evening of the same day, [*March* 6, 1775,] in their capacity as Returning-officers, they reported to the Committee itself, which had assembled in due form, the proceedings of that popular assemblage, including the affirmative answers to the two questions which had been presented to it; and so entirely satisfactory to the Committee was the result of the day's labor, that it directed the detailed statement of those transactions, thus reported to it, to be entered, in full, in the Minutes of its own proceedings. Having thus disposed of the main question, apparently to its entire satisfaction, the Committee then proceeded to nominate, by ballot, eleven persons, "for the Approbation of the Freemen "and Freeholders, for the City and County of New "York, to serve as Deputies to meet such other Dep- "uties as may be appointed by the remaining "Counties in this Province, for the sole Purpose of "electing out of their Body, Delegates for the next "Congress;" and the choice of the Committee fell on Isaac Low, Philip Livingston, James Duane, John Alsop, John Jay, Leonard Lispenard, Abraham Walton, Francis Lewis, Isaac Roosevelt, Alexander McDougal, and Abraham Brasher,[2] notwithstanding Isaac Low had previously "desired a Friend that in "Case he should be put on the Nomination, to de- "clare, in his Behalf, that he should be under the dis- "agreeable Necessity of Dissenting."[3]

It will be seen that, in this last performance, the Committee of Inspection, (or of Observation, as it was pleased to call itself,) notwithstanding the peculiarly aristocratic elements which entered into its composition, had accepted, if it had not resorted to, that questionable element which had been so frequently employed, on former occasions, for the performance of acts, which neither the Law of the Land nor their own self-respect would have permitted its high-toned employers to do, directly, with their own hands—that it had resorted, indeed, to that peculiarly questionable element, outside the limits of plebeian respectability, which Gouverneur Morris had so graphically described, in his letter to Governor Penn, which has been already laid before the reader.[4] It will be seen also, that in exact conformity with such questionable practises, already very well known to every membe rof the Committee noise and lawless acts of violence, in that last instance, had accomplished, at the Meeting at the Exchange, what an evidently insufficient supply of Freeholders and Freemen, unassisted by those who were not thus qualified to vote, could not have possibly secured to the Committee, on that occasion; and that, among those political tricksters among whom the end justified the means—a class which was evidently well represented in the Committee, at its Meeting on the evening of the sixth of March—the introduction of that very questionable mode of determining grave questions, involving the weal and the woe of the Colony, affirmatively, where, otherwise, the majority of competent voters would, unquestionably, have negatived those questions, was

[1] Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1679, NEW-YORK, Thursday, March 9, 1775; *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 99, NEW-YORK, Thursday, March 9, 1775; *Proceedings of the Committee of Observation for the City and County of New York*, 6th March, 1775, into which the record of the proceedings of the Meeting at the Exchange, in the Morning, was officially copied; Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 37, 38, and de Lancey's *Notes on that History*, i., 480–484; Leake's *Memoir of General John Lamb*, 100; Dawson's *Park and its Vicinity*, 38, 39; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, i., 472; Hildreth's *History of the United States*, First Series, iii., 71, 72; etc.

[2] *Proceedings of the Committee of Observation for the City and County of New York*, at its Meeting, "Monday Evening, 6th March, 1775."

[3] Card, signed by Mr. Low and addressed to "THE RESPECTABLE PUB- "LIC." dated "NEW YORK, March 9, 1775."

[4] *Gouverneur Morris to Mr. Penn*, "NEW-YORK, May 20, 1774," pages 11, 12, *ante*.

evidently regarded as an undoubted success. It seems, however, that, notwithstanding all that apparent success, at the Exchange, the machinery of selfishness did not move without a jar, within itself, as the very decided testimony and dissent of Isaac Low, the Chairman of the Committee as well as that of the Meeting, against whom some underhanded antagonism had been detected, have clearly shown;[1] and it is equally susceptible of proof that a very healthy feeling of disapproval of the dishonorable and unwarrantable proceedings, at that Meeting, which had been held under the auspices of the Committee of Inspection and had been controlled by a majority of the members of that body, was entertained "by a very "great Majority of our Fellow Citizens," throughout the City.[2] Under these circumstances, and with these warnings, it need not be matter of surprise that the Committee which had hastened to award unusual honors to that riotous assemblage, by incorporating what was said to have been a record of its tumultuous doings in the *Minutes* of its own proceedings, with almost as much haste, although with very much less of ostentatious and noisy display than had been previously exhibited in the unseemly approval of it, at an Adjourned Meeting, held within forty-eight hours after its hasty recognition of the doings of that assembled multitude, and prompted by John Jay who, only a few hours before, had been decidedly differently-minded—that Committee, thus predisposed, thus bashfully, thus hastily, and thus prompted, gravely repudiated the questionable vote which "a very great Majority of the People" was said to have given in approval of the fundamental question, concerning the appointment and authorization of Deputies to a proposed Provincial Convention, which, a few hours ago, it had declared to have been adopted "by a very great Majority of the People," at the Exchange; and, quite as gravely and with even greater inconsistency, it also yielded to those whom it had scornfully disregarded, at the Exchange as well as in its own Meeting, the right and the propriety of a Poll of the Voters, by which means the miscellaneous, unfranchised crowd would be silenced and the suffrage and the determination of the question, concerning the election of Delegates to the proposed Continental Congress, be confined to the Freeholders and Freemen of the City and County, to whom, alone, the Committee had originally referred it. It is a notable fact, however, that, notwithstanding the Committee repudiated the first Resolution which the miscellaneous crowd, at the Exchange, was said to have adopted, it rigidly maintained the equally questionable validity of the second Resolution, nominally authorizing the Committee to nominate eleven persons as candidates for the places of Delegates to the proposed Provincial Convention—the opportunity to obtain place and authority, no matter how ill-founded that opportunity might be, was an object so vastly more important to those aristocratic place-seekers, than all others, that, whether promising or unpromising of success, those who controlled that Committee could not possibly abandon it[3]—and, consequently, on the fifteenth of March, a Poll was opened in each Ward, at the usual places of Election, under the inspection, in each instance, of the two Vestrymen of the Ward and two Members of the Committee, who had been appointed for that duty; and the Freeholders and Freemen of the City then formally determined that Deputies should be appointed for the purpose named, and that the eleven nominees of the Committee should be such Deputies, to represent the City and County in the proposed Provincial Congress.[4] The result of the Poll was reported to the Committee on the evening of the same day, [*March* 15, 1775] when that body ordered "that Circular Letters be "written to all the Counties in the Colony, informing "them of the appointment of Deputies for this City "and County, and requesting them, with all con-"venient speed, to elect Deputies to meet in Pro-"vincial Convention, at the City of New York, on "the 20th of next April, for the *sole* purpose of "appointing Delegates to represent this Colony at the "next Congress to be held at Philadelphia the 10th "day of May next."[5]

[1] Card, signed by Mr. Low and addressed to "The Respectable Pub-"lic," dated "New York, March 9, 1775."

[2] The Communication, signed "Impartial," dated "New York, "March 8, 1775," which was printed in *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 99, New-York, Thursday, March 9, 1775.

[3] *Proceedings of the Committee of Observation for the City and County of New York*, at an Adjourned Meeting, 8th March, 1775.

[4] Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1680, New-York, Thursday, March 16, 1775; *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 100, New-York, Thursday, March 16, 1775;* Gaine's *New-York Gazette: and the Weekly Mercury*, No. 1223, New-York, Monday, March 20, 1775.

[5] *Proceedings of the Committee of Observation for the City and County of New-York*, "Committee-Chamber, 15th March, 1775."

With the single exception of de Lancey, in his *Notes to Judge Jones's History of New York during the American Revolution*, as far as our acquaintance with them extends, every writer on that subject, ourself included, has supposed and stated that the question of sending Delegates to a proposed Provincial Convention was unquestionably determined by the promiscuous Meeting, at the Exchange, without having seen that that vote had been subsequently repudiated by the Committee, for cause, and that it had been submitted to the Freeholders and Freemen, at the Polls, and definitely determined by them, and only by them, at the same time that Delegates were elected to represent the City and County, in that Convention.

* Holt and Gaine stated the vote to have been eight hundred and twenty-five in favor of the appointment of Deputies, and one hundred and sixty-three in opposition: Rivington stated the vote was nine hundred and twenty-nine, in favor, and one hundred and forty-three in opposition.

They all agree that many voters declined to vote—Holt and Gaine said, because their votes were seen to have been unnecessary: Rivington said "the friends of the *old five Delegates*, (finding that they were not "permitted to vote for them *as Delegates*) almost all declined giving "their voices at all."

They evidently suspected the managers of the movement were seeking to accomplish some mischief against those "*old five Delegates*;" and it may be that Isaac Low, in his declination to appear as a candidate, before the proposed Convention, was influenced by that evidently "crooked" movement. They preferred to vote directly for Delegates, instead of leaving the choice to an irresponsible Convention of politicians, who were evidently in the interest of other aspirants to Congressional honors and emoluments.

There is an abundance of evidence, of unquestionable truthfulness, showing that what has been represented to have been a conflict of rival parties, patriotically representing antagonistic political principles, on the occasion referred to, was, in fact, like all the political contests which had preceded it, during the preceding twelvemonth, only personal, factional, and local, in its origin and character; that it was not, really, concerning the great questions arising from the Colonial policy of the Home Government and the Grievances of the Colonies, relative to which there was very little diversity of sentiment throughout the City; and that, in fact, nothing else were involved in the questions which were submitted to the Meeting, than the local and minor questions concerning the control of the political affairs of the Colony itself and, especially, concerning those who should occupy the places of authority, and influence, and emoluments, therein.

It was conceded, by contemporaneous writers of both factions, that there was, really, no difference of opinion, among the various classes and sects and factions of which the City was composed, concerning the existing necessity for the redress of what were said to have been the Colonial Grievances, and that, if the Parliament should not interpose and indicate a willingness to afford the relief which was required, the proposed Congress ought to be convened, for a further consideration of the subject and for such further action relative thereto as should, then, be considered necessary; and no one, of either faction, pretended to be less loyal to the Sovereign nor less mindful of what were generally regarded as his prerogatives, than his most loyal supporters could have been—indeed, it was a notable fact, that, on the occasion of the Meeting now under consideration, even the revolutionary and miscellaneous crowd who assembled under the Liberty-pole was sheltered by a large Union Flag; and that when it moved from the Fields to the Exchange, with its noisy drum and fife and its yet more noisy attendants, it was preceded by another Union Jack, inscribed with the name and the title of the King.

That it might become expedient and proper to assemble the proposed Congress, if the Parliament should not, meanwhile, have indicated an inclination to redress the alleged Grievances of the Colonies, was not only conceded but freely acknowledged, even by those more earnest conservatives who had assembled at the Widow De La Montagnie's, on the preceding Friday evening; but they, in common with many others, hoped and believed that the Parliament would promptly indicate a willingness to afford the relief which was desired; and, in harmony with that hope and that belief, with a laudable desire to restore the harmony which had formerly prevailed between the Mother Country and the Colonies, and not with any intention to oppose the convention of the Congress, *per se*, they desired only a postponement of the action, in the proposed Meeting, which was designed for the inauguration of a movement for the election of Delegates to that proposed Congress, until the twentieth of April, which would have afforded time for the receipt from London of intelligence concerning the inclination and action of the Parliament, without depriving the Colony of the opportunity to elect its Delegation to the Congress, in due form, if it should become necessary to convene the Congress. But those who were anxiously seeking places and influence were not ignorant of the well-known fact that a sparrow in the hand is worth more than a dove on the roof; and, consequently, they were not willing to postpone the immediate action which would surely secure those desirable advantages to themselves; and they acted accordingly, marshaling their irregular allies, posting their handbills bearing unfounded accusations against their adversaries (accusations which were promptly contradicted in other handbills) accomplishing, or seeming to accomplish, by noise, what, at that time, they could not have accomplished, and did not accomplish, regularly, by the votes of those Freeholders and Freemen who were, then, present.[1] The result of that hasty and violent action has been noticed, and need not be repeated; but, notwithstanding it was subsequently disregarded by the Committee which had previously hastened to receive and accept it, it served to draw the lines of faction with more distinctness and to array neighbor against neighbor, in greater animosity and bitterness than had previously been witnessed.

On the sixteenth of March, 1775, in conformity with the Resolution adopted by the Committee, and under its authority, Isaac Low, the permanent Chairman of the Committee of Inspection, prepared the following Circular Letter; and, very soon afterwards, copies of it were sent to the several County Committees, where such Committees could be found, throughout the Colony:

"NEW-YORK, 16th March, 1775.

"GENTLEMEN:

"The late Congress having deemed it expedient, "that, in the present critical State of American "Affairs, another should be held at Philadelphia, the

[1] The motives of those who, respectively, originated and opposed the call for that Meeting may be best seen and understood in the placard and newspaper literature of that notable event; and, in that connection, the original Advertisement, requesting the Meeting, which was published in Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1678, NEW-YORK, Thursday, March 2, 1775, was the first of the series. The opponents of the Meeting, who assembled at the Widow De La Montagnie's, on the third of March, issued a handbill, in which reasons for a postponement of the question were stated; on the morning of the day on which the Meeting, was held, [*March* 6] a calm appeal, signed "A FREEMAN," and addressed "TO THE INHABITANTS OF NEW YORK," very forcibly urging a postponement of the questions, was published in Gaine's *New-York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, No. 1221, Monday, March 6, 1775; a more elaborate appeal and argument, to the same effect, addressed "TO THE RESPECTABLE "INHABITANTS OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK," signed "A CITIZEN OF NEW "YORK," and published in the same issue of that newspaper; an elaborate reply to the last, signed "ANOTHER CITIZEN," and published in Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1679, NEW-YORK, Thursday, March 9, 1775; etc.

"10th Day of May next; and the neighbouring Col-
"onies having already appointed Delegates for that
"Purpose, we beg Leave to call your Attention to
"that Subject, and to remark, that the Honour as
"well as the Interest of the Province requires that
"we also should be fully and properly represented.

"Influenced by these Considerations, this City
"and County conceive it highly necessary that a
"Provincial Convention should, without Delay, be
"formed of Deputies from all the Counties, for the
"*sole* Purpose of appointing, out of their Body, Dele-
"gates for the next Congress, and therefore have
"already chosen their Deputies: They prefer this
"Mode to any other, as it tends to unite the Counties,
"and to preserve that Harmony between them so
"essential to the Interest of our common Cause.

"Be pleased to communicate this Letter to the
"Inhabitants of your County; and should they con-
"cur with us in Sentiment, we beg they will consider,
"whether it would not be best to choose their Depu-
"ties so soon as that they may be down here by the
"20th of April next; which Day we take the Liberty
"of proposing to you as proper for the Meeting of
"the Convention.

"We forbear urging any Arguments to induce
"your Concurrence, being well persuaded you are
"fully sensible that the Happiness of this Colony
"and the Preservation of our Rights and Liberties,
"depend on our acceding to the General Union and
"observing such a Line of Conduct as may be *firm*,
"as well as *Temperate*.

"By Order of the Committee:
"ISAAC LOW, Chairman."[1]

It is a very significant fact that, when the Committee's Circular Letter was written and made ready for transmission to Westchester-county, there was no appearance whatever, within that County, of the slightest organized opposition to either the Home or the Colonial Government; and that, among the *debris* of what had been conveniently regarded as a Convention of the County, assembled, in the preceding August, for the election of Deputies to represent the County in the late Congress, at Philadelphia, neither a County nor a Town Committee, actual or imaginary, remained, to bear testimony to the fact that such a Convention had ever existed, or to receive the Committee's Circular Letter and to take action on its recommendation. Indeed, there can be very little doubt that the well-to-do and generally contented farmers, throughout that County, those who were Freeholders quite as much as those who were only Leaseholders of properties on the various Manors, with here and there a rare exception, had continued to gather their crops and to send them to market, during the preceding Autumn; to enjoy their usual indoor and outdoor recreations, during the preceding Winter; and to return to the labors of the season, on their farms or elsewhere, during the earlier weeks of the Spring, as they had done, before, year after year and generation after generation, knowing little and caring less concerning that bitter struggle for commercial gain, no matter how lawlessly conducted, or concerning that equally bitter struggle for the honors and emoluments of political place, no matter with what auxiliaries nor with what disregard of individual and social proprieties and of public morals that struggle should be conducted, which had kept the neighboring City and the entire seaboard in an unceasing and disgraceful turmoil, during that entire period.

It is not now evident, if it ever was, that these honest, hard-working, contented men, in any portion of that unceasing and undisguised indifference to the clamor and the unblushing immorality and the audacious lawlessness of politicians, of high or of low degree, beyond the borders of the County, which they had steadily and consistently presented, were really offenders against any law, human or divine; and it will require more evidence than has yet been presented by those who have spoken or written adversely concerning those quiet Westchester-county farmers and their unostentatious conservatism, to establish the fact, if it be a fact, that, regardless of that peculiar standing which was awarded to Westchester-county, during the period now under consideration, and regardless of the recognized manhood of those who then lived there, the "consent" of those farmers, previously given, was not quite as necessary to have warranted the invasion of their rural quiet and contentment, by those, not of themselves, who were eager to thrust upon them, uninvited, new political methods, new political principles, and a new form of political government, none of which had yet secured their favor and approval, as it was, then, and as it has ever since been, assumed to have been necessary, everywhere, before a political right could be disturbed or a new form of political government be established.

The farmers in Westchester-county, in 1774 and 1775, were quiet men, quietly pursuing their peaceful vocations, interfering with no one, and avoiding the interference of others. They were not political in their aims or inclinations; they had very clearly manifested, over and over again, their disinclination to be associated, in any degree, with those who were inclined to become, if they had not already become, politicians; and, as will be seen, in their action, during the Winter, and in their subsequent actions, under similar circumstances, they were not inclined to be crowded into any political associations, without their consent, without presenting, at least, an open, a manly, and a vigorous opposition. The reader will determine for himself, therefore, how much, if any, there was of individual and social propriety, and how much, if any, there was of consideration for the wel-

[1] This is a copy of the original publication, as it apppeared in Gaine's *New-York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, No. 1223, NEW-YORK, Monday, March 20, 1775.

fare of those farmers or for that of the Colony, dissevered from all other considerations, in the Committee of Inspection, alias the Committee of Observation, for the City and County of New York—a merely local organization, vested with no more than the barest local authority, and that confined, exclusively, to an entirely different service—when it thrust itself, unasked and undesired, into the midst of that peaceful and peacefully inclined community, only in order to disturb that prevailing peace by marshalling those who composed that rural community into rival parties, embittered against each other, without any aim or purpose in which they were, or in which they were likely to become, in the slightest degree interested, and for nothing else than for the promotion of individual aims and for the advancement to political place and authority, of aspiring politicians who were not always entitled, by their individual integrity, to any such advancement, anywhere.

As we have said, there was no Town or County Committee, within Westchester-county, unto whom the Chairman of New York's Committee of Inspection could send the Committee's Circular Letter, to which reference has been made; and other than usual means, therefore, were necessarily resorted to, to secure for it even a nominal circulation, within that County. It is not, now, known, beyond a peradventure, just what means were thus employed; but the copies of that insidious Circular Letter which were intended for residents of Westchester-county were evidently sent to a leading Westchester-county politician; and, by him, whomsoever he may have been, they were so manipulated that they reached only those residents of the County who would most surely promote the political purposes of that particular Westchesterian who had been thus entrusted with the delivery of them.[1]

On the twenty-eighth of March, Theodosius Bartow, Esq., James Willis, and Abraham Guion, Esq., all of New Rochelle; William Sutton, Esq., of Mamaroneck[2]; Colonel Lewis Morris, Thomas Hunt, and Abraham Leggett, of Westchester; Captain Joseph Drake, Benjamin Drake, Moses Drake, and Stephen Ward, of East Chester; and James Horton, Junior, Esq., of Rye,[2] all of them, it said, "having received "letters from the Chairman of the City and County "of New York, relative to the appointment of Depu-"ties for this County," to a proposed Provincial Convention, "met at the White-Plains, for the purpose of "devising means for taking the Sense of the County "upon the Subject."

At best, that meeting of local politicians, or of those who were not indisposed to become politicians, from the south-eastern Towns of the County, no matter by what means they had been induced to go to the White Plains, on that particular March morning, on such an unusual errand, was nothing more nor less than a Caucus of those who were known or supposed to have been in the interest of the Morris family and to have favored the aspirations of those members of that family who hankered after official place and authority. Neither Yonkers, nor Greenburgh, nor any of the Towns to the northward of them and of the White Plains, were in the slightest degree represented in that important assemblage; and every one who had previously appeared as a leader of the farmers of the County, in their very unfrequent political doings, regardless of party associations, appears to have been, also, very carefully excluded, not improbably for the purpose of securing that harmonious action, in a preordained direction, which the presence of older and more experienced rivals might have turned toward some other part of the County than toward the Manor of Morrisania.

The Caucus undoubtedly discharged all the duties which its controlling spirit assigned to it—it took into consideration, after a fashion of its own creation, the subject of the proposed election of Delegates to represent the County, or to assume to do so; and it "agreed to send the following Notification to the "principal Freeholders in the different Towns and "Districts in the County," the designation of whom,

[1] We have preferred to consider that there was an intermediate agency, between the Chairman of the New York Committee and the several Westchester-county gentlemen into whose hands his Circular Letters eventually fell, because those gentlemen were mainly residents of the town of Westchester and of the neighboring village of New Rochelle; because there was nothing, in that Circular Letter, which designated any time or place of meeting, for any Caucus or other Assemblage which might be considered necessary, for the particular purposes mentioned in that Circular Letter; because, only on the warrant of that particular Circular Letter, explicitly stated by them, a dozen men, from at least four different Towns, spontaneously came together, at the same time, in a distant Town in which none of them lived, and on the same errand. Not one of the number was from Towns lying northward from the White Plains; not one had come from all the country lying westward from the Bronx-river; there was not present either a Van Cortlandt or a Thomas, already well-known popular leaders, either of whom would have been formidable, as a rival, against any new aspirant for the leadership of the movement and the spoils of office to which that movement tended. There was present, however, one who had, previously, been politically dormant; by whom the machinery of the movement was evidently run; and by whom, subsequently, as will be hereafter seen, entirely through its instrumentality, a place was secured for himself, in the Congress of the Continent, and an opening made for the accession to office and aristocratic consequence and influence, of others of his wide-spread family.

It will have been seen, by every attentive reader, that, very evidently, Isaac Low's package of Circular Letters, intended for circulation in Westchester-county, was entrusted to Lewis Morris, of Morrisania, in the Borough Town of Westchester, a brother-in-law of Isaac Wilkins, of that Town, with the last-named of whom, as the leader of the majority of the General Assembly of the Colony, the reader has been already made acquainted.

In all that had previously been said or done, in behalf of the Colony, in its dispute with the Home Government, not a Morris had been heard, except in that instance when one of them described the unfranchised masses of the Colonists as "poor reptiles" (*vide Page* 188, *ante*); but the fragrance of the distant emoluments and influences of office, more fully developed than ever before, had passed over from the City into Westchester-county; and, reasonably enough to all who knew of the greed for office which every Morris of every period had possessed, both Lewis and Gouverneur, to say nothing of others, were no longer torpid and indifferent.

[2] Subsequently distinguished as Loyalists.

in that selection, having been left to him by whom the Caucus had evidently been controlled—and having, in behalf of somebody else more than in behalf of the body of the County, thus put the political machinery in motion, satisfactorily to themselves and to their chief, the twelve gentleman waded through the Spring-time mud, back, to their respective homes.

The "Notification" to which reference has been made, that which the Caucus authorized to be sent to the elect, among the Freeholders of the County, was in these words:

"March 28th, 1775.

"SIR:

"A number of gentlemen from different districts in "the county of Westchester having this day met at "the White Plains to Consider of the most proper "method of taking the Sense of the *Freeholders*, of "the Said County, upon the Expediency of choosing "Deputies to meet the Deputies of the other Coun-"ties, for the purpose of Electing delegates to repre-"sent this Colony in the General Congress to be held "at Philadelphia on the 10th of May next, are of "opinion that the best way of proceeding for that "purpose, will be to have a general Meeting of the "Freeholders of the Said County.

"As this County is very Extensive we take the "liberty of recommending the meeting to be held at "the White Plains on Tuesday the 11th day of April "next at ten o'clock in the forenoon at the Court "House, and therefore do desire you, to give notice "of the Same to all the freeholders in your district, "without exception, as those who do not appear and "vote on that day, will be presumed to acquiesce in "the Sentiment of the majority of those who vote.

"We are &c."[1]

There can be no good reason for supposing that that Caucus failed to employ the best means which it could control, to secure the attendance, at the appointed place, on the appointed day, and at the designated hour, of all those of the farmers of the County of Westchester, whom it supposed to have been friendly to the Morris family, and who were willing or who could be induced to accept the head of that wealthy and aristocratic, but really unpopular, family, as their political leader—to that family, the stake was a very important one; and, to secure that stake, it played desperately. On the other hand, those of the inhabitants of the County who were conservative in their political opinions, and those who were not favorers of the new-born, but selfish, zeal of the Lord of the Manor of Morrisania, were aroused; and, especially in the Borough Town of Westchester, within which the ancestral home of the Morrises was situated, the ambitious purposes of that gentleman and of his family were empathically snubbed, by a Meeting of his townsmen, duly summoned to take into consideration "whether or not they should choose Deputies "to represent them at a Provincial Convention."[2] Besides that local and evidently personal rebuke, by the townsmen of the Morrises, the great body of "the "Freeholders and Inhabitants of the County of West-"chester," or such of them as were "friends of Gov-"ernment and our happy Constitution," was earnestly appealed to, in the circulation of the following stirring Address:

"*To the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the County of Westchester.*

"NEW-YORK, April 6, 1775.

"You are earnestly desired to attend a general "meeting of the county, to be held at the White "Plains, on Tuesday next, the 11th inst. to give your "votes upon the questions:—

"Whether you are inclined to choose deputies to "meet at the city of New-York, in a Provincial Con-"vention? Or,

"Whether you are determined to abide by the "loyal and judicious measures already taken by your "own worthy representatives in the general assembly "of this province, for a redress of American grievances?

"The consequences that may arise from your ne-"glecting to attend at the White Plains, on Tuesday "next, to declare your sentiments relative to the ap-"pointment of deputies to meet in Provincial Con-"gress, may be very fatal to this county; the friends "of goverment, and our happy constitution, are there-"fore earnestly invited in person, to oppose a measure "so replete with ruin and misery. Remember the "extravagant price we are now obliged to pay for "goods purchased of the merchants, in consequence "of the Non-Importation agreement; and when the "NON-EXPORTATION agreement takes place, we "shall be in the situation of those who were obliged "to make bricks without straw.

"A WHITE OAK."[3]

[1] This narrative of the organization and doings of that notable Caucus, including the copy of the "*Notification*" which was issued, by its authority, is based on the elaborate paper, signed by "LEWIS MORRIS, "*Chairman*," which served as the Credentials of those who appeared in the Provincial Convention, as Deputies from Westchester-county, and which is preserved in the *Credentials of Delegates, Historical Manuscripts relating to the War of the Revolution*—Volume xxiv., Page 25—in the Office of the Secretary of State, at Albany.

The "*Notification*," as printed in the text, was copied from the original Manuscript.

[2] "A Correspondent acquaints us, That, on Monday the 3d of March, "the Inhabitants of the Borough of Westchester met, in Consequence of "a Summons, to give their Sentiments upon a Question, whether or not "they would choose Deputies to represent them at a Provincial Conven-"tion in this City; when they declared themselves already very ably "and effectually represented in the General Assembly of this Province, "by Isaac Wilkins, Esquire;* peremptorily disowned all Congressional "Conventions and Committees, most loyally repeating the old Chorus, "God save the King, which was seconded by three hearty Cheers; and "then the jolly Freeholders and Inhabitants spent the Day with great "Hilarity and good Humour over their Tankards and Bowls."—(Gaine's *New-York Gazette, and the Weekly Mercury*, No. 1226, NEW-YORK, Monday, April 10, 1775.)

[3] This appeal, an exact copy of the original, was printed in *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 103, NEW-YORK, Thursday, April 6, 1775.

* The wife of Isaac Wilkins was Isabella Morris, sister of Gouverneur and half-sister of Colonel Lewis Morris, the head of that family.

It is reasonable to suppose that many of the farmers of Westchester-county, whatever their political opinions may have been, were more than usually excited by these extraordinary appeals and by others which have not been preserved, addressed to them by those whom they had hitherto regarded as leaders in political affairs; but it is equally clear that not even those extraordinary means, thus employed, were successful in withdrawing even a respectable minority of the Freeholders, to say nothing of those heads of families who were not Freeholders, who, at that time, inhabited that extensive and thickly settled County, from their homesteads and from the urgent duties, at home, which the opening Spring had imposed upon them. Notwithstanding all the reasons which existed for their continued attention to their respective home duties, however, there were some, relatively a small proportion, of either party, those who were opposed to the Morrises and to the proposition to elect Deputies to a proposed Convention of the Colony and those who favored both, who went to the Plains, on that Tuesday morning, the eleventh of April, as, respectively, they had been requested to go. They went, as farmers were wont to go and as they continue to go, on such occasions, on horseback or on foot, over Westchester-county's Spring-time muddy roads or "across lots," as best suited their individual convenience; and the little Village, what there was of it, scattered along the wide spread Post-road, was undoubtedly, the scene of many a discussion, friendly or unfriendly, as friend met friend or neighbor met neighbor in that ancient thoroughfare, each intent, as farmers only can be intent, on the promotion of the particular cause to which each had become especially devoted. Reasonably enough, the two Taverns which were, then, prominent within the limits of the Village, were made the stopping-places of those rural incomers unto whom no Village householder had extended a Village welcome, Captain Hatfield, the landlord of one of those Taverns, entertaining those who were opposed to the Morrises and to the proposed election of Deputies, while those who favored that family and that proposed election, "put up in another "Public House in the Town," probably that which was kept by Isaac Oakley.[1]

It is evident that neither of the two factions was very punctual in its attendance, at the appointed hour—a practice which is continued to this day, in Westchester-county, on similar occasions—and, for a reason which was perfectly obvious, the promoters of the proposed Meeting, very evidently, were not in a hurry to assume the great responsibility of carrying forward the schemes of the revolutionary faction in the City of New York, to which they had been invited, especially in view of the greater number of those who were opposed to those schemes, and who were present and apparently prepared to oppose them; while those who were opposed to the Morrises and to their schemes and to the proposed election, and whose evidently superior numbers had served to dampen the ardor of their opponents, could do nothing else than to wait, and to watch the progress of events. Notwithstanding the hour of ten had been named in the *Notification* through which the assembled farmers had thus met, it was nearly noon before any attempt to organize a Meeting was made—probably, some whose presence was desired and expected, had not arrived; probably, those leaders of the movement who were present were, meanwhile, "comparing notes," and arranging plans of action, and enjoying that social glass, frequently renewed, of which their Chairman subsequently made mention, unwittingly; most probably, the superior numbers of those who were known to be opposed to them, whose strength of numbers was being constantly increased, warned the ambitious Lord of the Manor of Morrisania and his adherents that "the "better part of Valor is—Discretion."

About twelve o'clock, however, those who favored the Morrises and the proposed election of Deputies appear to have quietly and noiselessly left the Tavern, passed over the old post-road, and re assembled in the Courthouse; organized a Meeting; and appointed Colonel Lewis Morris, its Chairman. It was done quietly, if it was not done secretly: it was done quietly, without inviting any others than those of their own faction, to assemble with them: it was done quietly and in a manner which clearly indicated that something else than an untrammeled and unbiased expression of the will of all those who were present—carrying with it, also, the assumed acquiescence of all those who were not present—concerning the Morrises and the questions which were propounded in the *Notification*, was chiefly desired, and must be procured, "by fair means or by foul:" most evidently, it was done, quietly, with an inclination and a hope that it might accomplish all the purposes of

[1] *Protest of the Inhabitants and Freeholders of Westchester-county, New-York*, "COUNTY OF WESTCHESTER, April 13, 1775," published in *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 105, NEW YORK, Thursday, April 20, 1775; and in Gaine's *New-York Gazette: and the Weekly Mercury*, No. 1227, NEW YORK, Monday, April 17, 1775.

We have been favored by our unwearied friends, Hon. Lewis C. Platt and Hon. J. O. Dykman with information, concerning these two Taverns, which our readers will find worthy of their remembrance.

Captain Hatfield's Tavern stood almost due South from the old Courthouse, and nearly half a mile distant, on the North side of the OLD stage-road to New York,—the line of that road has been changed, since 1775—on property more recently owned by Samuel E. Lyon, Esq., and now by the heirs of the late Alfred Waller, Esq.

The old building has been removed from the place on which it stood, in 1775, to a place, further to the northward, not far from the site of the old Court-house; and is now occupied as a tenement.

Isaac Oakley's Tavern stood on the East side of the old stage-road, directly opposite to the old Court-house. We remember the old house, very distinctly, having often seen it and, more than once, at least forty years ago, having slept under its roof. It is said that it was burned, about 1868; and that the site remains unoccupied.

The old Court-house, the scene of many an adventure during the later Colonial era, occupied the site of the present residence of W. P. Fiero, Esq., on the West side of the stage-road to New York.

those who had originated and promoted it, secretly and rapidly, without alarming those who were assembled at Captain Hatfield's, and before they could be brought to the Courthouse, to defeat those purposes and to relegate the Morrises to that political obscurity in which, very ungraciously, they had so long and so ingloriously rested. It was, in short, nothing else than a political *coup-de-main;* but, unfortunately for the honor of those who participated in it, it was not as respectably successful as those who had contrived it, had desired.[1]

Intelligence of the movement of their opponents very soon reached those who were assembled at Captain Hatfield's Tavern; and we are told that, undoubtedly with very little delay, they, also, "walked "down to the Courthouse, although not half of their "friends who were expected had yet appeared." At that time, when the full force of all who thus presumed to act, in so vital a question, in the name of all who were, then, in Westchester-county—and that, too, without any delegation of authority and, certainly, without any expressed "consent"—was undoubtedly present and acting, there was not present more than from a hundred to a hundred and twenty-five, Freeholders and others; and there is evidence that quite as large a number, Freeholders and others, walked down to the Courthouse, from Captain Hatfield's Tavern, and stripped all the novelty and all there was of what was said to have been integrity from the exposed and unsuccessful *coup-de-main*.[2] The individual respectability of none of these, of either faction, appears to have been impeached by any one; but Colonel Morris subsequently attempted to depreciate the political standing of some of those who were not of his supporters, by saying there were among them "many tenants who were not entitled to vote," etc., —they were recognized as respectable farmers, even by that particular Morris who aimed to belittle them; but, in the presence of such as he, with nothing but what he had inherited, to ensure to him even a nominal respectability, they were evidently expected to be no more than dumb dogs, even while their homes and their properties were put in jeopardy and the peace and happiness of their families endangered by the doings of those "better classes," before one of whom they then stood.

It is said that Isaac Wilkins, of the Borough of Westchester, and Colonel Frederic Philipse, of the Manor of Philipsborough, both of them Members of the General Assembly of the Colony, walked at the head of those who moved from the Tavern to the Courthouse, and who interrupted the proceedings of the Meeting; and all agreed that, when the entire number of those new incomers had entered the Courtroom, without indecorously attempting to disturb the Meeting, in the slightest degree, Isaac Wilkins, in behalf of those with whom he had come, "declared that, as they had been unlawfully called "together, and for an unlawful purpose, they did not "intend to contest the matter, by a Poll, which would "be tacitly acknowledging the authority that had "summoned them thither; but that they had come only "with a design to protest against all such disorderly "proceedings, and to shew their detestation of all un-"lawful Committees and Congresses. They then fur-"ther declared their determined resolution to continue "steadfast in their allegiance to their gracious and "merciful Sovereign, King George the Third; to sub-"mit to lawful authority; and to abide by and sup-"port the only true representatives of the People of "this Colony, the General Assembly." They then gave three cheers, and returned to Captain Hatfield's Tavern, "singing, as they went, with a loyal enthusi-"asm, the grand and animating Song of

"'God save great George, our King,
"'Long live our noble King! etc."[3]

After the protestants had thus peacefully left the Courthouse, the Meeting returned to the business for the transaction of which it had been convened and organized; and the question was submitted, by the Chairman, "Whether they would appoint Depu-"ties for this County, to meet the Deputies of the "other Counties, at the City of New York, on the "twentieth of April instant, for the purpose of "electing Delegates to represent this Colony in the "General Congress, to be held at Philadelphia, on

[1] From the fact that the Meeting had been organized and "had already "entered upon the business of the day," before it was known to those who were at Hatfield's Tavern, that any movement toward such an organization had been made—a fact which was openly stated in the *Protest* of the one faction without having been controverted in the elaborate reply of the Chairman of the Meeting—the secrecy of the movement is established, beyond a question. The motives of those who contrived that particular mode of operations, will be manifest to all who are acquainted with the facts and with the practices of unscrupulous politicians, in Westchester-county as often as elsewhere.

[2] In the narrative which the Chairman of the Meeting prepared, immediately after the adjournment of that Meeting, he stated that "a very "numerous body of the Freeholders of the County assembled at the "Court House;" and that "an inconsiderable number of Persons "(among whom were many tenants not entitled to a vote) with Isaac "Wilkins, Esq., and Col. Philipse at their head, then appeared." In the *Protest of the Inhabitants and Freeholders*, subsequently published, it is stated, specifically, that when those from Captain Hatfield's Tavern entered the Courthouse, "the numbers on each side seemed to be nearly "equal; and both together might amount to two hundred or, at most, "two hundred and fifty." Nearly a month after the publication of that *Protest*, and after he had secured the seat in the Continental Congress for which he had so earnestly hankered—his half-brother, Gouverneur, being then an aspirant to a seat in the proposed Provincial Congress, to which he was elected, on the following day—Lewis Morris published an elaborate and very minute reply to that *Protest*, in which, although nearly every feature of the latter was bitterly controverted, he conveniently said nothing whatever of the number of those, of either faction, who were at the Plains; and, therein, he emphatically acquiesced in what was said, on that subject, with so much precision, in the *Protest*.

[3] There is very little difference, concerning what occurred in the Courtroom, in the narrative drawn up by Lewis Morris and in that portion of the *Protest* which relates to that subject; and both are referred to, as authorities, for what has been said, in the text, relative thereto. Concerning what was done, elsewhere, by the protestants, after they had left the Courthouse, the *Protest* is our sufficient authority.

"the tenth day of May next." By an unanimous vote, it determined to do so; and it then appointed, also without opposition, Colonel Lewis Morris and Doctor Robert Graham—the latter a kinsman of the former—both of Westchester; Stephen Ward, of Eastchester; Colonel James Holmes and Jonathan Platt, of Bedford; John Thomas, Junior, of Rye; and Samuel Drake and Philip Van Cortlandt, both of the Manor of Cortlandt; a majority of whom was authorized to represent the County, and to cast the Vote of the County, in the proposed Convention.[1]

The following Resolutions were, then, submitted to the Meeting; and they were duly adopted, also without a dissenting voice:

"RESOLVED: That the thanks of this body be "given to the virtuous Minority of the General "Assembly of this Province, and particularly to "John Thomas and Pierre Van Cortlandt, Esquires, "two of our Representatives, for their firm attach- "ment to and zeal, on a late occasion for the preser- "vation of the union of the Colonies and the Rights "and Liberties of America; and that this Resolve be "communicated, by the Chairman, to every Gentle- "man of whom that Minority consisted.

"RESOLVED: That the thanks of this country is "due to the Delegates who composed the late Con- "gress, for the essential services they have rendered "to America, in general; and that this Resolve be "forthwith published."

We are told, also, by the Chairman of the Meeting, that, "after the business of the day was thus con- "cluded, the people gave three huzzas for our gra- "cious Sovereign,[2] and dispersed, quickly, without the "least disorder."[3]

Although no action, on that subject, appears to have been taken by the Meeting, its master-spirit and Chairman, in his official capacity, appears to have continued the work for which the Meeting had been convened, completing it before he left the White Plains, by preparing an official narrative of the origin of the Meeting; of the Caucus which had "recom- "mended" it; of its Proceedings, when convened; and of its noisy loyalty to that "gracious Sove- "reign" whose recognized authority it had so boldly assailed. That narrative was duly published; and, at the expense of repeating some matters of which mention has been already made, as an important portion of the historical literature of Westchester-county, a place is made for it, in this work. It was in the following words:

"WHITE PLAINS, IN THE COUNTY OF WESTCHESTER "the 11th day of April 1775.

"On the 28th day of March last, the following "Gentlemen having received letters from the Chair- "man of the Committee of the City and County of "New-York relative to the appointment of Deputies "for this County, met at this place for the purpose of "devising means for taking the Sense of this County "upon the Subject, viz:

"Col. Lewis Morris,	Theodosius Barlow, Esq.,[4]
"Thomas Hunt,	William Sutton, Esq.,
"Abraham Leggot,	Capt. Joseph Drake,
"James Horton, Jr., Esq.,	James Willis,
"Stephen Ward,	Benjamin Drake,
"Abraham Guion, Esq.,	Moses Drake,

"who having taken the Same into consideration, "agreed to send the following notification to the "principal freeholders in the different Towns and "districts in the County, viz—

"'March 28th, 1775.

"'SIR. A number of gentlemen from different dis- "'tricts in the county of Westchester having this "'day met at the White Plains to Consider of the "'most proper method of taking the Sense of the "'*Freeholders*, of the said County, upon the Expedi- "'ency of choosing Deputies to meet the Deputies of "'the other Counties, for the purpose of Electing

[1] As Jonathan Platt and Colonel Holmes did not accept the appointment, and as only six took their seats in the Convention, the majority which was necessary to cast the vote of the County was reduced to four; and, thus, the control of the Delegation was retained by those who went from Westchester, Eastchester, and Rye.

[2] The practice of all, at that period and subsequently, on all such occasions as that referred to in the text, will sufficiently indicate to the reader, that the enthusiasm for the King which was displayed, as much by one faction as by the other, at the White Plains, on that eventful April day, was due quite as much to what had been drunk at the two Taverns, before either of those factions had gone to the Courthouse, as to the love for the King which either of them really possessed. But the Chairman of the Meeting kindly furnished conclusive evidence on the subject, when he wrote, "much pains, I confess, were, on that day, "taken, to make temporary enthusiasts, and with other more *exhilara- "ting spirit* than the spirit of loyalty."—(*Lewis Morris to the Publick*, "MORRISANIA, May 7, 1775.")

Only culprits "confess" a wrong-doing; and with this "confession" of one of the principal offenders, on the occasion referred to, the reader will be enabled to understand how small an amount of genuine *patriot- ism* there was, in such a crowd, no matter for whom it hurrahed; and how small the price was with which that crowd had been purchased, to further the purposes of either "the friends of the Government" or those of the revolutionary faction—may he not be enabled to understand, also, something more of those who originated and fostered the revolutionary spirit, in the Colonies, and something more of the means which they employed, call them what you may, than those, claiming to be "historians," with a very few really honorable exceptions, have hitherto told to him?

One of the most important political movements in which New York has ever been engaged, was carried through Westchester-county in known opposition to the great body of its inhabitants, and in the face of a formal *Protest* of a larger number, by only a factional minority, in the interest of an aspiring politician, and while that minority was staggering under the evil influences of the New England Rum which had been freely dispensed, for that particular purpose.

[3] The narrative, signed by "LEWIS MORRIS, *Chairman*," already referred to, has afforded a sufficient authority, for all that has been said, in the text, concerning the Meeting, after the protestants had left the Courthouse.

[4] Although the name was thus written, in the original manuscript, there can be no doubt that reference was made to Theodosius Bartow, second son of the Rev. John Bartow, the first Rector of the Parish of Westchester. Mr. Bartow subsequently held the comfortable and profitable place of a "Commissary at New Rochelle;" and his son, (subsequently Rector of St. Matthew's Church, at Bedford) held the profitable place of Quarter-master, in the First Westchester-county Regiment.

"'delegates to represent this Colony in the General "'Congress to be held at Philadelphia on the 10th of "'May next, are of opinion that the best way of pro-"'ceeding for that purpose, will be to have a general "'Meeting of the Freeholders of the Said County.

"'As this County is very Extensive we take the lib-"'erty of recommending the meeting to be held at "'the White Plains on Tuesday the 11th day of April "'next at ten o'clock in the forenoon at the Court "'House, and therefore do desire you, to give notice "'of the Same to all the freeholders in your district, "'without exception, as those who do not appear and "'vote on that day, will be presumed to acquiesce "'in the Sentiment of the majority of those who vote.

"'We are, &c.'

"The above notice having been generally given "and distributed, a very numerous body of the Free-"holders of the County assembled at the Court "House at the White Plains, on this day, and chose, "Col. Lewis Morris for their Chairman.

"An inconsiderable number of Persons (among "whom were many tenants not entitled to a vote) with "Isaac Wilkins, Esq., and Col. Philipse at their "head, then appeared, and Mr. Wilkins in their be-"half as he said, declared that they would not join "in the business of the day or have anything to "do with Deputies or congresses, but that they came "there, for the sole purpose of protesting against "such illegal and unconstitutional proceedings, after "which they departed.

"The following Question was then put to the peo-"ple by the chairman, viz:

"'Whether they would appoint Deputies for this "'county, to meet the Deputies of the other counties "'at the city of New York on the 20th of April in-"'stant, for the purpose of electing delegates to re-"'present this colony in the general congress to be "'held at Philadelphia on the 10th day of May "'next.'

"To which Question they unanimously answered that they would.

"They then appointed the following eight persons, "or the majority of them, to be the deputies of this "county, for the purposes aforesaid, viz:

"Col. *Lewis Morris*, *John Thomas, Jr., Esq.*,
"*Stephen Ward*, *Jonathan Platt, Esq.*,
"*Samuel Drake, Esq.*, *Robert Graham, Esq.*,
"Col. *James Holmes*, Major *Philip Van Courtlandt.*

"The two following Resolves were then unani-"mously Entered into, viz:

"*Resolved*, that the thanks of this Body be given to "the virtuous minority of the general Assembly of "this Province, and particularly to John Thomas and "Pierre Van Cortlandt, Esqrs., two of our representa-"tives for their firm attachment to and zeal, on a late "occasion for the preservation of the Union of the "Colonies and the rights and liberties of America; "and that this Resolve be communicated by the "chairman, to every gentleman of whom that min-"ority consisted.

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of this country is due "to the delegates who composed the late congress for "the Essential Services they have rendered to Amer-"ica in general, and that this Resolve be forthwith "published.

"After the business of the day was thus concluded, "the people gave three Huzzas for our gracious "Sovereign and dispersed quickly[1] without the least "disorder.

"LEWIS MORRIS, *Chairman*."[2]

In the proceedings of the revolutionary faction, after its Meeting was organized, probably because of a consciousness of its own relative weakness within the County, there was an evident attempt to appear, at least, to be fair and honest in whatever was said or done—no personalities or harsh words, of any kind, appear to have been used against those who entered its Meeting, and respectfully protested against the organization and doings and purposes of that Meeting; the County, as such, was not referred to, in either of the two Resolutions which were adopted, the thanks of nothing else than those who were then present and voting having been voted to the minority of the General Assembly, while an obligation then due to the Continental Congress, which rested on the entire country, if that Meeting was not misinformed, was simply recognized by it, without an attempt being made for the liquidation of even its own portion of the debt—it gave its thanks to the minority of the Colonial Assembly; but it had no thanks to spare for the Continental Congress;—no attempt was made, then or afterwards, to exult over the results of the Meeting; the narrative written by the Chairman of the Meeting continued that commendable courtesy; and, the principal purpose of the Meeting, if not its only purpose, the restoration of the Morris family to the political life from which it had been excluded, having been accomplished, the peace of the County, for the present, was not further disturbed; although it is scarcely possible that every one continued, thenceforth, to regard all his neighbors with the same friendly feelings which had bound them together, during the past.

While the Meeting at the Courthouse was thus quietly engaged in the continued discharge of "the "business of the day," those who had protested, before it, against the call for the Meeting as well as against its proposed proceedings, returned to Captain Hatfield's Tavern, where they were joined, during the afternoon, by "many of their friends;" and "they

[1] In some of the re-prints of this paper, this word is called "quietly:" we have preferred to use the word which was used by the author, in the original manuscript.

[2] This is an exact copy of the original manuscript, which was used as the Credentials of the Deputies and has been preserved in the *Credentials of Delegates*, Volume XXIV., Page 25, *Historical Manuscripts relating to the War of the Revolution*, in the Office of the Secretary of State, at Albany.

"proceeded to draw up and sign a *Declaration*, which "they seemed to do," it is said, "with as much pat- "riotic zeal as ever warmed the hearts of true and "faithful Subjects; and, afterwards, they dispersed to "their different habitations.[1]"

A narrative of the events was subsequently written, probably by Isaac Wilkins, and, with the *Declaration* affixed, it was printed in the newspapers of the day, where, from that day to this, they have remained, serving as authorities in the history of that period. The narrative and the *Declaration* are in these words:

"*County of Westchester, April* 13, 1775.

"MR. RIVINGTON,

"Be pleased to insert the following, and you will "oblige a number of your Friends and Subscribers:

"ON Thursday the 11th inst. a very respectable num- "ber of freeholders and inhabitants of the county "of Westchester, assembled at the White Plains, in "the said County, agreeable to notice given, that "their sentiments might be known concerning the "choice of a committee, to meet other committees in "the city of New-York, for the purpose of choosing "delegates to represent this colony in the next Con- "tinental Congress.

"The friends to order and government met at the "house of Captain Hatfield. Those who were for "a committee, put up at another public house in "the town. About 12 o'clock word was brought to "the gentlemen at Captain Hatfield's that the oppo- "site party had already entered upon the business of "the day. Upon which they immediately walked "down to the Courthouse, although not half of their "friends who were expected, had yet appeared; where "they found the other company collected in a body. "The numbers on each side seemed to be nearly "equal, and both together might amount to 200, or "at most 250. The friends to government then de- "clared, that as they had been unlawfully called to- "gether, and for an unlawful purpose, they did not "intend to contest the matter with them by a poll, "which would be tacitly acknowledging the author- "ity that had summoned them thither; but that they "came only with a design to PROTEST against all "such disorderly proceedings, and to shew their de- "testation of all unlawful committees and con- "gresses. They then declared their determined "resolution to continue stedfast in their allegiance to "their gracious and merciful sovereign King George "the Third—to submit to lawful authority, and to "abide by and support the only true representatives "of the people of this colony, the General Assembly. "Then giving three huzzas, they returned to Captain "Hatfield's, singing as they went, with loyal enthusi- "asm, the good and animating song of,

"'God save great George our King,
"'Long live our noble King, &c.'

"At their return, finding that many of their friends "had arrived during their absence, and that many "still kept coming in, they proceeded to draw up, and "sign the following *declaration*, which they seemed to "do with as much patriotic zeal, as ever warmed the "hearts of true and faithful subjects, and afterwards "dispersed to their different habitations.

"'WE the subscribers, freeholders and inhabitants "'of the county of Westchester, having assem- "'bled at the White Plains, in consequence of certain "'advertisements, do now declare, that we met here to "'express our honest abhorrence of all unlawful con- "'gresses and committees, and that we are determined "'at the hazard of our lives and properties, to sup- "'port the King and Constitution, and that we ac- "'knowledge no representatives but the General "'Assembly, to whose wisdom and integrity we sub- "'mit the guardianship of our rights and privileges.

"'Frederick Philipse,	Jacob Post,
"'Isaac Wilkins,	Joseph Gidney,
"'Samuel Seabury,	James Baxter,
"'Luke Babcock,	John Hart,
"'Jonathan Fowler, Judge,	Cornelius Losee,
"'Caleb Fowler, Judge,	Jesse Park,
"'Jonathan P. Horton, Esq;	Roger Purdy, jun.
"'William Sutton, Esq.;	Gilbert Pugsley,
"'Daniel Oakly, Esq.;	Abraham Leadeau,
"'Benjamin Fowler, Esq.;	Benjamin Brown,
"'William Davids, Esq.;	Isaac Keed,
"'William Anderson, Esq.;	Aaron Buis,
"'William Barker, Esq.;	Moses Weymen,
"'Capt. Abra. Hatfield, Esq.;	Israel Underhill,
"'Natha Underhill, Mayor,	John Baisley,
"'George Cornwell, Esq.;	David Oakley, jun.
"'Philip Pell, Esq.;	Isaac Smith,
"'Joshua Pell,	John Hyatt,
"'James Pell,	Hezekiah Cudney,
"'Edward Pell,	Abraham Odell,
"'John Hunt,	Thomas Lawrence,
"'Gilbert Horton,	John Seyson,
"'Adrian Leforge,	Jeremiah Travis,
"'Joshua Gidney,	Griffen Corey,
"'Jonathan Gidney,	Isaa Forsheu,
"'Lieut. Jonathan Purdy,	Gabriel Requeaw,
"'Solomon Gidney,	Samuel Webb,
"'Joseph Bude,	Benjamin Downing.
"'James Whetmore,	Gabriel Archer,
"'Moses Williams,	Elias Secord,
"'John Haight,	Thomas Veal,
"'Isaac Brown,	James Pierce,
"'Philip Kelly,	Edward Bugbe,
"'James Hains,	David Haight,
"'Joseph Hains, Jun.	Sylvanus Lyon,
"'James Hains, Jun.	Daniel Haight,
"'Matthew Hains,	John Williams,
"'Bartholomew Hains,	Joseph Purdy,
"'Gilbert Hains,	Ezekiel Halstead,
"'John Hains,	John Hunt, jun.

[1] *The Declaration* here referred to, forms a portion of the *Protest* which is published, in full, on this page, below, and on page 73 post., and the reader is referred to it, in that place.

"'Elijah Hains,	Isaac Purdy,
"'Lieut. Solomon Fowler,	Elijah Purdy,
"'Isaac Williams,	Abraham Losee,
"'John M'Collum,	Isaac Tomkins,
"'Joseph Clark,	William Grey,
"'Joseph Oakly,	Nathaniel Merit,
"'Caleb Ferris,	Joseph Palding,
"'Capt. Benjamin Griffen,	Hendricus Storm,
"'Capt. Joshua Purdy,	Francis Secord,
"'James Mott,	John Parker,
"'Lieut. William Laensberry,	Gilbert Hatfield,
"'Lieut. Samuel Purdy,	Gabriel Purdy,
"'John Ruflin,	Alexander Haines,
"'Nathan Osborn,	Benjamin Ogden,
"'Philemon Halstead,	Thomas Meritt,
"'Daniel Purdy,	Gilbert Bates,
"'John Crab,	John Gidney,
"'Izariah Whetmore,	Stephen Arnode,
"'Capt. Absolom Gidney,	Israel Secord,
"'David Haight,	John Arnode,
"'John Brown,	David Purdy,
"'Jasper Stivers,	David Belcher,
"'Peter M'Farthing,	Jordan Downing,
"'Joshua Purdy, jun.	Levi Devoe,
"'Haccaliah Purdy, jun.	Abraham Acker,
"'James Tomkins,	Corn. Van Tassell,
"'Michael Chatterton,	Elisha Merit,
"'Elnathan Taylor,	Jacob Schureman,
"'Gilbert Theal,	Joseph Appleby,
"'William Saxen,	John Tomkins, jun.
"'Thomas Champenirs,	Job Hadden, jun.
"'John Champenirs,	Patrick Carey,
"'William Griffin,	James Hart,
"'Isaac Gidney,	Gilbert Ward,
"'John Bates,	Monmouth Hart,
"'Joseph Haviland,	William Dunlap,
"'Eleazer Hart,	Joshua Ferris,
"'Timothy Whetmore,	Timothy Purdy,
"'James Hunt,	James Maguire,
"'Joseph Parker,	James Regnaw,
"'Joshua Barns,	Daniel Shadin,
"'Joseph Purdy,	Samuel Purdy,
"'John Park,	Sylvanus Purdy,
"'Samuel Purdy,	William Dalton,
"'Gilbert Purdy,	David Davids,
"'James Chatterton,	Elijah Purdy, jun.
"'John Dusenburgh,	Elijah Tomkins,
"'Thomas Cromwell,	Daniel Jerow,
"'Solomon Horton,	Charles Lawrence,
"'Peter Busing,	Joseph Purdy, jun.
"'Peter Busing, jun.	James Sniffen, jun.
"'James Kniffen,	Thomas Valentine,
"'Nathaniel Underhill, jun.	Gilbert Valentine,
"'Philip Fowler,	Abraham Rich,
"'John M'Farthing,	Andrew Gerow,
"'John Tomkins,	Gilbert Hunter,
"'Joseph Hart,	Lieut. Peter Bonet,
"'Samuel Sneden,	Isaac Merit,
"'Peter Fashee,	Edward Merit,
"'Jesse Lawrence,	John Gale,
"'William Sneden,	John Smith,
"'Lieut. Daniel Knap,	Roger Purdy,
"'Solomon Dean,	James Hart, jun.
"'Charles Vincent, sen.	Jonathan Purdy, jun.
"'Lieut. Thomas Hyat,	Monmouth Hart, jun.
"'James Gidney,	Christopher Purdy,
"'William Woodward,	Gabriel Purdy,
"'Jonathan Budd,	Edward Merit, jun.
"'John Whetmore,	Elijah Miller,
"'William Underhill,	Henry Disborough,
"'Thomas Brown,	Benjamin Hunt,
"'Lieut. Isaac Gidney,	Elnathan Hunt,
"'Nehemiah Tomkins,	William Van Wart,
"'Henry Leforge,	Abraham Storm,
"'Evert Brown,	Thomas Berry,
"'Benjamin Beyea,	Lancaster Underhill,
"'Bartholomew Gidney,	Charles Merit,
"'Josiah Brown,	Benjamin Underhill,
"'Seth Purdy,	Benjamin Griffin, jun.
"'Peter Huggeford,	Jeremiah Coon,
"'Jacob Gidney,	John Hall,
"'John Loce,	James Angevine,
"'Elnathan Appleby,	Jacob Coon,
"'John Baker,	Jeremiah Anderson, jun.
"'Jonathan Underhill,	Gilbert Williams,
"'James M'Chain,	William Barker, jun.
"'Benjamin Seacord,	Gideon Arden,
"'Joshua Hunt,	William Field,
"'Betts Chatterdon,	Joseph Purdy,
"'William Landrine,	George Storm,
"'Enoch Hunt,	Jacob Vermiller,
"'Peter Corne,	Samuel Heusted,
"'Dennis Kennedy,	Bartow Underhill,
"'James Hains,	Lieut. John Warner,
"'Andrew Bainton,	Nathaniel Purdy,
"'Hezekiah Simmons,	Isaac Bennet,
"'Nathaniel Tomkins,	Samuel Baker,
"'Caleb Archer,	John Cornwell,
"'Benjamin Bugbee,	John Storm,
"'Francis Purdy,	Andrew Fowler,
"'William Odell,	Joshua Secord,
"'Israel Hunt,	George French,
"'Thomas Tomkins,	John Underhill,
"'Frederick Underhill,	Caleb Gidney,
"'Peter Post,	William Underhill, jun.
"'Benjamin M'Cord,	James Hill,
"'John Williams,	William Watkins,
"'John Ackerman,	John Rustin,
"'Peter Rusting,	Richard Baker,
"'Thomas Barker,	William Ascough,
"'Jeremiah Hunter	Bishop Heustice,
"'Abraham Storm,	James Miller,
"'Peter Jenning,	Phineas Hunt,'

"The following persons, not being able to attend at "the Plains, requested by their Friends that their "names might be added to the list of protestors, viz.:

"John Hunt, Esq.,	Jeremiah Hitchcock,
"Philip Palmer, Esq.,	William Bond,
"John Hitchcock,	Joseph Bond.

"The foregoing account is strictly true, as can be

"proven by the testimony (or if necessary by the affi-
"davits) of a number of persons, of the most unques-
"tionable character in this county. What then must
"we think of such persons as have propagated a report,
"that the friends of government were upon this occa-
"sion out-numbered 5 to 1, and that many of the
"persons whose names were subscribed to the fore-
"going *Declaration*, were not on that day present at
"the White Plains? They must be conscious to
"themselves, that they have spread abroad a falsehood,
"and they are hereby called upon if they dare to set
"their names to those assertions.

"In what manner those Gentlemen who chose the
"Committee at the Plains proceeded, we cannot posi-
"tively say: But this we can declare with truth, that
"we do not believe they can produce to the public
"the names of an hundred and fifty persons who
"voted for a Committee that day, and we are verily
"persuaded that they did their utmost to make their
"party as numerous as possible. How then can they
"justify their choice of a Committee? Or how can
"they presume to impose upon the world, and to
"insult the loyal county of Westchester, in so bare-
"faced a manner?

"It is well-known here, that two-thirds at least of
"the inhabitants of this county, are friends to order
"and government, and opposed to Committees and all
"unlawful combinations[1]; and it will be made ap-
"parent to the world, that they are so, as soon as
"certain resolves now signing freely by the people,
"shall be ready for publication.—And one principal
"reason why the friends to government did not assem-
"ble in greater numbers than they did on Tuesday
"last, was, that many of them had already, by sign-
"ing those resolves, testified their loyalty to the
"King, their attachment to the constitution, their
"enmity to Committees, and their acquiescence in the
"prudent measures taken by their Assembly in the
"late session, for accommodating the unhappy differ-
"ences between the mother country and the colonies;
"and consequently thought they had already done
"their duty.[2]

"The Committee that was chosen, may, with some
"kind of propriety, be said to represent those partic-
"ular persons who chose them: But how they can
"be denominated the representatives of the County
"of Westchester, who in general abhor Committees
"and Committee-men; and are determined to take
"no steps that may have the least tendency to lead
"them into Rebellion, we cannot conceive. Certainly
"the friends to government who were collected at
"Captain Hatfield's, had a better right, from their
"number, to determine that there should be no Com-
"mittee, than the opposite party had to appoint one,
"and might with much greater propriety be said to
"shew the sense of the county, than the few who
"acted without authority, and in direct opposition to
"government, and to the determinations of our worthy
"Assembly. And we doubt not but the impartial
"public will consider the matter in this light, and
"not esteem the act of a few individuals, unlawfully
"assembled, as the act (which it most assuredly is
"not) of the very *respectable*, *populous* and *loyal* coun-
"ty of WESTCHESTER."[3]

The promoters of the Meeting were evidently only a minority of those present, at the Courthouse, on that memorable eleventh of April; and it is equally evident that if those who were opposed to them had pursued a different line of conduct and had joined issue with them, on the main question, the weight of the County would have been emphatically cast on the side of the conservatives, and in opposition to the election of Delegates to the proposed Convention. But the majority, very correctly, considered that were it to assert its undoubted power, within the Meeting, and to participate in the proceedings of that Meeting, no matter for what pupose, it would be a tacit acknowledgment of the authority to do so, of those who had called the Meeting; and it confined itself, therefore, to simply protesting against the entire proceedings, as disorderly and revolutionary, without appearing to have remembered that political revolutions never move backward, voluntarily; and that there was not the slightest reason for supposing that, in that particular instance, in the absence of all restraint, there would be an exception to that general law. Whether the majority, in that instance, acted wisely or unwisely, is a question which the reader must determine for himself: it is not, in the slightest degree, probable, however, that the great movement which was then in progress, and which ended only in the entire separation of the thirteen Colonies from the Mother Country, was either assisted or obstructed, in the slightest degree, by that peculiar opposition, from the conservative yeomanry of Westchester-county.

The Provincial Convention duly assembled at the Exchange, in the City of New York, on the twentieth of April, 1775, the Counties of New York, Albany, Ulster, Orange, Westchester, Duchess, Kings, Suffolk, and two Towns in Queens, being, more or less, represented by Delegates—of the Delegation which had

[1] Vide pages 40, 42, ante.

[2] The "RESOLVES," referred to in the text, are undoubtedly those which were re-produced on page 43, ante. They originated in Duchess-county, which, at that time, extended, southward, to Westchester-county; and it is understood that they were widely circulated throughout the former County, and, to a considerable extent, throughout Westchester-county.

[3] This very important paper was published in *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 105, NEW-YORK, Thursday, April 20, 1775, and, in Gaine's *New-York Gazette: and the Weekly Mercury*, No. 1227, NEW-YORK, Monday, April 17th, 1775.

The entire paper, including the signatures, as they appear in the text, was very carefully copied from the original publication, in *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, already referred to.

Those who are familiar with the history of Westchester-county will recognize, among the signers to this *Protest*, members of a great number of the leading families of that ancient County.

been elected by the Meeting at the White Plains, all were present, except Colonel James Holmes and Jonathan Platt.

After spending nearly two days in the adjustment of its, sometimes, very questionable membership,[1] Isaac Low and John Haring, who had been members of the preceding Congress, having declined re-elections, the Convention adopted a Resolution re-electing Philip Livingston, James Duane, John Jay, and John Alsop, all of the City of New York; Simon Boerum, of Kings-county; William Floyd, of Suffolk; and Henry Wisner, of Orange-county; all of whom had been Members of that Congress; and added to them, Colonel Philip Schuyler, of Albany-county; George Clinton, of Ulster-county; Colonel Lewis Morris, of Westchester-county; Robert R. Livingston, Junior, of Duchess county; and Francis Lewis, of the City of New York; as Delegates from the Colony of New York to the second Congress of the Continent; and, on Saturday, the twenty-second of April, after the Credentials of the Delegates-elect had been signed by every member of the Convention,[2] that body having been called for the single purpose of electing Delegates to the Congress, it was adjourned, *sine die*.[3]

The movement of the Royal troops from Boston to Concord; the reckless slaughter of unresisting Colonists who had assembled on the Green, at Lexington, and of those who were retiring from that place;[4] the destruction of the Provincial stores, at Concord; the collision of the raiders with the excited Colonists, while on their retreat, from Concord to Boston; the disastrous result of that retreat; the intense excitement into which the entire Continent was consequently plunged; the entire disregard of the Royal authority, in the City of New York, which immediately followed; the temporary fortification of the pass, at Kingsbridge; and the control, within the City, which the Committee of Inspection necessarily assumed, are, all of them, matters of history, known to all intelligent persons, and need not be repeated, in this place.

The intelligence of that commencement of military operations, in the field, was received in the City of New York, on Sunday, the twenty-third of April;[5] and, at a Meeting of the Committee of Inspection, on the following Wednesday, that body, among other proceedings, resolved that "this Committee is further "unanimously of opinion, that, at the present alarming juncture, it is highly advisable that a Provincial "Congress be immediately summoned; and that it be "recommended to the Freeholders and Freemen of "this City and County, to choose, at the same time "that they vote for the new Committee aforesaid,[6] "twenty Deputies to represent them at the said Con"gress; and that a Letter be forthwith prepared and "despatched to all the Counties, requesting them to "unite with us in forming a Provincial Congress, and "to appoint their Deputies without delay, to meet at "New York, on Monday, the twenty-second of May "next."[7]

[1] Among the very paltry *Credentials* which were generally presented by those who aspired to seats in that Convention, those which were presented by Robert R. Livingston, Junior, Egbert Benson, and Morris Graham—the latter a kinsman of the Morrises of Morrisania—were decidedly the shabbiest. Through them, however, a Livingston and a Benson crept into place and authority.

[2] The peculiar words with which those *Credentials* closed, very clearly indicate the political status of the Colony, at the date of that Convention. They were these . . . "were unanimously elected Delegates to represent "this Colony at such Congress, with full power to them or any five of "them, to meet the Delegates from the other Colonies and to concert "and determine upon such measures as shall be judged most effectual "for the preservation and re-establishment of American Rights and "Privileges, and for the restoration of harmony between Great Britain "and the Colonies."—(*Journal of the Convention*, "Die Sabatti, 11 hora "a. m. April, 22nd, 1775.")

[3] The *Journal* of this, the first, Provincial Convention of the Colony, was "printed in pursuance of a Resolution of the Legislature," in 1842; and it has been our authority, in whatever has been stated, in the text, concerning that body.

See, also, deLanceys' *Notes* to Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 486, 487; Pitkin's *History of the United States*, i., 325; Hildreth's *History of the United States*, First Series, iii., 72; etc.

Judge Jones, (*History of New York*, i., 38, 39,) strangely supposed the Members to the Congress were elected by the several Counties—those from the City of New York, at that promiscuous mass Meeting, at the Exchange, of which an account has been already presented. Bancroft, with all the authorities before him. (*History of the United States*, original edition, vi., 283; *the same*, centenary edition, iv., 513,) made all "the ru"ral Counties," without exception, "co-operate with the City," in electing the Deputies, although Richmond, all of Queens except two Towns, Tyron, Cumberland and Charlotte-counties, made no pretension so send Deputies. He said, also, that all the members of the former Congress, "except the luke-warm Isaac Low," were re-elected: both Isaac Low and John Haring, both of them members of that Congress, declined re-elections, notwithstanding the Convention desired to return them. Lossing, (*Field-Book of the Revolution*,) appears to have regarded the action of New York, concerning the second Congress, as too insignificant to be worthy of even a passing allusion.

[4] Notwithstanding the unaccountable display of armed men, on the Green, no attempt whatever was made, by any of them, to *oppose the march* of the Royal Troops; and when they were ordered to disperse, they did disperse, all of them seeking safety in running away, as fast as they could go. While they were thus running away, the Royal troops opened a fire on them, with the result which is known to the world. It is positively and authoritatively stated, that, with the exception, the only exception, of one, who, when "he was at some "distance"—out of harm's way—turned and "gave them the guts "of his gun," not a single gun was fired by the Colonists. Those curious to learn more on that subject—that "Battle" in which one of the parties did ALL the firing, and the other all the RUNNING—may find the testimony in Dawson's *Battles of the United States by Sea and Land*, Article "LEXINGTON AND CONCORD;" Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, ii., 489–501; etc.

[5] The most graphic account of the proceedings, in the City of New-York, on that memorable Sunday, as far as we have knowledge of the subject, is that presented by Judge Jones, in his *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, (i., 39–41.)

[6] The Committee of Inspection had recommended the dissolution of that Committee, because it was invested with powers respecting only the "*Association*" of the Continental Congress; and it had also recommended the election of a new Committee of one hundred persons, thirty-three of whom should be a quorum, all of whom should retire and the Committee be "dissolved within a fortnight next after the end of the "next Session of the Continental Congress."

The "Committee of One hundred," which was thus called, subsequently became the local Committee of the Revolutionary element, in the City of New York, and well known to every student of the history of that period.

[7] Minutes of the Committee of Inspection, "Wednesday, April 26, "1775."

Inasmuch as the City and, to a considerable extent, the Colony were practically in a state of anarchy, the Colonial Government being confessedly unable to do anything, even for the maintenance of a shadow of its official dignity and authority,[1] the calmness and ability with which the Committee controlled the excitable masses, within the City—those who had been schooled, for many years, in acts of lawless violence and destruction, and whose organization and leadership had not been disturbed,—were peculiarly noteworthy and entitled to the highest praise; and, under the circumstances which then existed, which clearly indicated that the Colonial General Assembly would not re-assemble on the third of May, to which day it had adjourned, there was an existing necessity that some other body, possessing a general influence, should be assembled, in its stead, for the control of the excited revolutionary elements, if not to lead them; and the call for a Provincial Congress, thus published, was, therefore, under the existing circumstances, both prudent and praiseworthy.

It is proper, however, that notice should be taken, in this connection, of the fact that, during the entire period preceding the publication of that call for a Provincial Congress, there had been a wholesome fear, among all classes, unless the most radical and reckless, that such a body, called and organized without warrant in law and liable to become controlled by those who would be inclined to resort to the most violent measures, notwithstanding the pretensions and professions of those who promoted the call for such a body, would soon become more oppressive than the Colonial Government, administered agreeably to law, by the legally constituted officers, had ever been or could thenceforth become. They referred, especially, in support of their fears, to the Colony of South Carolina, where such a Congress had superseded the Colonial Legislature; and they called attention to the fact that, there, the entire machinery of the Colonial Government had been stopped; the Courts had been closed; and decrees of the most oppressive character had been enacted; and these, not by the Colonial Government nor by those who were peculiarly supporters of the authority of the King, but by those who had assumed to lead the popular movement, who had utilized the project of a Provincial Convention or Congress as a more powerful instrumentality for the acquirement of authority which they had not previously possessed, for the establishment of systems of government which were neither practical nor useful, and for the gratification of malice and revenge, between individuals and communities, all of them done, too, in the name of "Liberty" and the "Rights of the "Colonies," with violent denunciations of tyranny and official oppression, *per se*, and with solemn appeals to Heaven, as guaranties of the self-assumed righteousness and of the good intentions of the self-constituted and lawless oppressors.[2] Reference was also made to other instances, in other Colonies, in which the revolutionary elements, regardless of all law, human or divine, and governed only by their own unbridled wills and for their own individual purposes, had become more oppressive than those Colonial Governments had been, against whom the full force of the revolutionary opposition had been so noisily hurled; and it was peculiarly noticeable, in the greater number, if not in all, such instances, that the most violent and lawless of those who were most reckless of the rights of individuals, were those demagogues who, previously to the uprising, had been most unmindful of the complaints of the masses—those of the "poor reptiles" of their estimates—and most sycophantic in their zeal for the promotion of the pretensions of the Colonial and Home Governments.

That serious distrust, among thoughtful men, to

[2] Judge Jones, who was on the Bench of the Supreme Court of the Colony, said that a meeting of His Majesty's Council was held at Lieutenant-governor Colden's house, on the afternoon of that Sunday which has been made memorable, in history; and that the Judges of the Supreme Court of the Colony, the Attorney-general of the Colony, the Mayor and Recorder of the City, and the Field-officers of the City Militia, were present, on invitation. "The Governor desired their advice in the "then critical situation of affairs. Several things were mentioned, pro-"posed, agitated, and talked of, but to little purpose. A Judge of the "Supreme Court," [*Thomas Jones, who wrote this statement,*] "then "present, boldly proposed that the Militia should be called out, the "Riot Act read, and if the mob did not thereupon disperse, to apprehend "and imprison the ringleaders, and by such coercive means to secure "the peace of the City. This proposal was instantly opposed by William "Smith, one of his Majesty's Council, who openly declared 'that the "'ferment which then raged in the City was general and not confined to "'a few; that it was owing to a design in the British Ministry to en-"'slave the Colonies, and to carry such design into execution by dint of "'a military force; that the Battle of Lexington was looked upon as "'a prelude to such intention; and that the spirit then prevailing in "'the Town (which he represented as universal) would subside as soon "'as the grievances of the people were redressed; and advised to let "'the populace act as they pleased'—Nobody replied, the times were "critical, a declaration of one's sentiments might be dangerous, the "Council broke up, and nothing was done."—(*History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i. 41.)

[1] The Provincial Congress of South Carolina assembled at Charleston, on Wednesday, the eleventh of January, 1775, and adjourned on Tuesday, the seventeenth of the same month. Besides approving the doings of the Continental Congress, it forbade the commencement of any Action for Debt, and the prosecution of any such Action as had been commenced since the preceding September, unless with the consent of the Committee of the Parish in which the Defendant resided; "that "Seizures and Sales upon Mortgages should be considered on the same "footing as Actions for Debts;" "that no Summons should be issued "by any Magistrate, in small and mean Causes, without the like con-"sent of the Parish Committee;" that "compensation should be made "by those who raise articles which may be exported" [*which, agreeably to the* Association *of the Continental Congress, was only Rice*] "to those "who cannot raise such articles, for the losses which they may sustain "by not exporting the commodities they raise," "that if the Exportation "of Rice should be continued" [*under the exception, in its favor, which the Continental Congress had made*] "one-third of the Rice made in the "Colony should be deposited in the hands of Committees" appointed to receive it, for the public use, at prices named by the Congress, and payable in the paper currency of the Colony, which was depreciated to seven for one of specie; and other decrees of the most oppressive characters.

Descriptions of that Provincial Congress and of its remarkable methods and still more remarkable doings, may be seen in Ramsay's *History of the Revolution in South Carolina*, i., 23–25; Drayton's *Memoirs of the American Revolution as relating to South Carolina*, i., 166–180; etc.

See, also, *Journal of the Congress*, re-printed in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, i., 1109–1118.

which reference has been made in connection with the call for a Provincial Congress, was greatly strengthened, immediately after the receipt of the intelligence of the military expedition to Concord, and in the midst of the intense excitement which then prevailed throughout the City, by the inroad into the County of Westchester and the City of New York, of a large number of men, from Connecticut, who had come on their own motion, unsolicited by any one in New York or elsewhere; without the slightest authority from the Government of their own Colony; and, evidently, bent on nothing else than to be present to share in the distribution of the booty which an evidently expected general overturning of the homes and the business-offices and warehouses of that City would have placed within their reach. They lived, on their way through Westchester-county as well as while they were within the City, entirely on their wits and on the products of their wits, professing to have come only "with a view of aiding and assisting "us in preparing for our defense;" but their reckless arrogance and audacity, in their assumption of authority in local affairs as well as in other matters, in which they were evidently sustained by some of the more desperate of the leaders of the revolutionary faction, in the City of New York, which were made matters of record, had they not been only earlier specimens of the peculiarly "New England ideas" which, subsequently, became so common and so well known, would have been regarded, by those of later periods, as unaccountable, if not impossible.[1] Thoughtful men, therefore, had abundant reason for reflection; and men of property needed to provide for the security of their possessions; and peaceful men and heads of families did well, when they sought shelter in distant parts of the country, while there were so many and such portentous warnings of the ills which were so evidently and so rapidly approaching.

The excitement and bitterness of factional strife, not always of a purely political character, with which the City of New York had been unceasingly afflicted, during several years preceding the period now under consideration, had tended to the serious disturbance of the individual and social relations of many of those who lived in that City; and the political annals of that period afford ample testimony to the fact that terrorism, there, one of the reasonable results of the existing excitement, was prevalent, audacious, and unchecked by those in authority. The County of Westchester, in her rural contentment, as has been seen in other portions of this narrative, had continued, during the entire period of that earlier revolutionary era, in the City of New York, to enjoy peace and good-will among her inhabitants; but the Meeting at the White Plains, on the eleventh of April, and the military Expedition to Concord, on the nineteenth of that month, with their respective trains of discord and malevolence, appear to have rapidly disturbed that quiet and neighborly feeling which had previously prevailed, and to have originated that reign of terror, throughout that County, which, subsequently, distinguished it so highly in the annals of partisan strife. History has recorded two notable instances of that rapidly developed, so called, "public opinion," among the new-born and, consequently, unnaturally zealous "fire-eaters" of that ancient and orderly County; and they may properly find attention, at this time, not only as portions of the history of Westchester-county, during the era of the American Revolution, but as instances of the dangers which attend an unchecked zeal, even when exercised in behalf of what may be regarded as purely commendable purposes.

The first of these acts of terrorism, exercised by the rampant revolutionary elements in Westchester-county, was that in the case of Jonathan Fowler and George Cornwell, two respectable residents of the County, both of whom had signed the *Declaration and Protest*, at the White Plains, on the eleventh of April, as well as the *Resolves* which were referred to, in that *Declaration and Protest*, both of whom were compelled by that, so called, "public opinion," to publish a recantation of their evidently well-considered political opinions, which was done in the following words, carefully copied from the original publication, in Gaine's *New-York Gazette: and the Weekly Mercury*, No. 1229, NEW-YORK, Monday, May 1, 1775:

"TO THE PRINTER.

"WE the subscribers do hereby make this public Declaration, That whereas we "and several others in Westchester-County, having "signed a certain Number of Resolves, which at the "Time of our said signing, we deemed Constitutional, "and as having a Tendency to promote the Interest "of our Country; but since, upon mature Deliberation, and more full Knowledge of the Matter, find "not only injurious to our present Cause, but likewise offensive to our Fellow Colonists. We do "therefore thus publicly testify our Abhorrence of "the same, and declare ourselves Friends to the Colonies, and ever ready cheerfully to exert ourselves "in the Defence and Preservation of the same.

"JONATHAN FOWLER, Esq.
"GEORGE CORNWELL, Esq.

"29th April, 1775."

As both the signers of that recantation were evidently intelligent men, one of them having been, at that time, one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas of the County, it is not probable that they had signed those *Resolves*—no mention having been made of the *Declaration and Protest*—without having understood the effect of their action on "the common cause;"

[1] *Proceedings of the Committee of One hundred*, Adjourned Meeting, May 3, 1775; *Leake's Memoir of General John Lamb*, 103; etc.

and the offence which they had given to their neighbors, or to such of them as could inflict injury on them or on their property, was clearly the cause which produced their recantation.

The second of those acts of terrorism, to which reference has been made, was that in the case of Isaac Wilkins, that leading Member of the General Assembly of the Colony, in its contest with the Home Government; that very able "A. W. FARMER" who, with his pen, had aroused so much indignation; and that spokesman of the protestants, at the Meeting at the White Plains, with whom the reader is well acquainted. That gentleman, in order to secure his personal safety, was compelled to abandon his home and family, and to take refuge in England. On the eve of his departure, while he was in the City of New York, he wrote the following touching address to his countrymen, which has been carefully copied from *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 108, NEW-YORK, Thursday, May 11, 1775:

"MY COUNTRYMEN:

"Before I leave America, the land I love, and in "which is contained everything that is valuable and "dear to me, my wife, my children, my friends, and "property; permit me to make a short and faithful "declaration, which I am induced to do neither "through fear, nor a consciousness of having acted "wrong. An honest man, and a Christian, hath noth-"ing to apprehend from this world. God is my judge, "and God is my witness, that all I have done, written, "or said, in relation to the present unnatural dispute "between Great Britain and her Colonies, proceeded "from an honest intention of serving my country. "Her welfare and prosperity were the objects towards "which all my endeavours have been directed. They "are still the sacred objects which I shall ever stead-"ily and invariably keep in view: And when in "England, all the influence that so inconsiderable "a man as I am, can have, shall be exerted in her "behalf.

"It has been my constant maxim through life, to "do my duty conscientiously, and to trust the issue of "my actions to the Almighty.—May that God in "whose hands are all events, speedily restore peace "and liberty to my unhappy country. May Great-"Britain and America be soon united in the bands of "everlasting amity: and when united, may they con-"tinue a free, a virtuous, and happy nation to the "end of time.

"I leave America, and every endearing connection, "because I will not raise my hand against my Sover-"eign,—nor will I draw my sword against my Coun-"try; when I can conscientiously draw it in her "favour, my life shall be chearfully devoted to her "service.

"ISAAC WILKINS.

"NEW YORK,
"May 3, 1775."

While these unwelcome features of the political movements, in Westchester-county, were extending over the entire community, Lewis Morris was busily employed, after his seat in the forthcoming Congress of the Colonies had been secured beyond a peradventure, in an attempt to belittle the *Declaration and Protest* of those, at the White Plains, who had objected to the proceedings of the Meeting of which he was, there, the manager and Chairman. For that purpose, on the seventh of May, he prepared an elaborate reply, which, a few days afterwards, with some other historical material, he gave to the newspapers, for publication. As an important portion of the local literature of Westchester-county, of that period, it may properly find a place in this work. The following is a carefully prepared copy of it:

"To the PUBLIC.

"A Very extraordinary paper, called a protest against the proceedings of the Freeholders "of the county of West-Chester, relative to the elec-"tion of deputies for the late Convention, and said to "have been subscribed by the several persons whose "names are printed with it, was published in Mess. "Rivington and Gaine's Gazetteers, a few weeks "ago.

"By whom this performance was given to the pub-"lic, is uncertain, and being as little distinguished by "decency as by truth, there is reason to suspect, the "author's name will remain a secret.

"The falsities contained in this representation, are "too flagrant to impose upon any person in this col-"ony, and nothing but the apprehension of its gain-"ing credit in other parts of the world, would have "induced me to have made it the subject of ani-"madversion.

"I shall pass over the many little embellishments "with which the author's fancy has endeavoured to "decorate his narrative; nor is it necessary to call in "question the reality of that loyal enthusiasm, by "which it was said these good people were influenced; "and I really wish it had been the fact, because when "inconsistencies and fooleries result from inebriety or "enthusiasm, they merit our pity, and escape indig-"nation and resentment.

"Much pains, I confess, were on that day taken to "make temporary enthusiasts, and with other more "*exhilirating spirit*, than the spirit of loyalty.

"To give the appearance of dignity to these curious "and very orderly protestors, the author has been "very mindful to annex every man's addition to his "name, upon a presumption perhaps that it would "derive weight from the title of *Mayor*, *Esquire*, *Cap-"tain*, *Lieutenant*, *Judge*, &c.

"But it is not easy to conceive why the publisher "should be less civil to the *Clergy* than to the *gentry* "and *commonalty*, *Samuel Seabury* and *Luke Babcock*, "certainly ought not to have been sent into the world "floating on a news paper in that *plain* way,—the

"one is the REVEREND *Mr. Samuel Seabury, Rector of "the united parishes of East and West-Chester, and one "of the Missionaries for propagating the* GOSPEL, *and "not* POLITICKS, *in foreign parts*, &c., &c., *the other is "the Reverend Mr. Luke Babcock, who preaches and "prays for Col. Philips and his tenants at Philipsburg.*

"In this formidable catalogue of 312 sober and loyal "protestors, there are not less than one hundred and "seventy, who after a most diligent enquiry, I cannot "find have the least pretensions to a vote, and indeed "many of them are lads under age. Their names are "as follows:

"'Samuel Seabury,	Timothy Purdy,
"'Luke Babcock,	James M'Guire,
"'Benjamin Fowler, Esq.	James Regnaw,
"'Joshua Pell,	Samuel Purdy,
"'Edward Pell,	Sylvanus Purdy,
"'John Hunt,	William Dalton,
"'Gilbert Horton,	Elijah Tomkins,
"'Adrian Leforge,	Charles Lawrence,
"'Moses Williams,	Joshua Purdy, junr.
"'Philip Kelley,	James Sniffen, junr.
"'James Hains, jun.	Peter Bonet,
"'Matthew Hains,	Peter Fashee,
"'Bartholomew Hains,	Jesse Lawrence,
"'John Hains,	William Sniden,
"'Elijah Hains,	Solomon Dean,
"'Joseph Clark,	Thomas Hiat,
"'Joseph Oakly,	William Woodward,
"'James Mott,	John Whitmore,
"'Daniel Purdy,	William Underhill,
"'John Crab,	Nehemiah Tomkins,
"'Izariah Whitmore,	Henry Leforge,
"'Absalom Gidney,	Evert Brown,
"'John Brown,	Benjamin Beyea,
"'Jasper Stivers,	John Lorce,
"'Peter M'Farthing,	Elnathan Appleby,
"'Joshua Purdy, jun.	John Baker,
"'Haccaliah Purdy, jun.	Jonathan Underhill,
"'James Tomkins,	James M'Chain,
"'Gilbert Thial,	Joshua Hunt,
"'William Sexen,	Bates Chatterdon,
"'Thomas Champeniers,	William Londrine,
"'John Champeniers,	Dennis Kennedy,
"'Eliazer Hart,	James Hains,
"'James Hunt,	Andrew Bainton,
"'Joshua Parker,	Nathaniel Tomkins,
"'Joshua Barnes,	Caleb Archer,
"'John Park,	Benjamin Bugbe,
"'Samuel Purdy,	Francis Purdy,
"'Gilbert Purdy,	William Odell,
"'James Chatterton,	Israel Hunt,
"'Thomas Cromwell,	Thomas Tomkins,
"'Solomon Horton,	Frederick Underhill,
"'Nathaniel Underhill, jun.	Peter Post,
"'Philip Fowler,	Benjamin M'Cord,
"'John M'Farthing,	John Williams,
"'Jacob Post,	John Ackeman,
"'James Baxter,	Peter Rusting,
"'John Hart,	Jeremiah Hunter,
"'Cornelius Losee,	Abraham Storm,
"'Jesse Park,	Peter Jenning,
"'Roger Purdy, jun.	John Gale,
"'Gilbert Pugsley,	John Smith,
"'Abraham Lediau,	James Hart, junr.
"'Benjamin Brown,	Jonathan Purdy, junr.
"'Aaron Buis,	Monmouth Hart, junr.
"'John Baizley,	Christopher Purdy,
"'David Oakley, jun.	Gabriel Purdy,
"'Isaac Smith,	Edward Merrit, junr.
"'John Hyatt,	Henry Disborough,
"'Abraham Odell,	William Van Wart,
"'Thomas Lawrence,	Abraham Storm,
"'John Seyson,	Thomas Berry,
"'Isaac Forsheu,	Charles Merit,
"'Gabriel Requeaw,	Benjamin Griffen,
"'Gabriel Archer,	James Angevine,
"'Elias Secord,	Jeremiah Anderson, junr.
"'James Peirce,	William Barker, junr.
"'Edward Bugbe,	Gideon Arden,
"'Daniel Haight,	Joshua Purdy,
"'John Hunt, junr.	George Storm,
"'Abraham Losee,	Jacob Vermiller,
"'Isaac Tomkins,	Samuel Heusted,
"'Joseph Paulding,	John Warner,
"'Hendricus Storm,	John Storm,
"'Francis Secord,	Joshua Secord,
"'John Parker,	John Underhill,
"'Gilbert Bates,	William Underhill, junr.
"'David Purdy,	James Hill,
"'David Bleecker,	William Watkins,
"'Jordan Downing,	Richard Baker,
"'Corn. Van Tassell,	Bishop Heustice,
"'Joseph Appleby,	Jeremiah Hitchcock,
"'Patrick Cary,	William Bond,
"'Gilbert Ward,	Samuel Sneden,
"'William Dunlap,	Joshua Ferriss.'

"Of the others who are Freeholders, many also "hold lands at *will* of *Col. Philips*, so that the truth "really is, that very few independent Freeholders ob-"jected to the appointment of Deputies.

"LEWIS MORRIS.

"MORRISANIA,
"May 7, 1775."[1]

It will be seen that, with more than his usual shrewdness, Lewis Morris postponed his attempt to reply to the *Declaration and Protest* which had been made, some weeks previously, by those who had objected to the Meeting at the White Plains, until after his brother-in-law, Isaac Wilkins, who had led those protestants, and who was known to have been the

[1] This notable paper, except the list of names, was published in *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 108, NEW-YORK, Thursday, May 11, 1775; and the names were published in the next number of that paper —No. 109, NEW-YORK, Thursday, May 18, 1775; the text of the article was published in Gaine's *New-York Gazette: and the Weekly Mercury*, No. 1231, NEW-YORK, Monday, May 15, 1775—although promise was made that the names should be published in the succeeding number, they were not—and both the text of the article and the names appear in Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1689, NEW-YORK, May 18, 1775.

From the first-named of those two papers, the re-print of it, in the text, was very carefully made

author of their *Declaration and Protest*, had left America, when he knew that he was probably secured from challenge concerning the untruthfulness of whatever he should write, in that reply—neither Samuel Seabury nor Luke Babcock had written anything concerning the political questions of that period;[1] it was not thought they would do so; and there was no other person, in Westchester-county, whose pen promised trouble to the new-made leader, no matter how much that peculiar failing which had made his family conspicuous, throughout the Colony,[2] should be manifested in whatever he should write.

The relative merits of the two papers, the *Declaration and Protest* and the reply, will be very readily seen, by every careful reader. The author of the latter was very profuse in his very general charge of "falsities contained in this representation;" but he failed to specify, even a single instance in which the former had presented an untruth; and every one will perceive that he did not except, from the general impeachment, even those portions of the *Declaration and Protest* which agreed, in their recital of facts, with his own statement of those facts, contained in the official report of the proceedings of that Meeting, at the White Plains, written over his own signature, on the afternoon of the day on which the Meeting was held, and subsequently presented by him, to the Provincial Convention, as the Credentials through which he and his associates were admitted to seats in that body, as, nominally, a delegation from Westchester-county—if the recital contained in the one was untruthful, therefore, the similar recital contained in the other was, necessarily, quite as untrustworthy as the other. He also impeached the "decency" of what the *Declaration and Protest* contained; but, again, he failed to specify in what their "indecency" consisted. He impeached the *bona fide* of the "enthusiasm" of the protestants, at the Plains; but he "confessed," and only those who are guilty "confess," that his own companions, those who had given the much coveted place and authority to him, were also noisy, from the effects of other Spirits than that of loyalty to the King—inasmuch as each of the two factions, at the Plains, claimed to have been noisy as well as loyal, the author of the reply had little reason for making such an objection, unless he desired to secure to his own faction the credit of making all the noise and of expressing all the loyalty which were then produced, by any one. He objected, also, that the titles of those who had signed the *Declaration and Protest* were appended to the names of those to whom they respectively belonged; but a reference to the official report of the proceedings of that Meeting, signed by himself and evidently from his own pen, to which reference has been made, will show to any one that the specific titles of "Mr.," "Esq.," "Captain," "Major," and "Colonel," were added to eighteen of the twenty-six names which that report contained—indeed, he had given the distinctive title of "Colonel," to himself, in three different places, in that report; and that, too, without a word of apology. He *insinuated* that one hundred and seventy of those who had signed the *Protest* were not voters—"after the most diligent inquiry, "I cannot find they have the least pretensions to "vote," he said; adding, "and indeed, many of them "are lads under age"—but he conveniently omitted to make a direct and positive averment of such a want of qualification, in any one of those protestants; and he also conveniently failed to designate which of the one hundred and seventy whom he named, in any single instance, was a minor. Most of all, he disregarded the fact that the *Declaration and Protest*, to which he assumed to make a reply, had made no pretension to having been made exclusively by "Free-"holders," but, on the contrary, it was thus headed: "We the subscribers, freeholders *and inhabitants* of "the county of Westchester, having assembled at the "White Plains, in consequence of certain advertise-"ments," etc., from which every appearance of exclusiveness, in the signers of it, was expressly excluded. Finally: he impeached the "independence" of those of the signers of that *Protest* who were Freeholders, by saying "many also hold lands at will un-"der Col. Philips;" but he conveniently forgot to tell how a mere tenant at will could, thereby, become a Freeholder, or how many, in the Manor of Cortlandt, who were only tenants or who held lands at the will of the Proprietors of that Manor, had been induced by other causes than loyalty to those Proprietors or discontent with the General Assembly, to go to the White Plains, to assist into a place in the revolutionary organization, the young member of that "patriotic" family, Philip, on whom, a few months before, the Royal Governor, William Tryon, had bestowed a Royal Commission of Major, which he then bore; nor was it convenient for the author of that reply, to state, therein, just how many of the tenants and other retainers of the lordly Lord of the Manor of Morrisania had been induced, contrary to their unassisted inclinations, to ride from the Borough Town of Westchester to the White Plains, on that eleventh of April, to assist in the elevation of himself into an office, no matter what. The character of Colonel Frederic Philipse, whom he was so swift to impeach, whether regarded as a man or as a gentleman, as a landlord or as a citizen, was quite as pure, and quite as upright, and quite as worthy of

[1] Mr. Seabury, in his *Memorial to the General Assembly of Connecticut*, presented on the twentieth of December, 1775, in reply to one of the four accusations which had been made against him, expressly stated that he had not, at that time, written any "pamphlets and newspapers "against the liberties of America;" which effectually disproves much that has been written, on that subject, by modern bibliographers.

[2] "This family are so remarkable for '*enlarging the truth*,' that all "stories suspected of not being true are known throughout the County "of Westchester, in the City of New York, and on the westernmost part "of Long Island, by the name of 'Morrisanias.'"—(Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 140.)

respect, as was that of Colonel Lewis Morris or that of any other member of that unpopular family; and his practises, in private and in public life, against which not even a Morris, in his bitterest mood, could say a word of open disrespect, merited no such fling from the office-seeking head of the small, new-born revolutionary faction, then in Westchester-county—from one whose only antagonism to the Colonial and Home Governments originated in and was sustained by the continued ill-success of the family of which he was the head, in its unceasing hankering for that official station from which, except in a single notorious instance, the controlling power within the Colony, for many years, had rigidly excluded it.

At the same time, and through the same public press in which Lewis Morris published his reply to the *Declaration and Protest*, to which reference has been made, he also published the following Cards,[1] evidently the only trophies of the kind, which he had secured, during the political campaign in which he had been engaged, since the publication of the *Declaration and Protest* had aroused his indignation, and the withdrawal of his brother-in-law had left him without an opponent:

I

"That our names were not subscribed to the "protest of West-Chester, either by our-"selves, or our orders or permission, directly or indi-"rectly, is certified by us, each for himself.

"PETER BUSSING.
"PETER BUSSING, jun.

"May 4, 1775."

II

"MR. RIVINGTON,

"I Did sign a protest, which was printed in your "paper; but I did so, because I was told that the in-"tent of signing it was to shew, that I was for the "liberties of the country.

"SAMUEL BAKER."

III

"NORTH-CASTLE, May 8, 1775.

"MR. RIVINGTON,

"IN your paper lately I saw my name to a pro-"test. I never signed it, but went into Capt. "Hatfield's house, and was asked, whether I was a "Whig or a Tory? I made answer, that I did not "understand the meaning of those words, but was for "liberty and peace. Upon which somebody put down "my name. Now, Sir, I desire that you will print "this to shew to the world, that I have not deserved "to be held up in the light of a protestor.

"JEREMIAH HUNTER."

With these four publications—the reply to the *Declaration and Protest* and the three Cards of recantation—as far as Westchester-county was concerned, the literature of the first Provincial Convention of the Colony of New York ended—and, as every farmer had returned to his rural home, at the close of the eventful eleventh of April, and had resumed his work, the necessary work of the season, on his farm or on the river, with the exceptions, here and there, of a disturbed mind, an angry thought, or an unneighborly resentment, new features in the social life of Westchester-county farmers, the whole subject gradually became a thing of the past, fit only for material for history.

Reference has been made to the action of the Committee of Inspection, in the City of New York, on the twenty-sixth of April, providing for its own dissolution; for the election of a new Committee of one hundred, to occupy its place, in that City; and for the organization of a Provincial Congress, with general authority for the government of the entire Colony.[2] For the accomplishment of the last-named of those purposes, a Circular Letter was addressed, by the Chairman of that Committee, to the Committees of those Counties in which Committees had been chosen, and to prominent residents of those Counties in which Committees had not been chosen, inviting their co-operation, and recommending them to choose Deputies to the proposed Congress, the following being a copy of that Circular Letter:

"CIRCULAR.

"COMMITTEE CHAMBER, NEW-YORK, April 28, 1775.

"GENTLEMEN,

"The distressed and alarming situation of our "Country, occasioned by the sanguinary measures "adopted by the British Ministry, (to enforce which, "the Sword has been actually drawn against our "brethren in the Massachusetts), threatening to "involve this Continent in all the horrors of a civil "War, obliges us to call for the united aid and council "of the Colony, at this dangerous crisis.

"Most of the Deputies who composed the late "Provincial Congress, held in this City, were only "vested with powers to chose Delegates to represent "the Province at the next Continental Congress, "and the Convention having executed that trust "dissolved themselves: It is therefore thought "adviseable by this Committee, that a Provincial "Congress be immediately summoned to deliberate "upon, and from time to time to direct such measures "as may be expedient for our common safety.

"We persuade ourselves, that no argumen's can

[1] *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 108, NEW-YORK, Thursday, May 11, 1775.

Any one who is acquainted with the habits of printers, in "making "up" the forms of a newspaper, for the press, will understand, from the places which these three Cards, and the reply of Lewis Morris to the *Declaration and Protest* (omitting the names), and the proceedings of the Meeting at the White Plains—five distinct articles relating to Westchester-county—occupy, together, in the last Column of the inside form of the paper, that they all proceeded from the same hand; and that the three Cards of recanting protesters were, evidently, among the results of Lewis Morris's political pilgrimage through that County, in his diligent search for protestants who were not, also, Freeholders.

[2] *Vide* Page 251, *ante*.

"now be wanting to evince the necessity of a perfect "union; and we know of no method in which "the united sense of the people of the province can "be collected, but the one now proposed. We there- "fore entreat your County heartily to unite in the "choice of proper persons to represent them at a "Provincial Congress to be held in this City on the "22d of May next.—Twenty Deputies are proposed "for this City, and in order to give the greater weight "and influence to the councils of the Congress, we "could wish the number of Deputies from the "counties, may be considerable.

"We can assure you, that the appointment of a "Provincial Congress,[1] approved of by the inhabitants "of this city in general, is the most proper and "salutary measure that can be adopted in the present "melancholy state of this Continent; and we shall be "happy to find, that our brethren in the different "Counties concur with us in opinion.

"By order of the Committee.

"ISAAC LOW, *Chairman*."[2]

As there was not, at that time, any Committee, within the County of Westchester, unto whom that Circular Letter could be sent, it was probably sent, as that relating to the proposed Provincial Convention had been sent, to some prominent resident of that County, most convenient to the Chairman of the Committee of the City, for circulation in the several Towns, throughout the County; and, by that local politician, whomsoever he may have been, it may be reasonably supposed that those Circular Letters which were thus sent to him, were duly circulated "where they would "do the most good," for his own interest and for those of his family. It is said, however, that "a general "notice," inviting a Meeting of the Freeholders of the County, was published; and history has recorded, over the official signature of the "Chairman for the "day," that such a Meeting was held, at the White Plains, on Monday, the eighth of May, 1775, "pur- "suant to a general notice for that purpose," James Van Cortlandt, of the Borough Town of Westchester, occupying the Chair. No pretensions were made, in the official report of the Meeting or elsewhere, that the attendance was large: on the contrary, it is very probable that not more than two dozens were present. Whatever the number may have been, it assumed to be the representative of all who were, then, within the County, of every condition in life; and, in the name and in behalf of all those who then lived therein, whether present or absent, it appointed "a Committee "of ninety persons, for the said County," and determined that any twenty of them, "should be "impowered to act for the said County;" and it also determined to send a Deputation to the proposed Provincial Congress, referring to the new-appointed Committee of the County, the nomination of those who should be members of that Deputation.

There were only twenty-three of the ninety who had been named for the Committee, present and acting on the subject which had been referred to it; but it was not slow in nominating, "to represent the said "County in Provincial Convention," Gouverneur Morris, Doctor Robert Graham, Colonel Lewis Graham, and Colonel James Van Cortlandt, all of them from the Borough Town of Westchester; Stephen Ward and Joseph Drake, from Eastchester; Major Philip Van Cortlandt, of the Manor of Cortlandt; Colonel James Holmes, of Bedford; John Thomas, Junior, of Rye; David Dayton, of North Castle; and William Paulding, of ———; and, undoubtedly, with equal promptness, the Meeting confirmed the nominations, by electing the eleven nominees to seats in the proposed Congress of the Colony.

It is said, in the official report of the Meeting, that, after the election of the Deputation, as above "stated, "the Committee signed an *association*, simi- "lar to that which was signed in the city of New- "York, and appointed Sub-Committees to superintend "the signing of the same throughout the County;"[3]

[1] It will be noticed that the proposed assembly was, in this Circular Letter, called a "Provincial *Congress*," not a "*Convention*," as the last was named.

[2] The re-print of this Circular Letter, in the text, is made from a carefully-made copy of one of the originals, which has been preserved among *Associations* in the *Historical Manuscripts relating to the War of the Revolution*, in the Secretary of State's Office, at Albany, Volume XXX., Page 182.

[3] The *Association*, which was thus "signed by the Committee"—if any others than Members of the Committee had been present, they also would have signed it—was not that *Association* which the Continental Congress had decreed and promulgated, in the preceding October, but another and entirely different affair, which had been drawn up by James Duane, John Jay, and Peter Van Schaack, and "set on foot in "New-York," on the twenty-ninth of April. It had been largely signed, in the City, and copies of it had been sent "through all the "counties in the Province;" and the action taken at the White Plains, concerning it, was only responsive to the request of the Committee of One hundred, which had superseded the Committee of Inspection, in the City of New York. The following is a copy of that *Association*, carefully copied from *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 107, NEW-YORK, Thursday, May 4, 1775:

"PERSUADED that the salvation of the rights and liberties of "America, depends, under God, on the firm union of its in- "habitants, in a vigorous prosecution of the measures necessary for its "safety, and convinced of the necessity of preventing the anarchy and "confusion which attend a dissolution of the powers of government; "we, the freemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of the city and county of "New-York, being greatly alarmed at the avowed design of the minis- "try to raise a revenue in America, and shocked by the bloody scene "now acting in the Massachusetts-Bay; do, in the most solemn manner "resolve never to become slaves; and to associate under all the ties of "religion, honour, and love to our country, to adopt, and endeavour to "carry into execution, whatever measures may be recommended by the "continental congress, or resolved upon by our provincial convention, "for the purpose of preserving our constitution, and opposing the exe- "cution of several arbitrary and oppressive acts of the British Parlia- "ment, until a reconciliation between Great Britain and America, on "constitutional principles, (which we most ardently desire) can be ob- "tained; and that we will, in all things, follow the advice of our "general committee, respecting the purposes aforesaid, the preservation "of peace and good order, and the safety of individuals and private prop- "erty.

"Dated in New-York, April and May, 1775."

This *Association*, with some slight changes, was re-printed (without any

and after that had been done, the Meeting was adjourned.[1]

The official report of the proceedings of the Meeting does not give the names of any of the ninety persons who were said to have been chosen as a "Committee for the County of Westchester;" and a careful search for those names, in other contemporary publications, has been rewarded with only a partial success—the *Credentials* of the Deputies to the Provincial Congress, to which reference has been made, reveal the names of the following:

David Dan.[2],	George Comb,
Miles Oakley,	Micah Townsend,
John G. Graham,	Benoni Platt,
Samuel Drake,	Frederic Van Cortlandt,
Lewis Morris,	James Varian,
Jonathan Platt,[3]	Samuel Haviland,
Michael Hays,	Benjamin Lyon,
Samuel Crawford,	Robert Bloomer,
Gilbert Thorn,	William Miller,
Thomas Thomas,	Joshua Ferris,
James Newman,	Gilbert Drake,
Jonathan G. Tompkins,	*Chairman.*

It will be evident to the reader that, until the appointment of the "Committee for the County of Westchester," by the Meeting which was held at the White Plains, on the eighth of May, 1775, as has been already stated, there had not been even the slightest appearance of any central organization, for political purposes, within the County; that, until they were crowded into the political arena, by the place-seekers who were among them, the hardworking farmers throughout the County had not permitted the political questions of the day to disturb their peaceful labors; and that the place-hunting few, as insignificant in numbers as they were in honest patriotism, did not constitute even a respectable minority of those who were heads of families and householders, throughout the County.[4] It will be seen, also, that the Morris family, strengthened by its alliance with its kindred family of Graham, had fully entrenched itself, as the political head of the County; and it will be particularly noticed of what kind of material Delegates were made, even at that early period of the revolutionary movement in Westchester-county, the most ill-disguised monarchists and even office-holders holding Commissions under the Crown, from among the non-producing class in that purely agricultural community, boldly, if not audaciously, assuming to be in harmony with the industrial masses whom they really despised, and crowding forward, in their greed for place and emoluments, to seize whatever opportunity for advancement, their ingenuity and their superior intelligence should place within their reach.

If a mere handful of the inhabitants of the County, who neither possessed nor claimed to possess any legal qualifications whatever to do such an act; who did not act nor claim to act under the guidance of any thing except its own unrighteous impulses; and who neither possessed nor claimed to possess even a shadow of delegated authority from any one, within or without the County, to do any such acts or any others, with the authority and in the name of the County, can be said, with even a semblance of truth, to have really done so, the ancient and entirely conservative County of Westchester, by the revolutionary action at the Meeting at the White Plains, on the eighth of May, was wheeled into the front line of the Rebellion,

apparent reason) appended to the *Journal of the Provincial Convention*, which Convention had adjourned a week before the *Association* was written and before it was known that any reason for such an *Association* was imminent. In de Lancey's *Notes* to Jones's *History of New-York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 505, 506, it has been again re-printed, this time from the inaccurate re-print just referred to, and, of course, with its imperfections, together with a more serious omission than any which that had presented.

Judge Jones, in his *History of New York*, i,, 41–45, gave a very interesting account of the *Association* and of the signing of it, warmly tinted, of course, with his peculiar bitterness; but, nevertheless, he is our principal authority on those subjects.

[1] This statement of the proceedings of the Meeting at which a Deputation was chosen to represent Westchester-county, in the first Provincial Congress, is made on the authority of the official report of that Meeting, signed by "JAMES VAN CORTLANDT, *Chairman for the Day*," and published in *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 108, NEW-YORK, Thursday, May 11, 1775; and on that of the *Credentials*, signed by each of the twenty-three Members of the Committee for the County who were then present, which *Credentials* have been preserved among *Credentials of Delegates*, in the *Historical Manuscripts, relating to the War of the Revolution*, in the Secretary of State's Office at Albany, Volume XXIV., Page 133.

[2] The Provincial Congress, on the twenty-ninth of June, 1775, issued a Warrant to David Dan, as First Lieutenant, under Captain Jonathan Platt.

[3] The Provincial Congress, on the twenty-ninth of June, 1775, issued a Warrant to Jonathan Platt, as Captain.

[4] In all which has been written concerning the political affairs of Westchester-county, prior to the first Session of the First Provincial Congress, which assembled on the twenty-second of May, 1775, as far as we have knowledge on the subject, only fifty-one persons *have been named*, as residents of that County, who favored the revolutionary proceedings recommended by the Continental Congress of 1774. Of these fifty-one, two were Representatives in the General Assembly—one of them, was, then, the County Judge, under the Royal Government. Of the remaining forty-nine, one rose no higher than a place in the Committee of his Town; six were satisfied with only places on the Committee of the County, in whom, however, great power in local matters was vested, and by whom much money was disbursed for the support of prisoners of war quartered in their vicinities; one aspired to both the Town and County Committees, and held seats in both; three were given nothing else than Commissions in the Regiments of the County; eleven held various Civil Offices, as well as Commissions in the Regiments of the County; one held a seat in the Provincial Congress, and was contented with that single place; sixteen held seats in one or more of the Provincial Congresses, together with other places, at the same time or subsequently; five became discontented with their associations, and were accused of being loyalists, and were prosecuted as such; leaving only five of the entire forty-nine who did not, as far as we have knowledge, accept places of either authority or emolument. Even the Secretary of the first County Committee looked out for the profits of official station, and secured, through his associations, some of the fat things of place—Micah Townsend, the Clerk of the first County-Committee, secured the command of a Company of Colonial Troops, early in 1776; and he was, in other respects, well provided for, during that era of distress and ruin.

The reader may judge from this exhibit how much of genuine patriotism and how much of personal selfishness, controlled the revolutionary politics of Westchester-County, 1774–75.

abreast of the most advanced of the anarchists of that period; and if, without a semblance of that "consent" of which so much had been said and written, as a prerequisite to any change of government—without, also, any of those qualifications in itself and authorities from others, of which mention has been made—the same handful of new-born revolutionists, at the same time, can be said to have really done so, the allegiance of the great body of the anti-revolutionary farmers of that County, and there were no others, to its Sovereign, was violated, if not abrogated, and all the obligations of that great body of the inhabitants of the County, to obey the legally established Governments and the legally enacted Laws of the Country, were dissolved, and all were made subject, instead, to that self-constituted County Committee which was then organized and taking its first step in Rebellion; to the proposed Congress of the Colony, in whom was to be vested absolute, unrestrained authority, in all classes of governmental affairs relating only to the Colony of New York; and to the coming second Continental Congress, in whom, also, a similarly absolute, unrestrained authority, on every conceivable subject, within each and every of the several Colonies, would, also, be seated; and, therefore, every one of those peaceful and peacefully inclined farmers and every member of their respective families were, by that handful of revolutionists, insignificant in numbers and only tools in the hands of an unprincipled master mischief-maker, made subject, *nolens volens*, to every edict which should be promulgated by either of those three self-constituted, unrestrained, revolutionary bodies; to whatever they or either of them should determine, no matter how monstrous its character might be; and, very often, to whatever individual members of one or other of those bodies, intoxicated with the possession of a power to which, previously, they had been strangers and reveling in a despotism to which the Colony had not, at any period of its existence, been subjected, should demand and require.

With those partisan catchwords and political maxims which, a very short time previously, had filled the air with their noisiness, before the reader, he will readily determine how much of even revolutionary consistency and propriety and integrity there was in those doings which are now under consideration; but, among such as those by whom those doings were inaugurated and conducted—among those whose aims were only personal and selfish and wholly regardless of every other principle whatever than that of self-aggrandizement; among whom the supremacy of the general good of the great body of the Colony or of the Continent—the "patriotism" of poets, of professional politicians, and of exuberant eulogists—was only a toy intended for nothing else than for the temporary amusement of their gaping, credulous auditory, while the political prestidigitator who presided over the show, bedizened with the tinsel which was not what it seemed to be, was secretly perfecting the juggle which was intended to deceive all others than those who were participants in the performance and sharers in the profits to be derived from it,—neither consistency nor propriety nor integrity was regarded or even thought of, the cupidity of the end entirely justified the unrighteousness of the means; and new governing powers and new rules of conduct and new methods took their places in every Town, throughout the County; and old obligations were disregarded, and old guaranties were abrogated, and the safety of persons and of properties rested on other foundations than those which were known to and depended on by those of an earlier period.

The American Revolution had finished its work and was ended: the long-established Government of Law had been crowded aside and, in fact if not entirely in form, had given place to a new Government of arbitrary, unbridled Force: thenceforth, the peace of the County and the rights of Individuals and of Property, within the County, sacredly respected even under a Monarchy, were held only by those who possessed them, subject to the unrestrained will of the stronger.

The careful reader will not have failed to see, in what has been written in this narrative and in the testimony which has been adduced to sustain it, the stern fact that, as far as the Colony of New York was concerned, and we write of no other Colony, the opposition to the measures of the Home Goverment, from 1763 until the Spring of 1775, which, subsequently, became more widely known as THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, was not, in the slightest degree, the outcome of a popular movement, in which the great body of the Colonists or any considerable portion of it arose in opposition to a wrong, inflicted or sought to be inflicted by the Parliament of Great Britain or by any other body, on the Colony or on any individual member of it, as has been rhetorically pretended, by orators and poets and historians, from that day until the present; but, on the contrary, that it originated in the City of New York, among those of the commercial and mercantile classes, relatively few in number, whom, by reason of their greater wealth or of their higher social standing, we may properly regard, as they were regarded by themselves, as the aristocracy of the Colony—with few, if any exceptions, they were those wealthy and enterprising Merchants, of various names and families and parties and sects and nationalities, each of whom had sunk, for all the purposes of that particular movement, whatever of individual or family or partisan or sectarian or national animosity, against others, he possessed, combined and acting in a common opposition to all those measures of the Home Government which had tended to break down the unblushing lawlessness of those confederated Merchants, in their entire disregard of the Navigation and Revenue Laws of the

Empire, and to enforce on each of those Merchants, in his individual business, that obedience to the Laws which would be no more than his reasonable duty, while it would also tend to the suppression of that corruption of the local Revenue-officers and of that general practise of Smuggling from which he was so complacently acquiring wealth and influence. Except wherein these aristocratic Smugglers employed their ships' crews and the *habitués* of the docks and slums of the City, for purposes of intimidation and political effect, the unfranchised masses of the Colonists, in the country as well as in the City, with very rare exceptions, and the Freeholders of small estates and those Freeholders, of either large or small degree, who possessed no pecuniary interest in the foreign commerce of the Port, whether inhabitants of the City or of the rural Counties, had no part nor lot in the inception or in the organization or in the promotion of that opposition to the Home Government which, subsequently, in its more advanced stages, became known, at home and abroad, as THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

In fact, while the aristocracy of the Colony was thus confederating and consolidating discordant elements and plotting and breeding disaffection to the Mother Country, the unfranchised Mechanics and Working-men, residents of the City and toilers for their daily bread, with occasional exceptions, pursued their respective industrial vocations, peacefully and industriously, without taking any greater interest in the anxieties of their aristocratic neighbors than those "well-born" "Gentlemen in Trade" were taking in their welfare or in that of their respective families; while the great body of those who occupied the rural Counties of the Colony, also hard-working and peacefully inclined, knew little of and cared less for what was then disturbing the previously well-sustained quiet of the metropolitan counting-rooms.

It is, indeed, true, in this connection, that the aristocratic Merchants and Ship-owners, in the City of New York, had been, during many years, more or less reasonably aggrieved by reason of the governmental interference with their well-established and very profitable "illicit trade," to which reference has been made: it is also true that, for the purpose of influencing and, if possible, of intimidating the Home Government, in their opposition to that Home Government, because of those assumed grievances, those high-toned lawbreakers had repeatedly resorted to the desperate means of, first, appealing to the maxims and the teachings of the fundamental law; of employing the former for their partisan slogan, and the latter for the foundations of their passionate appeals; and, sometimes, second, of employing, directly or indirectly, the floating and the less respectable portions of the population of the City, as supernumeraries on the stage on which they were acting their several parts in the drama of their seeming patriotism—means which were as unreal, in their hands, as their own "patrotism," so called, was deceptive; and, particularly, in the last-mentioned of the two means employed, as hazardous as it was fraudulent—but it is also true that, while the maxims and the teachings of the fundamental law which they so freely bandied, were only words of convenience, meaning nothing beyond the end for securing which they had been thus employed, their auxiliaries, thus enlisted from among the unfranchised and lowly, if not from among the vicious, were, by those who employed them, only regarded as temporary employees, engaged for the performance of particular services, of more or less danger and lawlessness; and not as common heirs to a common inheritance for which both they and those who had thus employed them, as parties possessing an equal interest therein—as the maxims and the teachings of the fundamental law, with which both the employers and the employees, in this instance, were familiar, had clearly indicated to both—were jointly contending.

The American Revolution, as we said in the beginning, originated, not in a popular movement of the great body of the Colonists, nor in any considerable number of those Colonists, in opposition to a wrong, inflicted or sought to be inflicted by the Parliament of Great Britain or by any other body, on the Colony or on any individual member of it, but the commercial and mercantile classes, in the City of New York, the aristocracy of the Colony, in their desperate efforts to shelter "the illicit Trade"—the Smuggling—in which they had been so long and so profitably employed, from the obstructions, more than ordinarily effective, which the Home Government had raised against it, subsequent to the establishment of the Peace, in 1763. As we have said, also, the elaborate essays on the "Rights of Man and of Englishmen," on the "consent" which was necessary in order to give validity to Laws, and, generally, on the assumed grievances to which the Colonists had been subjected, all of them the productions of well-paid Counsel or other interested writers, with which the newspapers of that period were filled to overflowing, were nothing else than means employed for the protection of that prolific, but corrupt, source of the wealth of the Merchants of the City of New York; and the yells and the outrages, inflicted on both persons and properties, of those who had been employed to give effect to those labored arguments of the press, by what were assumed to have been spontaneous outbursts of popular resentment against the usurpations of the Home Government—usurpations of individual rights, by the way, which were only the same as those which were subsequently inflicted, in every State, on those who were not Freeholders; and which the Constitution for the United States has always inflicted and continues to inflict on the inhabitants of the several Territories, who have always been and who are, now, taxed without having consented to any such taxation, their Delegates in the federal Congress having had no right, at any time, to vote on any question whatever

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It is, indeed, true, in this connection, that the aristocratic Merchants and Ship-owners, in the City of New York, had been, during many years, more or less reasonably aggrieved by reason of the governmental interference with their well-established and very profitable "illicit trade," to which reference has been made: it is also true that, for the purpose of influencing and, if possible, of intimidating the Home Government, in their opposition to that Home Government, because of those assumed grievances, those high-toned lawbreakers had repeatedly resorted to the desperate means of, first, appealing to the maxims and the teachings of the fundamental law; of employing the former for their partisan slogan, and the latter for the foundations of their passionate appeals; and, sometimes, second, of employing, directly or indirectly, the floating and the less respectable portions of the population of the City, as supernumeraries on the stage on which they were acting their several parts in the drama of their seeming patriotism—means which were as unreal, in their hands, as their own "patrotism," so called, was deceptive; and, particularly, in the last-mentioned of the two means employed, as hazardous as it was fraudulent—but it is also true that, while the maxims and the teachings of the fundamental law which they so freely bandied, were only words of convenience, meaning nothing beyond the end for securing which they had been thus employed, their auxiliaries, thus enlisted from among the unfranchised and lowly, if not from among the vicious, were, by those who employed them, only regarded as temporary employees, engaged for the performance of particular services, of more or less danger and lawlessness; and not as common heirs to a common inheritance for which both they and those who had thus employed them, as parties possessing an equal interest therein—as the maxims and the teachings of the fundamental law, with which both the employers and the employees, in this instance, were familiar, had clearly indicated to both—were jointly contending.

The American Revolution, as we said in the beginning, originated, not in a popular movement of the great body of the Colonists, nor in any considerable number of those Colonists, in opposition to a wrong, inflicted or sought to be inflicted by the Parliament of Great Britain or by any other body, on the Colony or on any individual member of it, but the commercial and mercantile classes, in the City of New York, the aristocracy of the Colony, in their desperate efforts to shelter "the illicit Trade"—the Smuggling—in which they had been so long and so profitably employed, from the obstructions, more than ordinarily effective, which the Home Government had raised against it, subsequent to the establishment of the Peace, in 1763. As we have said, also, the elaborate essays on the "Rights of Man and of Englishmen," on the "consent" which was necessary in order to give validity to Laws, and, generally, on the assumed grievances to which the Colonists had been subjected, all of them the productions of well-paid Counsel or other interested writers, with which the newspapers of that period were filled to overflowing, were nothing else than means employed for the protection of that prolific, but corrupt, source of the wealth of the Merchants of the City of New York; and the yells and the outrages, inflicted on both persons and properties, of those who had been employed to give effect to those labored arguments of the press, by what were assumed to have been spontaneous outbursts of popular resentment against the usurpations of the Home Government—usurpations of individual rights, by the way, which were only the same as those which were subsequently inflicted, in every State, on those who were not Freeholders; and which the Constitution for the United States has always inflicted and continues to inflict on the inhabitants of the several Territories, who have always been and who are, now, taxed without having consented to any such taxation, their Delegates in the federal Congress having had no right, at any time, to vote on any question whatever

—were no more than additional instrumentalities in the hands of wealthy and unprincipled lawbreakers, Smugglers, employed for the purpose of sheltering those aristocratic culprits from the penalties which the Revenue-laws had imposed on them and, if possible, of enabling them to continue, with impunity, those flagrant violations of morality and of Law which men of less wealth and influence could not have committed without having been exposed to fine and imprisonment and confiscation of property. This, and nothing else, in fact, constituted the beginning of what has been, more recently, unduly elevated to the dignity of a popular patriotic uprising, in support of violated Rights and for the preservation of the Colonies from governmental devastation and ruin; and this, in its various phases, was all there was of that notable Revolution, until the "fire-eaters" of Massachusetts and Virginia, members of the Continental Congress of 1774, seized the control of that body, which had been convened for nothing else than for the promotion of reconciliation and harmony and peace, and transformed it into an instrumentality of lawless violence, of internal strife, and of a disastrous Rebellion.

The careful reader will not have failed to see, also, in what has been written in this narrative and in the testimony which has been adduced to sustain it, that, while honesty and integrity and humanity and patriotism formed no portion of the motives which led the aristocratic Smugglers, in the City of New York, to inaugurate and to sustain a general disaffection against the Home Government; and while their aims, in thus creating and fostering a general discontent among the Colonists, were purely temporary and selfish, intended for nothing else than to perpetuate their own immediate opportunities to make gain at the expense of the Laws and the morals of the Colony, the methods which those influential "Gen-"tlemen in Trade" employed for the promotion of those individual and unholy purposes, were better calculated for the production of permanent than for that of temporary results, since they were employed among those, no matter how homely they were, whose recognized leaders were already well-schooled in the theories of political science, which had been employed for the texts of every political essay and of every partisan harangue, for years past, and who, besides having been politically ambitious, were, also, very shrewd and very energetic men; and, as wealth and a long and successful career in crime are frequently productive of that arrogance and of that recklessness in the selection and employment of means, either for the perpetuation of the opportunities for wrong-doing or for the protection of the offender from the penalties of an outraged Law, which tend, more surely, to the production of disaster than to that of success, so the wealthy and aristocratic culprits, in the City of New York, to whom we have referred, in the instance now under consideration, through the means which they had employed for the intimidation of the Home Government and by their own persistent selfishness, gradually produced a new and powerful political element, adverse to their own pretensions to exclusiveness, to which they had been, previously, strangers. Their want of abilities, as navigators on the troubled waters of Colonial politics, was painfully evident to all others than to themselves; and the adverse power of the new-formed political element was haughtily disregarded, until it had become so well established that it was enabled not only to assert but to maintain its standing.

The character and influence of that new factor in Colonial politics, during the revolutionary era, require a few words concerning its origin, beyond what we have already said of it.

The outlay of wealth can generally secure ingenious advocates for any cause, no matter how unsavory it may be; and, in that of the confederated aristocratic Smugglers of the City of New York, of which mention has been made, well-paid Counsel and ready writers for the newspapers, in their eagerness to support their wealthy and liberal connections and clients, in their systematic violation of the written Law of the land and in their determined struggle to retain the "illicit trade" in which they were so profitably engaged, in the absence of better authorities for the support of their impassioned rhetoric, were obliged to resort to the fundamental and ill-defined theories of political science, with which, through long-continued iteration, the entire body of the inhabitants, the unfranchised as well as the franchised, had already become well acquainted; and, in their purposes to oppose the Home Government and to shelter their opulent employers, those who were thus employed, speakers and writers, loudly spoke and glibly wrote of "the natural Rights of Man" and of "the Rights "of Englishmen," of "*Magna Charta*," and of "repre-"sentation," and of "consent," without the slightest qualification, as if every man and every Colonist were intended to be included in those general and unqualified terms; as if every man throughout the Colony were intended to be considered the equal of every other man, therein and elsewhere; as if every Colonist of every sect and party and in every condition of life were entitled, of right, to be recognized and received and entertained, as an equal, socially and politically and in every other relation, by every other Colonist, of high or of low degree—and, without any qualification, those popular catchwords with which the City had echoed, year after year, meant all these, if they meant anything—all of which, however, in the spirit in which they had been uttered, were audacious fictions, spoken or written in the interest of those who had resorted to them, only for deceitful and illegal and immoral purposes, as would have been quickly seen had "the poor reptiles" who had constituted that lowly mass of unfranchised Workingmen, directly and unreservedly, at any time, during

that long period, presumed to have asserted, for themselves, their own manhood, and to have claimed, for themselves, those Rights which had been speciously conceded as having properly belonged to them as much as to any others. In the progress of events, however, either on their own motion or on that of their ambitious leaders—the latter, generally of those who, before the confederation of all parties in an opposition to the Colonial policy of the Home Government, had been of the minority, among the Colonial politicians—these Working-men had commenced to measure their own lowliness and their own political insignificance with the standards which had been placed in their hands, by their aristocratic neighbors, for other purposes; to assert their own political manhood; and to demand a hearing in even the local politics of the day; and in the efforts which were made by the confederated aristocracy of the City, to relegate that new-born and growing power—the growing power of the great body of the Mechanics and Working-men, throughout the Colony—back to its normal obscurity and political insignificance, may be seen the beginning of that ceaseless conflict between the aristocratic and the democratic elements of this mighty Commonwealth, which, having been continued from father to son, is not yet ended.

As we have already intimated, the confederated aristocracy of New York witnessed the appearance of that new element in the politics of the Colony, with anxiety and alarm; and it evidently noticed, also, the constituent parts of it, and duly measured its probable strength, and judiciously determined that, in opposing it, "art" would be better suited to ensure success; than anything of a seemingly unfriendly character would be—in other words, that what appeared to be concessions to the working-classes should be made, but with sufficient of modifications, in reserve, to neutralize the effect of those seeming concessions; and to continue, without abatement, the control of the confederated party of the Opposition to the Home Government, in the Colony, in those aristocratic hands which already possessed it. Indeed, the high-toned "Gentlemen in Trade," guided by their acute legal and political advisers, John Jay and James Duane, determined to continue the same system of contemptuous deceit and treachery which had characterized all their previous political intercourse with the Working-men of the Colony; and, in doing so, they very clearly indicated, a second time, how ill-qualified they were to navigate the troubled waters of Colonial politics.

The first formal organization of those who were in confederated opposition to the Home Government of that period, which was made within the City of New York and, probably, within the Colony—the Caucus of the confederated Merchants, at Sam. Francis's, in May, 1774, which had been evidently assembled under the inspiration of James Duane and John Jay, who were not Merchants, but Lawyers—was really intended quite as much for the adoption of measures which should practically rebuke the evidently growing sense of their own political power which has been recently seen arising among the Working-men and the lowly, throughout the City, if for nothing else, as for the adoption of measures in further opposition to the Home Government, to which it was nominally devoted; and, by adroitness in their management of the movement—the master-spirits of that aristocratic assemblage were not novices in political chicanery—while they really secured, more firmly than ever, the controlling authority in the confederated Opposition to the Home Government, in the aristocracy of the Colony, those master-spirits not only laid the foundations of their own and their family's further advancement, but they, also, so far placated the disaffected Working-men, by making the greater number of their leaders a helpless and powerless minority in the proposed Committee of Fifty-one, that peace and harmony of action, thoroughout the entire Opposition, were immediately restored—they had again deceived the masses of the people; and, once more, a share of that confidence which those lowly masses had reposed in their aristocratic neighbors, was entirely forfeited. Although that new-born element was represented in that Committee of Fifty-one, its representatives were in a powerless minority; and whatever was done in that body, whether the representatives of the Working-men assented or dissented, was, therefore, in fact, nothing else than the act of the confederated aristocracy. It was not long, however, before that fraudulent treatment of the Working-men produced "the "great Meeting in the Fields," and the dissolution of that incongruous alliance, and the resumption of the antagonism of the masses; and it was not long, also. before the confederation of the aristocracy itself, within as well as without the Committee of Fifty-one, was broken by the defection of those who had been the master-spirits of the organization, who, for the advancement of their own and their family's aspirations for place and emolument, had become as unfaithful to their aristocratic associates in the Committee and to the political principles which that Committee had so resolutely maintained, as they and those whom they had controlled and guided, in the Committee, a few weeks previously, had been, to the great body of the Inhabitants of the City, by whom that Committee had been really created and vested with authority to represent the entire body of the Opposition, within the City of New York. There was no abatement of the previously united opposition to the demands of the Working-men, however; and in each of the new-formed factions of the confederated aristocratic Opposition to the Home Government and in all which they or either of them did, there was the same entire disregard of the political rights of the Working-men, then without leaders, which had been so clearly conspicuous in all the actions of the aristoc-

racy, from the beginning of the political troubles, within the Colony.

The reader has been made acquainted with the successful opposition which the Committee of Fifty-one had made to the plan of operations which the Boston-men had proposed and insisted on; and with the successful establishment, instead, of its own project to call a Congress of the several Colonies, for consultation and for the promotion of harmony, in the party of the Opposition, throughout the Continent. He will remember, also, the narrative of the refusal of the Committee of Fifty-one to permit the Mechanics and Working-men to be represented on the ticket for Delegates to the Congress of the Colonies which it had proposed, and that of the consequent failure to elect its proposed Delegation, when its ticket was submitted to the body of the Freeholders and Freemen of the City, at the Polls. He will remember, also, what has been said of the various movements and counter-movements of the rival factions, after the defeat of the Committee's candidates; of the treachery to the Committee who had nominated them and to their aristocratic associates, of four of the five candidates of the Committee; of the consequent election of those five candidates, in the absence of any other candidates, by the united support, at the Polls, of portions of both the aristocratic and democratic elements; of the assembling of the proposed Continental Congress, in which there was not a single representative who was in sympathy with or who honestly represented the working masses of the Colonists; of the seizure of the control of that Congress by the "fire-"eaters" of Massachusetts and Virginia and South Carolina, and the consequent transformation of it, from the instrument for the promotion of reconciliation and peace, for which it had been specifically created and put in motion, into one for the promotion of rebellion and bloodshed, which was utterly obnoxious to all, except a very few, of the Colonists throughout the Continent; of the entire neglect, by that Congress, to seek that redress of the grievances of the Colonists from those by whom, only, such a redress could have been made, notwithstanding it was for that particular purpose the Congress had been convened, and notwithstanding such a reconciliation was what was most earnestly desired "by all good men;" and of the readiness of that Congress to inaugurate a system of violence, in each of the Colonies, for which it afforded ample warrants. He will remember, also, what has been stated concerning the General Assembly of the Colony; its organization; its bold and determined opposition to the obnoxious Colonial policy of the Home Government; its sturdy refusal to become auxiliary to or identified with the Continental Congress, notwithstanding it was not less determined in its opposition to the Ministry; its measures for securing from the Parliament of Great Britain, the only body from whom it could be obtained, a complete redress of what the Colonists regarded as grievances; and the unsuccessful result of its efforts, in that commendable undertaking, only by reason of the boldness of its declarations and of the audacity of its pretensions to rank, as the legally constituted representatives of a free people, notwithstanding they were Colonists.

It will be remembered by all who are familiar with the history of Colonial New York, however, that, although the aristocracy of that old and respectable Colony had always been consistent and united, in its undeviating disregard of the real political rights of the working masses, those in the rural districts as well as those in the Cities, there had been, during many years before the period of which we write [*May*, 1775], and there was, then, a bitter feud, existing within itself, between two rival families and their respective associated families and their several adherents. It will, also, be remembered that, during a long period of years, one of those powerful families and its friends had occupied all or nearly all the high places in the Colonial Government, and had dispensed the extensive patronage of that Government and disposed of its valuable emoluments among those who were known to have been the friends and adherents of the family, agreeably to the dictates of its own controlling will; while the other of those two antagonistic families and those who had been its friends and adherents, during the same long period, had uneasily and unsatisfactorily reposed on nothing else than on their own rural respectability, without any place in the Government of the Colony, without any of that influence which place had afforded so bounteously to its more powerful rival, and without any of those emoluments of office which, more than almost all else, would have been so exceedingly acceptable to every Scotchman and to every other within whose veins the controlling blood was Scotch. The feud between the De Lanceys and the Livingstons, in Colonial New York, is matter of history which is familiarly known to every New-Yorker who is reasonably acquainted with the history of his own country.

When the Home Government, eager to reduce the heavy land-tax to which the country gentlemen of England had been subjected by reason of the demands of that Government, in its vigorous prosecution of the War with France and Spain, first tightened the lines of those who administered the Customs, in the Colonies, and thereby seriously interfered with the smuggling in which every class of the local aristocracy was so largely and so profitably engaged, there was a common reason, which appealed to those of the De Lanceys and those of the Livingstons with equal force, for an opposition to the Home Government, in which those of both the families could harmoniously unite and from which both could be more surely benefitted; and, in accordance with that teaching of common sense, that opposition to the Home Government, of which the reader has been told, was really established in the City of New York, with its organized Committee of

Fifty-one and its more noted Continental Congress among the results of that union.

At the time of which we write, the threatened danger from the working classes appeared to have been averted; the Committee of Fifty-one, or those who had remained in it after the treachery of those who had used it for a stepping-stone to something of greater influence, had slowly retired from the field of political action and had been dissolved by its own action; the Continental Congress and its policy and its methods had been accepted by the Livingstons and their friends and adherents as that which seemed to be best adapted to add strength to their hereditary antagonism to the De Lanceys and their friends and adherents; the General Assembly of the Colony and its policy and its methods, not less in opposition to the Colonial policy of the Home Government than the others, had been accepted by the De Lanceys and their friends and adherents, as well as by the great body of the Colonists, throughout the entire Colony, as the only legitimate exponent of the will of the Colony and the only one which could reasonably be expected to obtain a hearing before the Home Government and the Parliament and the people of Great Britain, from whom, only, a redress of the grievances of the Colony could be obtained; and the Colony was again made the witness and the victim of a bitter feud between rival families, one of them holding and the other endeavoring to obtain all the places and influence and emoluments of the Colonial Government. A Delegation of twelve had been elected, by a Convention which had been convened for that purpose, to represent the Colony in a second Congress of the Colonies; and of that Delegation, two were Livingstons, two were of those who had married Livingstons, and two others were assured and well-tried supporters of the Livingston interest. The excitement which was occasioned by "the news from Lexington" had added strength to the friends of the Continental Congress and its revolutionary policy, to the Livingston interests, and to the revolutionary faction, generally; and, in the same interests and with the same revolutionary ends in view, a Provincial Congress had been called and elected, although, as was subsequently seen, the Deputies thus elected were not always pliant tools, to be handled by a skilful politician, for purely partisan purposes. The control of the political affairs of the Colony, it will be seen, as far as those affairs could be controlled by the revolutionary faction, was, by the election of the members of the Provincial Congress, firmly secured to the Livingstons and to their friends; and the government of the Colonists, thenceforth, was revolutionary, without warrant of Law, and oligarchic.

In England, at the time of which we write, the Ministry, revelling in the strength of its party and haughtily disregarding everything of prudence and conciliation, had recently led the Parliament to enact, first, the Bill for restraining the Trade and Commerce of the Provinces of Massachusetts-Bay and New Hampshire and the Colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in North America, with Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Islands in the West Indies; and to prohibit such Provinces and Colonies from carrying on any Fishery on the Banks of Newfoundland or other places therein mentioned, under certain specified conditions and limitations; and, second, the Bill for restraining the Trade and Commerce of the Colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, with Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Islands in the West Indies, under certain conditions and limitations—the Commerce and Fishing Rights of the Colony of New York, in each instance, having been left, undisturbed—and the First Session of the Fourteenth Parliament was drawing near to its close. The disturbance of Trade which was consequent on the political differences, had already produced great distress, in Great Britain, among those whose lives and labors and properties were employed in the manufacture of goods specifically intended for the American market; and, at the same time, the Merchants, in that country, and those who had given credits, commercial or financial, to the Colonists, in America, were anxiously considering in what way, if at all, since entire commercial non-intercourse, except that which was surreptitious and corrupt,[1] had been ordered by the Parliament as well as by the Continental Congress, they were to receive payment of what was due or becoming due to them—anxieties which were not removed by the aristocratic and "patriotic" "debtors," in some of the Colonies, at least, whence remittances had been entirely suspended and where the Courts of Justice were not permitted to assist in the collection of debts.

In New York, at the time of which we write, as far as the great body of the Colonists in the rural Counties were concerned, there does not appear to have been any noticeable change—the farmers had not been disturbed in their labors, during 1774; and the surplus of their productions, which had found early markets, had undoubtedly been disposed of at those better than ordinary prices which are known to have prevailed, in consequence of the increased demand which had been produced, early in the Autumn, by the approaching embargo. In the City, the suspen-

[1] The full supplies of goods, of every description, which were shipped to Boston, with the knowledge of officers who occupied high places in the Government, on Transport Ships and disguised as Stores for the Royal Army—sometimes paid for, as Stores for the Army, by the King's Treasurer—subsequently became a subject of searching investigation before the House of Commons. The Schedules of Goods thus shipped afford amusing evidence of what were officially considered as Army Stores: they clearly show, also, the relative weight of morality and immorality, whenever the profits of trade are considered, and how vastly more the Profit and Loss Accounts, on their respective Ledgers, will influence the morals and the religion and the doings of "Men in Business," Merchants and others, than anything which their Mothers have taught them, anything which their Bibles have presented to their consideration, or anything which their consciences have brought before them

sion of the foreign trade, by the experimental action of the first Continental Congress, must have been as disastrous to the great body of the inhabitants—those possessing small Estates as well as the Tradesmen and Mechanics and Workingmen, of every lowly class—as that much written-of Port Bill, imposed by the retributive action of the King and the Parliament of Great Britain, had produced on the similar classes who had inhabited the Town of Boston, in the preceding year; but the men of New York and their dependent families had endured whatever of hardships there had been in the suspension of their respective means of support, without those outcries, nominally of assumed distress among "the suffering inhabitants"—more loudly uttered by demagogues, for other purposes, than by those who were really sufferers, praying for relief—which had distinguished Boston, a few months previously, and which had induced the tender-hearted, the world over, to become politicians and to reprobate the Home Government by whom the Port Bill had been imposed; to sympathize with those who were said to have been "suffering," although the latter could have found remunerative labor elsewhere than in Boston; and to contribute the means which were really expended, very largely, more for the benefit of the tax-payers than for that of the "suffering poor" of the Town. The suspension of their business, by the aristocracy of America, who could sustain the present strain in order to ensure the receipt of an ultimate advantage, was, we say, no less severe in New York than the similar suspension of her business, by the aristocracy of Great Britain, had been in Boston; and the sufferngs of of the working classes were, undoubtedly, quite as keenly felt in the one case as in the other; but, in the instance of New York, there was neither an appeal for help nor an ostentatious display of "patriotic" sympathy, extending help; and if the sufferings of the lowly victims, in New York, were noticed at all, by those "patriotic" aristocrats who had produced those distresses, it was only in those congratulatory remarks, not unfrequently seen in the published correspondence of the not distant later period, that the necessities of the working-classes were compelling them to enlist in the Armies, in order to obtain even a portion of the food which was needed to keep their dependent wives and little ones from starvation, and that "for the "Rights of man and of Englishmen."

The "determination" of the Continental Congress of 1774, to appoint Committees "in every County, "City, and Town," "whose business it should be at-"tentively to observe the conduct of all persons, "touching the *Association*," which that Congress also enacted, and with extraordinary powers for persecuting and bringing ruin on whomsoever those local Committees should determine to put under a ban, had not yet become as well-seated, in the Colony of New York, as in some of the other Colonies;[1] but the City of New York was thus controlled; and, possibly, some of the rural communities who were more than ordinarily revolutionary in their inclinations, may, also, have already appointed such Committees. In Westchester-county, however, although the handful of officeseekers who hovered around the Morrises, and who did what those haughty leaders told them to do in return for official favors received or looked for, had recently appointed such a County Committee, at the time of which we write, it had not yet commenced its subsequently well-known work of inquisitorial proscription and plunder and outrage. There were individuals, among the farmers or in the little villages or at the several landings, who remembered and continued to condemn the usurpations of political authority which had signalized the first Continental Congress and had divided and lessened the power of the Opposition; and these and others who had attended the recently-held meeting at the White Plains may have been and undoubtedly were discontented and outspoken, within their respective families and among their neighbors, producing, in some instances, undoubtedly, ill-feelings and personal animosities and less harmonious neighborhoods. But, notwithstanding all these, the great body of the inhabitants of the County was entirely undisturbed; the labors of the day had been done, as they had previously been done, on the hundreds of homesteads, throughout the County; political questions in which they felt no interest had not slackened the domestic or the out-door industries nor lessened the holiday or evening pleasures of by far the greater number; and, with here and there a clearly perceptible change, the staid old agricultural County was undisturbed, in all its various relations. The Colonial officers continued to discharge their various duties, as their predecessors had done—John Thomas, who had occupied the Bench of the Court of Common Pleas, since May, 1755, continued to discharge the duties of that office, as well as those of the other office of Representative of the County, in the General Assembly, without

[1] The following description of the methods adopted by those local Committees, and the extent to which they carried their new-found authority, although it relates peculiarly to Virginia, is entirely applicable to the methods and the extent of authority of similar Committees, in every other Colony: "The *Associations* first, in part, entered into, recommended by the people of this Colony, and adopted by what is called "'the Continental Congress,' are now enforcing, throughout this country, with the greatest rigour. A Committee has been chosen in every "County, whose business it is to carry the *Association* of the Congress "into execution: which Committee assumes an authority to inspect the "books, invoices, and all other secrets of the trade and correspondence "of Merchants; to watch the conduct of every Inhabitant, without distinction; and to send for all such as come under their suspicion, into "their presence, to interrogate them respecting all matters which, at "their pleasure, they think fit objects of their inquiry, and to 'stigmatize,' as they term it, such as they find transgressing what they "are now hardy enough to call 'the Laws of the Congress,' which 'stigmatizing' is no other than inviting the vengeance of an outrageous "and lawless mob, to be exercised upon the unhappy victims."—(*The Earl of Dunmore to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "WILLIAMSBURG," [*Virginia*,] "December 24, 1774," laid before the House of Commons, February 15, 1775.—Almon's *Parliamentary Register*, House of Commons, First Session, Fourteenth Parliament, i., 185, 186.)

being disturbed, by any one; and James De Lancey, who had been the Sheriff of the County, since June, 1770, and David Dayton, who had been the Surrogate, since June, 1766, and John Bartow, who had been the Clerk of the County, since April, 1760, each in his appointed official place, continued to discharge the official duties which were incumbent on them, and to receive and to enjoy the emoluments which those several offices secured to them—the Courts of the County continued their several Sessions, at the appointed times; and, as we have said, with occasional individual or neighborhood exceptions, a general quiet prevailed, a quiet which preceded a terrible convulsion, as the reader will shortly see.

The machinery of government which had been created by the revolutionary elements, within and without the Colony of New York, was, very soon, put in motion. It was composed of only a series of conclaves, each of which exercised, arbitrarily, Legislative, Executive, and Judicial functions, unrestrained by either constitutional or statutory provisions, and controlled, in whatever it determined to do or not to do, only by the individual impulses of such, within this Colony, as the Livingstons and the Morrises, the Van Cortlandts and the Thomases, and as James Duane and John Jay, men, in every instance, who were distinguished for their entire disregard of and contempt for the unfranchised and lowly masses, of every class, as well as of those who were franchished, but not "well-born"—the former being looked on, by them, as fit only for labor and for fighting; and the latter as no better than the others, unless on election-days—and who represented only the uncontrolled and purely aristocratic prejudices and antipathies and the equally uncontrolled and malignant partisan animosities and jealousies of those who, during many years, had been excluded from official life, and who, by the whirligig of rebellion, were, then, first enjoying, in an extremely diluted form, what they had so long and so anxiously hankered for.[1]

The Congress of the Continent assembled at Philadelphia, agreeably to order, on Wednesday, the tenth of May, 1775; and, ten Colonies being represented—only three of the Delegates from New York having been present, that Colony was not counted—it was formally organized by the election of Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, as its President, and Charles Thomson, of Pennsylvania, as its Secretary.[2] The history of its doings, generally, is known to every intelligent person, and need not be repeated, unless in such instances as particularly related to Westchester-county or to those who were within the bounds of that County, during the period of the War of the Revolution.

On Monday, the twenty-second of May, 1775, a number of those who had been designated as Deputies from the several Counties of the Colony, assembled at the Exchange, in the City of New York, for the purpose of forming a Provincial Congress; but, because they conceived there was not a sufficient number of Deputies present, they adjourned until the following day, without having attempted to organize. On the latter day, [*Tuesday, May* 23, 1775,] those Deputies who were then present assembled at the Exchange, "the Deputies of a majority of the Counties" having appeared; and a "Provincial Congress for the "Colony of New-York" was organized by the election of Peter Van Brugh Livingston—one of the most violent of the former "Committee of Correspondence," a brother of the Lord of the Manor of Livingston, and a brother-in-law and partner in business of that Earl of Stirling, so called, who figured so largely in the military history of the War of the Revolution—to be its President; and John McKesson and Robert Benson, the latter a brother of that Egbert Benson whose extraordinary election as a Deputy from Duchess-county to the earlier Provincial Convention, has been already noticed, were elected to be its Secretaries.[3] Although the doings of that body are less generally known than those of the Continental Congress, the purposes of this work will not require any further reference to them, than to such portions as relate particularly, to Westchester-county or to those who were within that County, and to such other portions thereof as, in their effects, affected that County or its inhabitants, during the period of the War of the Revolution.

As has been already stated, the local Committee for Westchester-county was created on the eighth of May, 1775, ninety members having been miraculously created out of the material of which twenty-three were actually composed; and Gilbert Drake was made its Chairman.[4] Micah Townsend, subsequently holding other offices of honor, in both Westchester and Cumberland-counties, was made the Secretary of that Committee;[5] and its doings, as far as they were

[1] It was well-said by Henry C. Van Schaack, in his *Life* of his father, "It will scarcely now be credited that powers so undefined and extraordinary should have been intrusted to a few individuals, by a people so "jealous of encroachments; whose sense of liberty was so keen as to "'snuff the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze;' and who, "on their own part, had gone to war against a preamble."—Van Schaack's *Life of Peter Van Schaack*, 67.

The barbarities which were officially inflicted on individuals and families, in many instances only for an *opinion* extorted by their persecutors, without an overt act or the inclination to commit one, as those barbarities have been officially recorded, were perfectly shocking: and some of those which were inflicted on residents of Westchester-county, under the guidance of such notable Westchester-county men as John Jay and Gouverneur Morris, will find places in other parts of this narrative.

[2] *Journal of the Congress*, "PHILADELPHIA, Wednesday, May 10, 1775."

[3] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "CITY OF NEW-YORK, May 22nd, "1775," and addition, including the proceedings on the following day.

[4] *Credentials of Delegates to Provincial Congress*, May 8, 1775.—*Historical Manuscripts relative to the War of the Revolution: Credentials of Delegates*, xxiv., 133; *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 108, NEW-YORK, Thursday, May 11, 1775.

The *Credentials* mentioned above were signed "GILBERT DRAKE, "*Chairman*;" but those of the Delegates elected to the Second Provincial Congress, signed by the same person, bear the signature of "GILBERT "H. DRAKE, *Chairman*."—(*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Credentials of Delegates*, xxiv., 67.)

[5] *Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Credentials of Delegates*, xxiv., 67.

recorded in the annals of the County, will be duly noticed, as the narrative progresses.

The organization of the Provincial Congress, on the twenty-third of May, 1775, has been already mentioned and described :[1] a more particular description of the membership of that body which, in the interest of those who were in rebellion, was to take places beside the several departments of the legally constituted Colonial Government, in the government of the Colony, and which was to wield so important an influence over all who were within the Colony, seems to be incumbent on us, in this place.

Of the fourteen Counties of which the Colony of New York was then composed, thirteen were properly designated "the Counties," or "the country Counties," since they were mainly occupied by communities of farmers, unless in the instances of the frontier Counties, in which hunters and trappers and surveying parties and, not unfrequently, families and villages of the aborigines, afforded considerable portions of their continually changing populations. Of these thirteen rural Counties, some of the inhabitants of Albany and Duchess and Westchester and Queens made pretensions to something of social superiority, somewhat akin to the aristocracy of the City of New York ; but, in none of them, unless in Albany-county, was there any pretension to a controlling local aristocracy ; and in all of them, the actual tillers of the soil largely outnumbered all other classes, on the Census-lists. From such widely dissimilar constituencies, in town and country, therefore, even from those who were not widely separated and differently situated, there could not be expected Delegations to the Provincial Congress who were homogeneous in their characters and dispositions and inclinations; and as all those rural Delegations possessed more or less of the elements which prevailed among those who were nominally their respective constituencies, it was to be a work of time and patience and skill, in partisan and factional discipline, to bring all of them into "working order," in the interest of the controlling, or revolutionary, faction of the aristocracy—a work of which notice will be taken, hereafter.

The City and County of New York, of course, was represented in the Provincial Congress by the extremes of both conservatism and of radicalism, with a generous sprinkling of those who favored that political association which promised the greater pecuniary profits ; and the several Delegations from Albany and Queens and Westchester and Duchess-counties, respectively contained, also, more or less of mixed memberships. From the remaining nine Counties, the Delegations were generally smaller in number; and, very largely, especially in the earlier days of the existence of the Congress, they were composed of those who had honestly come for the purpose of protecting the Colony from the wrongs to which the Home Government was said to have subjected it ; but, at the same time, their inclinations were peaceful; and they preferred a reconciliation with Great Britain, instead of a Civil War, which had been already commenced; and, because they had not yet been corrupted by the social influences of life in the City nor by the allurements of official plunder, they were ready to join with all or with any, regardless of their factional affiliations, who entertained similar views, in the practical establishment of those fundamental principles. The individual members of the first Provincial Congress of New York, at the opening and during the earlier period of the existence of that body, may, therefore, be classed as, *first*, the avowed Conservatives, who were led by such as John De Lancey and Benjamin Kissam and Abraham Walton and Richard Yates and George Folliot and Walter Franklin; as, *second*, the "Corporal's Guard" of avowed Revolutionists, who were led by John Morin Scott and Alexander McDougal and Abraham Brasier ; as, *third*, a larger number, those who, under the guise of patriotism, were aiming at nothing else than at places and at the influences and emoluments to be produced by those places, who were led by the Livingstons and the Van Cortlandts, by Gouverneur Morris and John Thomas and Melanthon Smith and Abraham Ten Broeck and Egbert Dumond and Nathaniel Woodhull and John Sloss Hobart ; and as, *last*, outnumbering all others, those who had left their several rural homes and come to the City of New York, for the purpose of serving their country, without having had, at that time, any other aim.

As the several Delegations voted as units, the votes of the several Counties having been cast in accordance with the determination of the majority of the Delegates of each who were then present, the votes of individual Delegates, unless in instances of formal dissent, are not recorded ; but the conservatism of the organized Congress, as an aggregate, was seen, immediately after the organization of that body and the adoption of its necessary *Rules of Order*, on the first day of the Session, when Isaac Low, of the City of New York, who is already so well known to the reader, had commenced the work of centralizing all of political authority and power which were within the Colony, except those of the local police, in the Continental Congress, a work which has been persistently continued until this day, by men of the same classes of society and politics, and for the same purposes; and when, very promptly and very aptly, Gouverneur Morris, of the County of Westchester, who was already conspicuously notorious for his contemptuous disregard of the personal and political rights of the unfranchised masses of the Colonists, who were only "poor reptiles" in his aristocratic vocabulary,[2] had seconded the motion. The Resolution which Isaac Low had thus offered, was in these words :

[1] Vide page 267, ante.

[2] See his letter to Mr. Penn, pages 187, 188, ante.

"RESOLVED, As the opinion of this Congress, that im-
"plicit obedience ought to be paid to every recom-
"mendation of the Continental Congress, for the gen-
"eral regulation of the associated Colonies; but this
"Congress is competent to and ought, freely, to de-
"liberate and determine on all matters relative to the
"internal police of this Colony."[1]

Such a Resolution, so evidently in the interest of the master-spirits of the revolt and in that of the most ultra of the aristocracy of the Colony, at the same time so radically subversive of those fundamental principles of government which were professed to have been the basis of the existing Rebellion against the Mother Country, very reasonably excited immediate alarm; and, notwithstanding the Delegates were scarcely warm in their seats, the two ill-concealed monarchists who were temporarily masquerading, within the Provincial Congress, as republicans, and those, of the same class, elsewhere, in whose behalf the Resolution had been offered, were very effectually snubbed—on a motion of John Morin Scott, the very able leader of the handful of ultra-revolutionists, seconded by David Clarkson, both of the City of New York, the Resolution was defeated, only Richmond-county having voted in favor of it,[2] neither the mover nor the seconder of it having received the support of the County of which he professed to have been a proper representative.[3]

The signal rebuke which the not yet corrupted "country gentlemen," members of the Provincial Congress of New York, had thus given to those who had proposed to make the Colony of New York and all which it possessed subject, in all its relations, except in the local power of police, to a foreign body over whom neither the individual Colonists nor the aggregated Colony could possibly have exercised the slightest control, and by whom both the individual Colonists and the Colony in its entirety would have been subjected to an absolutely despotic control by those, of other Colonies, who already envied the rising greatness of New York, appears to have been effective, in that direction; but, two days afterwards, the little ultra-revolutionary clique, within the Congress, taking courage from the evidently independent spirit which had been manifested by the rural Delegations, in the former vote, and hoping that the same spirit of antagonism to the monarchical inclinations, which those "country gentlemen" had then presented, would rest, peacefully and usefully, on an inclination in the opposite direction, made a movement, within the Congress, in behalf of Revolution and Rebellion and a Civil War.

As the Colony of New York had not yet given that public testimony of its entire and cordial accession to the confederacy of the revolted Colonies which had been given to it by the other Colonies, in the express approbation, by each, of the proceedings of the Continental Congress of 1774, of which proceedings detailed mention has been made in other portions of this narrative, an attempt was made, in the Provincial Congress, on the twenty-fifth of May, to supply that previously omitted ratification and approval of the proceedings of that already notable Congress, and, by that ratification and approval, to carry the Colony of New York within the circle of the confederacy of the revolt, and to make her subject to influences and obligations from which she had previously been free. For those purposes, and for others which were not less important although they were less visible, John Morin Scott, the leader of the revolutionary clique, moved "in the words following, to wit:

"As this Colony has not as yet given that public
"testimony of their entire and cordial accession to
"the confederacy of the Colonies on this Continent
"which has been given by the other Colonies, in their
"express approbation of the proceedings of the last
"Continental Congress, I move that it be

"RESOLVED, That this Congress do fully approve
"of the proceedings of the said Congress."

This Resolution was promptly seconded by Thomas Smith, a brother of William and of Joshua Hett Smith who subsequently became more widely known than they were, at that time; and it is evident that a defeat of that well-devised plan, also, had not been considered as even probable, by those who had devised it. But, as we are informed, "debates arose on "the said motion"—there were grave questions, at that time, concerning the propriety of such an approval of all the proceedings of that first Congress, as was proposed by the leaders of the ultra-revolutionists—and the rural Delegations again determined on the side of peace and reconciliation and Colonial independence from all foreign influences, by postponing the further consideration of the proposition, without day,[4] where it has remained, from that day until the present.

It is more than possible that the avowed Conservative elements within the Provincial Congress had been largely instrumental in securing both these votes, in opposition to the discordant efforts, successively, of the ultra-aristocracy, represented by Isaac Low and Gouverneur Morris, and of the ultra-revolu-

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "5 ho., P.M., May 23d."

[2] The vote of Richmond-county, in this early instance, is very remarkable, especially when it is considered in connection with the later instances of that County's want of sympathy with both the Continental Congress and those who engineered that notable body.

This vote also affords a lesson of the greatest significance, illustrative of the effects of that ill-considered policy of uniformity in political opinions, enforced by a military power, which the Provincial Congress, in its later and more corrupt days, adopted and enforced—by the adoption and enforcement of such an extremely violent policy, instead of one in which conciliation and local peace might have been the more prominent features, the inhabitants of Richmond-county were violently repelled, by the ultra-revolutionists, as others like-situated were similarly repelled, compelling them to seek first, protection, and, next, fellowship, among those with whom they had, previously, had no sympathy.

[3] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "5 ho., P.M., May 23d."

[4] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "5 ho., P.M., May 25th."

tionary faction, represented by John Morin Scott and Thomas Smith; but, whatever may have led to the practical rejection of those two propositions, each of which tended toward the centralization of the entire authority and all the power of the several Colonies, in the Congress of the Continent, thereby destroying the autonomy of each of the Colonies, without subjecting that Congress, in its exercise of that authority and that power, to any other limitation than the unbridled will of a majority of the Delegations composing it, this is clearly evident: the Provincial Congress intended, by those two adverse votes, to declare that, though a purely local body, it was, nevertheless, determined not to divest itself, even by implication, of that unquestioned governmental supremacy, within the Colony of New York, which it had already acquired, no matter how; that, on the contrary, it had determined to retain, within itself, and to continue to exercise, unhampered by the interference of any other body, the several legislative, and judicial, and executive authorities, within the Colony, which it already held, no matter by what warrant; that it would yield to the Continental Congress, if it yielded anything to that foreign body, nothing else than a voluntary acquiescence; that it would promulgate the Orders and Resolutions and "recommendations" of that other Congress, if it promulgated them at all, not as original and supreme rules of action of all who were or who might be within the Colony of New York, but as the bases of its own local enactments, to the latter of which, *per se*, and not to the former, it required the implicit obedience of all those within or to come within the Colony, whose supreme political ruler it assumed to be and to remain. In short, from the beginning, the Provincial Congress of New York recognized no superior, controlling power, except that of its own actual constituents; and, at no subsequent period—not even when the Governor of New York declined the release of Alexander McLeod, though demanded by both the Government of Great Britain and the President of the United States—has there been any more resolute supporter of the Sovereignty of the several States, any more determined opponent of a transfer to any other body, from the People—which latter word is only an equivalent term for the State, and, in New York, if not elsewhere, is used, officially, to designate the State, itself—of the original authority, the Sovereignty of those several Peoples, than was that revolutionary Congress of the Colony of New York, in its opposition, on the one hand, to its ultra-aristocratic masterspirits, and, on the other, to the ultra-revolutionists among its members, early in the year 1775.

As a portion of the history f those times, reference may be made, in this place, to an incident which occurred in the Provincial Congress, soon after that body had rejected the Resolution which Isaac Low and Gouverneur Morris had offered, of which mention has been made. On the same day, the first day of the Session of that revolutionary body, during the same afternoon, a motion was made by Alexander McDougal, a Presbyterian, providing for the appointment of a Committee of two, to apply to all the Ministers in the City who could pray in English, "to "make such an arrangement among themselves as "would enable them alternately to open the Congress, "every morning, with prayer;" but Gouverneur Morris, Lewis Graham, Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt, Colonel James Holmes, Stephen Ward, and John Thomas, Junior, six of the nine members of the Congress who were from Westchester-county, probably recognizing the evident impropriety of spreading their politically dirty hands before Him who giveth no favor to those who loveth and maketh a lie, dissented from a majority of the Congress, and caused their dissent to be entered on the *Journal* of that body.[1]

On Friday, the twenty-sixth of May, the Provincial Congress adopted, unanimously, a Resolution, offered by Gilbert Livingston of Duchess-county and seconded by John De Lancey of New York City, providing for the appointment of a Committee of one from each County, "to draw "up and report a proper Resolve of this Con- "gress, recommending to the different Counties "in this Colony, to form themselves into County "Committees, and also into Sub-committees for their "respective Townships and Districts, and recommend- "ing the signing of the *General Association;* and also "to prepare and report to this Congress a draft of a "letter to be sent to the Committees and other per- "sons in the several Counties, for the above purposes, "and with copies of such Resolution." In that Committee of one from each County, Major Philip Van Cortlandt represented Westchester-county;[2] and, on the following day, [*May* 27, 1775] it made a Report, in due form.[3]

The Resolution which was thus reported, was in these words: "RESOLVED: That it be recommended, "and it is hereby accordingly recommended, to all the "Counties in this Colony, (who have not already done "it,) to appoint County Committees, and also Sub- "committees for their respective Townships, Pre- "cincts, and Districts, without delay, in order to carry "into execution the Resolutions of the Continental "and this Provincial Congress.

"And that it is also recommended to every Inhabitant "of this Colony, who has hitherto neglected to sub- "scribe the *General Association*, to do it with all con- "venient speed. And for these purposes that the "Committees in the respective Counties in which "Committees have been formed, do tender the said "*Association* to every Inhabitant within the several "Districts in each County. And that such persons,

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress* "5 ho., P.M., May 23d."
[2] *Journal of the Congress*, "4 ho., P.M., May 26th, 1775."
[3] *Journal of the Congress*, "Die Saturnii, 9 ho., A.M., May 27th, 1775."

"in those Counties or Districts who have not appointed Committees, as shall be appointed by the members of this Congress representing such Counties and Districts respectively,[1] do make such tender as aforesaid in such Counties and Districts respectively; and that the said Committees and persons respectively do return the said *Association* and the names of those who shall neglect or refuse to sign the same, to this Congress, by the fifteenth day of July next, or sooner, if possible."

The letter which was reported, as a companion to this Resolution, was in the following words:

"NEW-YORK, May 29, 1775.

"GENTLEMEN:

"You will see by the enclosed Resolution of this Congress, that it is recommended to such of the Counties as have not already formed Committees, to do it without delay, and that such of the Inhabitants of this Colony as have hitherto neglected to subscribe the *General Association*, do it, so as to enable you to make a return within the time limited in the Resolution.

"As the execution of this Resolve is committed to your care, we request you to use your best endeavours to see that this recommendation be complied with. It may, nevertheless, be proper to inform you that it is the sense of this Congress that no coercive steps ought to be used to induce any person to sign the *Association*. The propriety of the measure, the example of the other Counties, and the necessity of maintaining a perfect union in every part of this Colony, it is presumed, are sufficient reasons to induce the Inhabitants of your County to comply with this requisition."

The Resolution and letter which were thus reported to the Provincial Congress, were taken up, for consideration, on the twenty-ninth of May; and, after some amendments had been made therein, they were "approved, agreed to, and resolved;" and five hundred copies were ordered to be printed; and as many copies of the letter as should be necessary were ordered to be signed by the President and delivered to the members of the Congress, "to be by them directed."[2]

As the County of Westchester had already been favored with the appointment of a County-committee, or what purported to have been such a Committee,[3] it is probable that it was not considered necessary, in that instance, to interfere with that former appointment; and there is very little evidence, as far as we have been able to find any, which indicates that the several Towns throughout the County paid any attention to the recommendation of the Congress, for the appointment of Town-committees;[4] and there is no evidence whatever, that any attempt was made, in any of those Towns, to obtain the signatures of the body of the inhabitants of the County, to the *General Association* which had been enacted by the Continental Congress of 1774, nor to any other such *Association*[5]—the Provincial Congress had done no more than, nominally, to "recommend" to the inhabitants to sign the *Association*;[6] it not only did not authorize the employment of force in order to obtain signatures thereto, but it expressly disclaimed, in advance, the entertainment of any such idea;[7] the Congress itself, by a formal vote, had postponed a formal approval of that *General Association* as well as all of the other doings of the Continental Congress, who had enacted it;[8] and, for these reasons, as well as for others with which the reader is already familiar, the conservative yeomanry of Westchester-county was not in a hurry to either recognize or sign it.

The Committee of the Provincial Congress who had been appointed to consider the very important subject of the Currency, for the support of the Rebellion, made a very clear and able Report, on the thirtieth of May, in which some of the commercial troubles produced or likely to be produced by the Rebellion were very graphically presented; and an issue

[1] The authority which appears to have been vested in members of the Provincial Congress, to appoint local Committees where the inhabitants had not done so, probably originated in that Congress, in an earlier secret meeting of that body; but no record of any such action is seen on its published *Journal*—like the *Secret Journals of the Continental Congress*, those of the Provincial Congress of New York, could they also be published, would undoubtedly throw different tints of light and color on many a romance, called "history."

[2] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Lunæ 4 ho., P.M., May 29th, "1775."

[3] See pages 258, 259, ante.

[4] There were Committees in a small number of the Towns, at a later period; but there is no evidence, as far as we have knowledge, that they originated in the recommendation of the Provincial Congress, nor as early as in 1775.

[5] The *Association*, duly signed by those who would sign it and duly noting those who declined to do so, was to be returned to the Secretary of the Provincial Congress, on or before the fifteenth of July, 1775. The files of that Congress, which are preserved in the office of the Secretary of State, at Albany, show, however, that the only Counties or Towns which made any Returns of Associators, in response to this Resolution, were Orange, Ulster, Suffolk, Duchess, one District in Charlotte, three Districts in Cumberland, and a few scattering names, not more than fifty, in Queens; but there is no such Return from Westchester-county; there is no such Return among the archives of the County, in the office of the County-clerk; and we have failed to find anything resembling such a Return, in the offices of the Town-clerks, in the several Towns.

The signer of the following, which was sent from Amenia, in Duchess-county, is classed among the "3 Tories" of that "Precinct:"

"June ye 8th, Ad 1775. This may sertyfy all pepel whome It may "cornsern that I the Svlscriber am willing to do what is best and "wright to secure the priviligs of a mariga both sivel and sacred and to "follow the advise of our Reverend congres so far as they do the word "of God and the exzample of Jesvs Christ and I hope in the grace of God "no more will be required, as witness my hand,

"JOHN GARNSEY."

[6] See the Resolutions of the Provincial Congress, page 270, ante.

[7] See the general Circular Letter of the Congress, on this page, ante.

The same declaration, more distinctly uttered, may be seen in the *Letter of the Provincial Congress to Christopher Yates and Major Willet Fonda, of Tryon-county*; in *that from the same to Colonel James Rogers, of Kent, in Cumberland-county*; and in *that from the same to Jacob Bailey and Colonel Peters, of Gloucester-county*—all of them dated "IN PROVIN-"CIAL CONGRESS, NEW YORK, the 31st May, 1775."

[8] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "3 ho., P.M., May 29th, [1929-93, ante.

of that Currency by the Continental Congress, with specified provisions for the payment of it, was recommended [1]—the original proposition for the emission of those immense amounts of "Continental-bills," which, subsequently and with the help of friendly legislation in the Continental Congress, afforded so favorable an opportunity for repudiation by the United States, "the faith of the Nation" to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Report of the Committee was "fully debated "and considered," by the Provincial Congress, and, by an unanimous vote, it was adopted, with an order transmitting a copy of it to the Delegates of the Colony, in the Continental Congress.[2]

A circumstance occurred, within the Provincial Congress, early in its Session, which requires particular notice in this place.

One week after that body had been originally organized, [*May* 30, 1775] Benjamin Kissam, of the City of New York, "moved in the words following, "to wit: 'Forasmuch as a reconciliation between "Great Britain and these Colonies, on constitutional "principles, is essential to the well-being of both "countries, and will prevent the horrors of a Civil "War, in which this Continent is now about to be "involved, it is, therefore, the indispensable duty "of this Congress, to communicate to the Delegates "of this Colony, in Continental Congress, their sen-"timents respecting the terms of such reconciliation; "I, therefore, move that a Committee be appointed "to prepare and state the terms on which such re-"conciliation may be tendered to Great Britain, con-"sistent with the just Liberties and Freedom of the "subject, in America, to the intent that the same, "when approved by this Congress, may be laid before "the said Delegates, as our sense, on this important "subject, to be humbly submitted to their considera-"tion."

A question of such great importance and so distasteful to many of the Deputies, was reasonably discussed with much warmth; and it is very evident that, had the vote been taken, at that time, the motion would have been adopted by the Provincial Congress. It was evidently approved by a majority of the Counties; but, if the vote could be postponed, changes might be effected, by fair means or by foul —there were astute and experienced politicians within and around that Provincial Congress—and three of the Counties who were opposed to the motion resorted to the tenth Rule of the Congress,[3] not resorted to, on any other occasion, during the entire period of the existence of that Congress, to secure that advantage and, thereby, if possible, to defeat the motion—"at the request of the Deputies of the City "and County of Albany and the Counties of "Ulster, Suffolk, and Charlotte," it was "ORDERED, "That the same be deferred."[4]

Although the Rule required the Congress to resume the consideration of the motion on "the next day," the Rule was disregarded;[5] and, on the following day [*June* 1, 1775,] Mr. Kissam, with the leave of the Congress, withdrew the motion, "in order to "amend it."[6]

On the second of June, the amended motion was submitted by Mr. Kissam, "in the words following, "to wit: Forasmuch as a reconciliation between "Great Britain and these Colonies, on constitutional "principles, is essential to the well-being of both "countries, and will prevent the horrors of a Civil "War, in which this Continent is now about to be "involved: I move that a Committee be appointed "to prepare a plan of such accommodation, and re-"port the same to this House."

The revolutionary faction, led by John Morin Scott and Alexander McDougal, resolutely opposed the motion; and the last-named, seconded by Abraham Brasher, moved for the previous question, in order to defeat it; but only Ulster, Orange, Suffolk, and Duchess-counties favored the motion for the previous question; and it was defeated—Philip Van Cortlandt, differing from all his associates from Westchester-county, voting with the revolutionary faction. The motion of Mr. Kissam was then carried, without any dissent, except that of Philip Van Cortlandt, who recorded that dissent on the *Journal of the Congress*.

Colonel Woodhull, of Suffolk, one of those who had opposed the motion, then moved, as an amendment of the motion, the addition of these words: "That we may be ready, if we shall think it neces-"sary, to communicate our sentiments upon that sub-"ject to our Delegates at Philadelphia;" which was subsequently adopted, without a division, in the following words: "RESOLVED, therefore, That, although "we would, by no means, presume to dictate to the "General Continental Congress, yet it is highly nec-"essary that this House be prepared to give our sen-"timents to our Delegates, in the said Congress, upon "such plan of accommodation." With the appointment of John Morin Scott, Isaac Low, Alexander McDougal, Benjamin Kissam, and Thomas Smith, of the City of New York; John Sloss Hobart, Colonel Nathaniel Woodhull, and Thomas Tredwell, of Suffolk; Robert Yates and Peter Silvester, of the City and County of Albany; Gouverneur Morris, of

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Martis, 9 ho., A.M., May "30th, 1775."

[2] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Martis, 9 ho., A.M., May "30, 1775."

[3] "10th.—That no question shall be determined on the day that it is "agitated, if three Counties shall request that it be deferred to the "next day."—(*Rules of the Congress*, in the *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, Tuesday, 23rd of May, 1775.)

[4] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "5 ho., P.M., May 30, 1775."

[5] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., May "31, 1775."

[6] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Jovis, 9 ho., June 1, 1775."

Westchester-county; Ephraim Paine, of Duchess-county; John Williams, of Queens-county; and Paul Micheau, of Richmond-county—six of whom, including Messrs. Scott, McDougal, Hobart, Woodhull, Paine, and Tredwell, were undoubtedly opposed to the entire movement—for a Committee, with instructions to "make report with all convenient speed," the subject rested, temporarily.[1]

It was not until the twenty-second of June, that the Committee was ready to report to the Provincial Congress the result of its deliberations on the subject which had been referred to it. On that day, the Report was presented, and read, twice, when the following very significant *Order* thereon was made by the Congress:

"ORDERED, That the same be taken into consider-"ation on Saturday morning next; that the mem-"bers of each County have leave to take one copy "thereof, each copy to be numbered by one of the "Secretaries, who shall take a memorandum of the "name of the member who shall take with him such "copy and the number of the copy by him taken, "that all such copies may, on Saturday next, be re-"turned to and filed with the Secretaries; and all "the members are directed by the President, from "the Chair, to take the utmost care to preserve the "said copies secret, and to keep secret the subject "matter thereof. And it is agreed that no member "shall transcribe the said Report, or take any copy "from the copies taken out of the House for the use "of the members of each County; and that all the "said copies shall, on Saturday next, be returned to "the Secretaries."[2]

On the following Saturday [*June* 24, 1775,] the Provincial Congress proceeded to consider the Report, agreeable to its *Order* made on the preceding Thursday; and, after the Report had been read and re-read, debated and amended, during the greater portion of that day and a portion of the following Tuesday, the proposed "*Plan of* Accommodation "with Great Britain," thus amended, was adopted, apparently with much cordiality, by all, except by those of the revolutionary faction.[3]

That very important paper, the "*Plan of Accommo-"dation with Great Britain*," which is essential to a proper understanding of the character of the doings of the Provincial Congress, at a later period of its existence, was, in its completed form, in these words:

"That all the Statutes and parts of Statutes of the "British Parliament, which are held up for repeal by "the late Continental Congress, in their *Association*, "dated the twentieth day of October, 1774, and all the "Statutes of the British Parliament, passed since that "day, restraining the Trade and Fishery of Colonies "on this Continent, ought to be repealed.

"That from the necessity of the case, Britain ought "to regulate the Trade of the whole Empire, for the "general benefit of the whole, and not for the sep-"arate interest of any particular part; and that, from "the natural Right of Property, the powers of Taxa-"tion ought to be confined to the Colony Legislatures, "respectively.

"THEREFORE, That the monies raised as Duties, "upon the Regulations of Trade, ought to be paid "into the respective Colony Treasuries, and be subject "to the disposal of their Deputies.

"That in those Colonies whose Representatives in "General Assembly are now chosen for a greater term "than three years, such Assemblies, for the future, "ought, in their duration, not to exceed that "term.

"That the Colonists are ready and willing to sup-"port the Civil Government within their respec-"tive Colonies; and, on proper requisitions, to "assist in the general defence of the Empire, in "as ample manner as their respective abilities will "admit.

"That if objections be made that a resort to a "variety of Colony Legislatures, for general aids, is "inconvenient, and that large, unappropriated Grants "to the Crown, from America, would endanger the "Liberty of the Empire, then the Colonies are ready "and willing to assent to a Continental Congress, "deputed from the several Colonies, to meet with a "President appointed by the Crown, for the purpose "of raising and apportioning their general aids, upon "application made by the Crown, according to the "advice of the British Parliament, to be judged of by "the said Congress.

"And as the free enjoyment of the Rights of Con-"science is, of all others, the most valuable branch of "human Liberty; and the indulgence and establish-"ment of Popery, all along the interior confines of "the old Protestant Colonies, tends not only to "obstruct their growth but weaken their security; "that neither the Parliament of Great Britain nor "any other earthly Legislature or Tribunal ought or "can interfere or interpose, in any wise, howsoever, "in the religious and ecclesiastical concerns of the "Colonies.

"That the Colonies, respectively, are entitled to a "free and exclusive power of legislation, within "themselves, respectively, in all cases of internal "polity, whatsoever, subject only to the negative of "their Sovereign, in such manner as has been, here-"tofore, accustomed.

"RESOLVED: That no one Article of the afore-"going Report be considered preliminary to another, "so as to preclude an accommodation without such "Article; and that no part of the said Report be

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Veneris, 9 ho., A.M., June 2, "1775."

[2] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Jovis, 9 ho., A.M., June 22, "1775."

[3] "*Journal of the Provincial Congress*," 4 ho., P.M., Die Martis, June "27, 1775."

"deemed binding or obligatory upon the Repre-"sentatives of this Colony, in Continental Congress."[1]

The principles on which that *Plan* was constructed and the methods which were proposed for the execution of its provisions were so radically subversive of all the purposes for which Colonies were established and protected; so singularly presumptuous in claiming all the privileges and benefits enjoyed by Englishmen without assuming any of the burdens under which Englishmen were then staggering; so unaccountably inconsistent in conceding the authority of the Parliament to regulate their Trade and to levy Duties on their Imports while, at the same time, they denied the authority of that Parliament to impose Taxes on them, for general purposes, in the same manner and to the same extent and for the same purposes that it imposed similar Taxes on Englishmen, in England; so unduly arrogant in dictating to the Home Government and to the Parliament what they should do and what they should not do—including, in the former, a removal of all those obstructions to the "illicit Trade" of the Colonists, which that Home Government and that Parliament had interposed—as the price of their indirect proffer of an abandonment of their rebellious movements and of their return to their duties, as subjects of the Crown, that it is difficult to bring one's self to a belief that the framers and supporters of that proposed *Plan* were really sincere in proposing it, unless with the qualification that their enthusiasm and the seeming indifference of the Home and Colonial Governments had blinded them to its remarkable peculiarities, and induced them to regard the Colonists as something superior, in their political standing, to other subjects of the Crown—as something more than subjects, owing obedience to those in authority and to the Laws of the land. Such a *Plan*, had it been submitted to the Home Government and to the Parliament, would, unquestionably, have aggravated instead of conciliated, and have widened the breach which then separated the Colonies and the Mother Country, instead of closing it. It is serviceable, however, to the careful student of the history of that period, to indicate how much the Rebellion had already palled upon the senses of even those who were its local leaders; how much a reconciliation was secretly hankered for, even among those who were blustering in fictitious bravery; how much of hypocrisy there was among those who were loudly pretending to be "patriots," in harmony with similar "patriots" in each of the other Colonies, all of them zealously and noisily crowding the entire Continent into an open and unqualified Rebellion, while, at the same time, they were secretly determining, among themselves, by how slight a bond they were bound to their associates in crime, how delicately constructed were their honor and their patriotism, and at what price the Home Government could purchase their adherence and their "patriotism" and their sympathy with their compatriots, whenever that Home Government should incline to enter the market of "patriot-"ism," for such a purpose.

At a very early period, the security of the pass at Kingsbridge appears to have attracted the attention of the revolutionary faction; and measures were taken with the evident intention of throwing up some defensive works, at that point, for the protection of the City.

Immediately after the receipt of intelligence concerning the raid of the Royal troops on Lexington and Concord, without any formal order from the Committee of One hundred, great numbers of men were employed in hauling the cannon from the City to Kingsbridge, in readiness for the work of intrenchment;[2] and on the fourth of May, the Committee "ordered, that Captain Sears, Captain Randall, and "Captain Fleming be a Committee to procure proper "judges to go and view the ground at or near Kings-"bridge, and report to this Committee, with all "convenient speed, whether it will answer the pur-"poses intended by it"[3]—although they were not described, the "purposes" referred to were, evidently, for the protection of the City from any irruption, by land, from the country Towns.

The published *Proceedings of the Committee of One hundred*, in the City of New York, make no mention of the doings of that Committee; and it is not probable that it accomplished anything, in the way of fortifying Kingsbridge; but, on the twenty-fifth of May, the Continental Congress agreed to the following Resolutions, "respecting New York," one of which relates to the defence of Kingsbridge. These Resolutions were in the following words:

"1.—RESOLVED, That a Post be immediately taken "and fortified at or near King's-Bridge, in the Colony "of New-York; and that the ground be chosen with "a particular view to prevent the communication "between the City of New-York and the country "from being interrupted by land.

"2.—RESOLVED, that a Post be also taken in the "Highlands, on each side of Hudson's River, and Bat-"teries erected in such manner as will most effectual-"ly prevent any Vessels passing, that may be sent to "harass the Inhabitants on the borders of said River; "and that experienced persons be immediately sent "to examine said River, in order to discover where it "will be most advisable and proper to obstruct the "Navigation.

"3.—RESOLVED, That the Militia of New-York be "armed and trained, and in constant readiness to act

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, 4 ho., P. M., Die Martis, June 27, 1775.

[2] *Proceedings of the Council of the Colony of New York*, "Monday, May 1, "1775."

[3] *Minutes of the Committee of One hundred*, Adjourned Meeting, "Thurs-"day morning, 4th May, 1775."

"at a moment's warning; and that a number of Men "be immediately embodied, and kept in that City, and "so disposed of as to give protection to the Inhabit- "ants, in case any insult should be offered by the "Troops that may land there, and to prevent any "attempts that may be made to gain possession of "the City, and interrupt its intercourse with the "country.

"4."—[RESOLVED.] "That it be left to the Provincial "Congress of New-York to determine the number of "men sufficient to occupy the several Posts above- "mentioned, and also that already recommended to be "taken at or near Lake George, as well as to guard the "City, *Provided*, the whole do not exceed the number "of three thousand men, to be commanded by such "Officers as shall be thereunto appointed by said "Provincial Congress, and to be governed by such "Rules and Regulations as shall be established by said "Congress, until farther order is taken by this Con- "gress; *Provided*, also, that if the said Provincial "Congress should be of opinion that the number pro- "posed will not be sufficient for the several services "above recommended, that the said Congress report "their sentiments upon this subject to this Congress, "as soon as may be.

"5."—[RESOLVED.] "That it be recommended to "the said Provincial Congress, that in raising those "Forces, they allow no Bounties or Clothing, and "that their Pay shall not exceed the establishment "of the New-England Colonies.

"6."—[RESOLVED.] "That it be further recom- "mended to the Provincial Congress, aforesaid, that "the Troops be enlisted to serve until the last day "of December next, unless this Congress shall direct "that they be sooner disbanded."[1]

On the following day, [*May* 26, 1775,] the Conti- nental Congress farther "RESOLVED, That it be recom- "mended to the Congress aforesaid, to persevere the "more vigorously in preparing for their defence, as it "is very uncertain whether the earnest endeavours of "this Congress to accommodate the unhappy differences "between Great Britain and the Colonies, by concilia- "tory measures, will be successful;" and, in addition, it "ORDERED, That the above Resolves, respecting "New-York, be transmitted by the President in a let- "ter, to the Provincial Congress of New-York; and "that it be particularly recommended to said Con- "gress, by the President, not to publish the foregoing "Resolves, but to keep them as secret as the nature of "the case requires."[2]

On the twenty-ninth of May, the Resolutions which had been thus adopted by the Continental Congress, were received by the Provincial Congress;[3] and on the following day, on motion of John Morin Scott, of the City of New-York, they were taken into consideration—that portion of them which directed the fortifying of Kingsbridge, was referred to Cap- tain Richard Montgomery, of Duchess-county, Henry Glenn and Robert Yates, of Albany-county, and Col- onel James Van Cortlandt and Colonel James Holmes, of Westchester-county, with orders "to view "the ground at or near King's Bridge, and report to "this Congress whether the ground near King's "Bridge will admit of making a fortification there, "that will be tenable; and at what particular place "the ground will admit of making the best and "most tenable fortification; and that they call to "their assistance such persons as they shall think "necessary, and make report to this Congress, with all "convenient speed:" that portion of them which directed the erection of fortifications in the High- lands, on the Hudson-river, was referred to Colonel James Clinton and Christopher Tappan, both of Ul- ster-county, with orders to "take to their assistance "such persons as they shall think necessary; to go to "the Highlands, and view the banks of Hudson's "river there; and to report to this Congress the most "proper place for erecting one or more fortifications; "and, likewise, an estimate of the expense that will "attend erecting the same."[4]

Both these Resolutions were initiatory of prolonged and not always harmonious and agreeable proceed- ings, both without and within the Provincial Con- gress and both without and within the Congress of the Continent, all of which can be considered with greater propriety in the local publications concerning the Towns of Kingsbridge and Cortlandt and in the general publications concerning the War of the Ameri- can Revolution, than in a general *History of the County of Westchester;* and, for that reason and with this introductory send-off, the construction of those military works to which the Resolutions referred will receive no further attention, in this narrative.

On the thirty-first of May, in its further considera- tion of the Resolutions of the Continental Congress, which have been already laid before the reader, the Provincial Congress resolved, "that it be recommended "to the Inhabitants of this Colony, in general, im- "mediately to furnish themselves with necessary arms "and ammunitions; to use all diligence to perfect "themselves in the military art; and, if necessary, to "form themselves into Companies, for that purpose, "until the further order of the Congress;" and it ordered the Resolution to be printed in the news- papers and in handbills. At the same time, it met the call of the Continental Congress, for men to oc- cupy the proposed posts at Kingsbridge and in the Highlands, for the protection of the City of New York, and for that of Lake George, referred to in the third and fourth Resolutions of that Congress, by re- solving that it "would use all possible diligence in

[1] *Journal of the Continental Congress*, "Thursday, May 25, 1775."

[2] *Journal of the Continental Congress*, "Friday, May 26, 1775."

[3] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Dies Lunæ, 4 hor., P.M., May "29th, 1775."

[4] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "5 hrs., P.M., May 30, 1775."

"embodying men according to the said Resolutions;" and by appointing a Committee "to report an ar-"rangement of the troops to be embodied for the "defence of this Colony; and to report such *Rules* "*and Regulations* as would be proper to be established "by this Congress, for the government of such "troops."[1]

The doings of the Provincial Congress were, of course, entirely in the interest of the Rebellion.

* * * * * * * *

Early in the Summer, as has been stated, the Continental Congress ordered the enlistment of a large armed force, of which three thousand were to be raised and put into the field by the Colony of New York. These troops were to be commanded by such Officers as should be thereunto appointed by the Provincial Congress; they were to be governed by such *Rules and Regulations* as that Congress should establish for that purpose; they were to be mustered into the service, to serve no longer than the last day of the succeeding December;[2] and as there was no enemy before them, and as little probability existed that there would be any one to molest them, during their short term of service, the proffered opportunity to take the field, as Continental Soldiers, appeared to be very inviting—it seemed, in fact, to promise what would be little else than an organized picnic-party, for the succeeding Summer and Autumn and early Winter months.

There were, of course, plenty of applications from those of the well-born, among the revolutionary faction and from among those who had been instrumental in bringing the Livingstons and the Morrises and others into authority, for each of the offices, in each of the four Regiments into which the levy on New York was arranged; but there was an evident backwardness, among the masses, from the beginning, in enlisting for "the private station;" there was a greater anxiety, among those who did enlist, concerning their pay and bounty and "under clothes," than for the welfare of the Colony; and, generally, there was very little inclination, any where, among those who had them, to exchange their peaceful occupations and their domestic comforts and their quiet homes, under such circumstances as then existed, for a distant encampment or a distant military post and the sometimes laborious and not always well-supplied and always irregular lives of soldiers, in garrison as well as in the field.

Of the four Regiments thus ordered, on the Continental Establishment, only the Fourth, or Duchess, appears to have had any connection with Westchester-county—James Holmes, of Bedford, an experienced soldier of the former War, was its Colonel;[3] and Philip Van Cortlandt, of Cortlandt Manor, who held, also, a Royal Commission of Major in the Colonial Militia, was its Lieutenant-colonel;[4] Barnabas Tuthill, of Southold, Suffolk county, was its Major;[5] Benjamin Chapman was its Quarter-master; and Ebenezer Haviland was its Surgeon.[6] Of the ten Companies of which the Regiment was composed, three were largely from Westchester-county—of one of these Jonathan Platt, of Bedford, was Captain,[7] David Dan, of Poundridge, was First Lieutenant;[8] and Manning Bull, of ———, was Second Lieutenant: of another of those Companies, Daniel Mills, of Bed-

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., May "31st, 1775."

[2] *Journal of the Continental Congress*, "Thursday, May 25, and Friday, "May 26, 1775—pages 274, 275, ante.

[3] James Holmes was the grandson of one of the original proprietors and settlers of the Town of Bedford. He was born in that Town, in 1737; and a Captain in the Army, during the War with France, in which he gained great credit. He was elected to the Provincial Convention for the appointment of Delegates to the Continental Congress of 1774; and he was a member of the Provincial Congress, by whom he was made Colonel of this Regiment. He went with his Regiment to the northern frontier, and occupied Ticonderoga, very much to his disgust; quarrelled with General Schuyler, who commanded in that Department; declined to continue in the service, after the term of the enlistment of his command had expired; became a Loyalist; took the Lieutenant-colonelcy of the Corps of the Westchester-county Refugees; continued to live in Bedford, until about 1810, when he removed to New Haven, where he died, on the eighth of July, 1824, aged eighty-seven years.

An extended notice of him may be seen in Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, ii., 334-336; and, in his *Notes* to that History (ii., 618–621.) Mr. de Lancey has re-produced, in full, an exceedingly interesting autobiographical tract, from the Colonel's own pen.

[4] Philip Van Cortlandt, eldest son of Pierre Van Cortlandt, was born in the City of New York, in 1749(?), and was a graduate of King's (now Columbia) College, in the class of 1758 (?). He was a Surveyor and a Country Merchant and Miller; a Major in the Westchester-county Militia, under Governor Tryon; and a member of the Provincial Congress by whom he was made Lieutenant-colonel of this Regiment. He continued in the military service, until the close of the War of the Revolution; after which he was one of the Commissioners of Forfeitures; represented Westchester-county in the Assembly, 1788-'9, 1789-'90; the Southern District, in the Senate, 1791-'4; his District, in Congress, 1793–1809; and died on the twenty-first of November, 1831.—(Bolton's *History of Westchester-county*, original edition, i., 58–60; *the same*, second edition, i., 111–112; etc.)

[5] Barnabas Tuthill was a resident of Southold; had not joined the Regiment, which was then at Ticonderoga, as late as the first of September, when he was in New York City, "unable to proceed for want of "money to pay his expenses." He appears to have returned to the service, in 1776; but, during the Summer, he was dismissed from the Army, at his own request.—(*Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "4 ho., P.M., "September 1st, 1775;" *General McDougal to Robert Yates*, "YONKERS, "21 October, 1776.")

[6] The Roster of the entire Regiment may be seen in the *Historical Manuscripts relating to the War of the Revolution—Military Committee*, XXV., 531—in the office of the Secretary of State, at Albany.

[7] Jonathan Platt was an aged man, whom Mr. Bolton has erroneously made the great-grandfather of Hon. Lewis C. Platt of White Plains; he was Mr. Platt's grand-Uncle. He was elected a Delegate to the Provincial Convention called to elect Deputies to the Continental Congress of 1774; he was a member of the first County Committee of Westchester-county, in 1775; and a member of the fourth Provincial Congress, or, as it was called after a while, the Provincial Convention—that which declared the Independence of New York from the King of Great Britain, which had not been done by the Congress, at Philadelphia, on the fourth of July, 1776.

[8] David Dan was a member of the first County Committee of Westchester-county, in 1775, and a member of the Town Committee of Poundridge, in 1776. He was appointed to the command of a Company, in Colonel Thomas's Regiment, in August, 1776.

ford, was Captain;[1] Elijah Hunter, of the same Town, was First Lieutenant;[2] and John Bayley, of ———, was Second Lieutenant:[3] of the remaining Company, Ambrose Horton, apparently from the White Plains, was Captain;[4] David Palmer, of ———, was First Lieutenant;[5] and Samuel Tredwell Pell, of ———, was Second Lieutenant.[6] The names of none of those who held Warrants, as Non-commissioned Officers, in either of these Companies, have been preserved; and it is to be regretted that, except in the instance of the Bedford Company, the names of those who were in the ranks, as Privates, are no longer known. A considerable number of the latter classes, with no other claim to distinction than their physical ability to work or to fight and their good intentions, was probably taken from the yeomaury of Westchester-county; and, notwithstanding they were mostly detained at Ticonderoga, without having been permitted to join General Montgomery, before Quebec, as he particularly desired and requested they should do, there is no reason for supposing that they failed, in the slightest degree, to discharge every duty which was laid on them, satisfactorily to their commanding Officers. Some of them are said to have served in Canada;[7] but it is understood that the Regiment was discharged, at the close of the term for which it had been enlisted; and that the greater number returned, with honor, to their respective homes.

It will be remembered that the Continental Congress, among the Resolutions relating to the Colony of New York, which it adopted on the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth of May,[8] included a requisition "that the Militia of New-York be armed and trained "and in constant readiness to act at a moment's "warning," etc.; and that those Resolutions were duly transmitted to the Provincial Congress of that Colony.[9] After a prolonged consideration of the subject, by two Committees and by the body of the Provincial Congress,[10] on the ninth of August, a Report was made and adopted, providing for the complete re-organization of the Militia of the Colony, and for a complete change in the *personnel* of those who commanded it.[11] On the twenty-second of the same

[1] Captain Daniel Mills continued in the service, after the Regiment was disbanded, at the close of the year, serving as a Captain in Colonel Van Schaick's Regiment of the New York Line, in the Continental Army.

[2] Elijah Hunter was originally named for Second Lieutenant, with Samuel Haight, subsequently Sheriff of the County, as First Lieutenant. He was a member of the County Committee, representing Bedford, 1776–7; subsequently became a Captain in Van Cortlandt's Regiment; and left the service at the close of 1776.

[3] John Bayley evidently left the Regiment before it went into active service, since, in August, 1775, Miles Oakley, a member of the first County Committee, was appointed in his place, leaving the service at the end of the year.

The following paper, with the names of the men enlisted into this Company, is taken from the original manuscript, among the *Historical Manuscripts relating to the War of the Revolution: Military Returns*, xxvii., 266; and will be interesting to those who have descended from the older families of Bedford:

"Beadford, July 29th, 1775.

"*A Return of the Men inlisted by Daniel Mills, Capt. and Elijah Hunter first Lent.*

"Abijah Dan,	Abijah Weed,
"Jonathan Weeks,	John thomas,
"willis major wilks,	Lewis Miller,
"John feris,	James trowbridg,
"James Raymond, Junr	Joseph Clarke, Junr
"John Bud,	John ellit, Junr
"Amos Roberts,	James Cannady,
"Henry Rich,	John Gosseper,
"Abram Nickels,	James Miller,
"Nathanel Smith,	Nathan Holmes,
"Mosis Higgins,	John Runnelds,
"ebenesor weeb,	William Miller,
"Charles parsons,	Daniel Holmes,
"Ambres Benedick,	Jeremiah Lane,
"James Bennet,	Giddeon Smith.
"Daniel McClean,	Zephaniah Milller,
"Lemuel Light,	Isaac titus,
"James Mills,	John Daniels,
"Thomas Golding,	John Still,
"Joseph Sears,	George Garret,
"Lowran Brinney,	Holmes astin,
"newman wayrin,	newman betts,
"Timothy Conner,	John Dayly,
"Henry Noole,	Shubel Cunninggame,
"John Cunninggame,	Patrick Cuhana.

"Total 50.

"To Peter V. B. Livingston, Esqr

"*President, of ye New York Provincial Congress.*"

[4] There is some reason for supposing that Ambrose Horton was imported from Southold, in Suffolk-county, to take the command of a Company in this Regiment; but, wherever he may have originated, he enlisted "fifty-six able bodyed men" for the Company; and reported them to the Provincial Congress, from the White Plains, on the twenty-sixth of July, 1775, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, xxvi., 57.) Unfortunately, he did not return the names of those enlisted men.

[5] The First Lieutenancy of this Company was originally given to Samuel Clannon, who appears to have given way for David Palmer, apparently from Duchess-county; and, in August, 1775, the latter was again raised, by being appointed to the command of a Company, in this Regiment. While he held the Lieutenancy, he enlisted twenty-three men for this Company, in Richmond-county, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, xxvi., 53.)

[6] The Second Lieutenancy of this Company was originally given to Nehemiah Marshall; but, in July, 1775, that gentleman withdrew and Mr. Pell was appointed to the vacancy. The latter was evidently promoted to the First Lieutenancy, when, in August of that year, Lieutenant Palmer was promoted to the command of a Company; and, on the same day, Isaac Van Wuert was appointed to the vacant Second Lieutenancy.

[7] Captain David Palmer, Lieutenant Samuel T. Pell, and Lieutenant Isaac Van Waert are particularly noticed as having served in Canada, in 1775, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Committee's Papers*, xxv., 764; *the same*; *Military Returns*, xxvii., 166;) and it may reasonably be supposed that the Company of which they were Officers, accompanied them.

[8] *Journal of the Continental Congress*, "Thursday, May 25, and Friday, "May 26, 1775," pages 274, 275, ante.

[9] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Lunæ, 4 ho., P.M., May 29th, "1775."

[10] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Veneris, 9 ho., A.M., July 7, "1775;" *the same*, "Die Jovis, 9 ho., A.M., July 27, 1775;" *the same*, "Die Lunæ, 9 ho., A.M., August 7, 1775;" and *the same*, "Die Mercurii, "9 ho., A.M., August 9, 1775."

[11] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., "August 9, 1775."

month, with a very important change, which permitted those who were not residents of the Districts or Beats to take and to hold offices therein, that Report was included in an elaborate "*Militia Bill*," which provided that every portion of the Colony should be divided into "Districts or Beats," in such manner that each of those Districts should include, as nearly as possible, eighty-three men and boys, between sixteen and sixty years of age, and capable of bearing arms. These Companies were to be commanded by Officers to be elected by the respective Companies, and commissioned by the Provincial Congress. One fourth of the entire force was to be organized as Minute-men; the Companies were to be organized into Regiments; the Regiments were to be organized into Brigades; and all were to be commanded by a Major-general, to be appointed and commissioned by the Provincial Congress. Provisions were also made requiring "every man, between the ages of sixteen "and fifty," to provide himself with a musket and bayonet, a sword or tomahawk, a cartridge-box to contain twenty-three rounds of cartridges, a knapsack, one pound of gunpowder, and three pounds of balls; and various other provisions, for the government of the Militia, were also enacted.[1]

There does not appear to have been much discontent, in any part of the Colony, because of the passage of that Ordinance or Act for the re-organization of the Militia; but it afforded opportunities, in various places, for displays of that contempt for the unfranchised and lowly masses, which those of higher social and political rank, even those who were ostentatiously assuming to be the especial guardians and defenders of the Rights of the Colonists, were not slow in presenting to the world. A notable instance of this contempt was seen at Yonkers, where Frederick Van Cortlandt, an unprovided-for member of that extended family, aspired to the command of the Company in that Beat, probably as a stepping-stone to something better. The enrolled members of the Company, in whom the right of election rested, preferred one of their own number, John Cock, for their Captain; and when the Poll was closed, it was found that the aristocratic aspirant had received only eleven votes, while his plebeian opponent had received forty-eight, and one had been given to William Betts.[2] The defeated aspirant subsequently complained that, although his successful opponent had signed the *Association*, he had done so without having heartily approved it, supporting his charge with an affidavit of William Hadley,[3] who had aspired to the First Lieutenancy of the Company, and had received only twelve of the sixty votes which were cast for that office;[4] and, of course, the Committee of Safety of the County transmitted the affidavit to the Provincial Congress, promising to supplement what was then sent with evidence that Cock had "spoken very dis-"respectfully of the Congress;" and inviting that body to withhold the Commission to which Cock was entitled under the provisions of the Congress's own enactment.[5] Six days afterwards, fifty-nine of the Inhabitants of Yonkers presented a Petition to the Committee of Safety, justifying their action in electing Cock as their Captain, and asking that he might be commissioned, as such;[6] but Isaac Green, one of

[1] That "Militia Bill," *in extenso*, was published as a Note to the *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Martis, 9 ho., A.M., August 22, "1775."

[2] *Votes of the Militia Embodyed in ye Precinct of the Yonkers and of officers names this 24 August*, 1775.—*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, xxvi., 23; xxvii., 263.

[3] "Westchester County, ss.

"William Hadley, of the said County, yeoman, personally appeared "before the Committee of Safety for the County aforesaid, and being "duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists of the Almighty God, saith that "he the Deponent being appointed one of the Sub-Committee for the "superintending the signing of the *General Association* of this Province, "carried the same to one, John Cock, of the Yonkers, in said County, "and asked the said John Cock to sign the same; he, the said John "Cock taking the pen in his hand uttered the following words: 'I sign "'this with my hand, but not with my heart, for I would not have "'signed it had it not been for my wife and family's sake;' and this he "several times repeated in the hearing of him the Deponent. And "further the Deponent saith not.

"William Hadley.

"Sworn the 11th Sept., 1775,
"before me,
"Gilbt Drake."

[4] *Votes of the Militia Embodyed*, etc.—*Historical Manuscripts*, etc., *Military Returns*, xxvi., 23; xxvii., 263.

[5] *Letter from Gilbert Drake, Chairman, to John Haring, Chairman of the Committee of Safety, at New York*, "White-Plains, Sept. 11th, 1775."

[6] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Lunæ, 9 ho., A.M., Septem-"ber 18, 1775."

The Petition thus presented has been preserved; and the following has been copied from it—*Historical Manuscripts*, etc., *Petitions*, xxxi., 101.

"To the Honble The Provincial Congress of the Province of New "York in the City of New York Convend—Or in their Recess,
"To the Honble The Committee of Safety.

"The Honorable Petition of the Inhabitants of the Precinct of the "lower Yonkers in the County of Westchester Humbly Sheweth:

"That your Honourable House have made a Resolve and Published "the same Recommending to the Inhabitants of every Town Mannor "Precinct & District within the Province aforesaid, to meet nominate "and appoint Captains and Other Officers To form Themselves as Com-"panys of Militia.

"And whereas the Inhabitants of this Precinct Did meet agreeable to "your said Resolve On the Twenty-fourth Day of August Last, under "the Inspection of the Commitee for that District Did by a very great "Majority as by the List will appear, Did Nominate and appoint Mr. "John Cock of the said Precinct for his known Skill and ability in the "Military Discipline and for other good Cause, appointed him Captain "of the said Company for the District aforesaid.

"And whereas we are informed that a Complaint hath been made to "the Commitee by a few of the Inhabitants against the said Mr. John "Cock out of Spite and Malice and as we conceive what has been alegd "against him was before the Signing the Association, we are well "assured that Since his Signing the said Association no person Can ac-"cuse him of breaking the same by any ways or means whatever.

"Therefore we the Petitioners and Subscribers Do Humbly beg the "Indulgence of This Honourable House To Grant unto Mr. John Cock "the Commission of Captain for the Company aforesaid as we are Con-"vinced he was chossen agreeable to your said Resolve and your Peti-"tioners as in Duty Bound shall ever pray.

those who had voted for Cock, at the Election, was induced to join with George Hadley, the latter in a second Affidavit, showing that Cock "had damned the "Provincial Congress of this Colony, and spoke dis- "respectfully of them;" and these were laid before the Colonial Committee of Safety, in opposition to the Petition of the fifty-nine and to the claim of the Captain-elect. The result was probably foreseen by the Petitioners and their successful candidate—why should the carefully expressed will of fifty-nine respectable men, declared in conformity with the published terms of the Congress itself, be permitted to stand in the way of a Van Cortlandt, the latter with nothing else than two *ex-parte* Affidavits to sustain the evidently ridiculous charge of wrong-doing in the successful candidate? and why, also, should those other successful candidates who had, also, been elected by the same great majority and at the same time, without even the semblance of an accusation against either of them, be permitted to receive their Commissions? It was true, that the latter had not been known to have spoken disrespectfully of either the *Association* or of the Congress: it was true, that they had received nearly five-sixths of the votes which were cast: it was true, that the Election had been held under the inspection of the proper Committee: it was true, that every requirement of the Congress's own enactments had been duly observed: it was also true, however, that they were obnoxious to "a few "of the Inhabitants," and, therefore, without an accusation, without a hearing, without a shadow of authority, even in the elastic law of the Congress, the expressed will of the Company was disregarded and the pretended principles of the Revolution were thrown aside, by the refusal of the Committee of Safety to recognize either of the successful candidates, and by the issue of an order for a new Election,[1] which, if it was held, was not held until the following March.

With "the letter of the *Militia Regulations*," as has been said, there did not appear to be any extended discontentment; but with the arbitrary conduct of some of those who were to oversee the execution of it —the instance, at Yonkers, being only one of several —there was, very reasonably, much dissatisfaction among those, being men from whom duties were exacted, who were, nevertheless, regarded and treated as if they were not men, and as if they possessed no social or political privilege which those who were better born were legally obliged to recognize and respect.

In a community, such as that which constituted Colonial Westchester-county, which was already known and distinguished because of its consistent conservatism and, therefore, because of its backwardness in promoting the cause of the Rebellion, such a tyrannical exercise of political authority as had been seen in connection with the Election of Militia Officers, at Yonkers, by those who were, themselves, exercising only an authority which had been usurped and which was held and exercised without due warrant in law, was everything else than conciliatory, and was far better adapted to arouse and to inflame

"Charles Tylor, John Devoe,
"Martin Post, Jacob Post,
"James Munro, Henry Brown,
"Anthy Allaire, Henrey Taylor,
"Edward Ryer, Anthoney Archer,
"Benjamin Farrington, Basal Archer,
"William Rose, Thomas Oakley,
"Henry presher, Jonathan Fowler,
"Thomas Farington, his
"Isaac Postt, Abm X Post,
"James Rich, mark
"Gilbert Brown, his
his Dennis X Post,
"Thomas X Tippit, mark
mark, his
"Samuel Laurence, William X Post,
"thomas Merrell, mark
"Samuel Williams, Robert Brown,
"Fredrick Brown, Danel Deen,
"Israel Underhill, Stephen Bastine,
"David Oakley, Junr, Benjm Arsdan,
"Joseph Oakley, Junr, Henry Norris,
"George Crawford, John Guevnau,
"Moses Oakley, Thomas Rich,
"Abraham Rich, Elijh taylor,
"Mathious Archer, Jacob Taylor,
his James Crawford,
"Ezk X Brown, Elnathan Taylor,
mark, Isrel Post,
his his
"Abraham X Asten, Lewis X post,
mark mark
"Robert Farrington, John Warner,
his Francis Smith,
"John X Odle, Jordan Norris,
mark frederick Vermilyea,
his John Cortright,
"Abm X Odle, Edward Cortright.
mark
"Lower Yonkers, Septr 15, 1775."

[1] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Martis, 9 ho., A.M., Septem- "ber 19th, 1775."

The following letter, addressed by the Colonial Committee of Safety to Frederic Van Cortlandt and others, informing them of the remarkable result of this Election, in Yonkers, will interest those who desire to learn the inside history of the Revolution, in Westchester-county:

"In Committee of Safety,
"New-York, Sept. 19th, 1775.

"Gentlemen:

"Having considered your report, and also the report of "your County Committee, concerning the Election of John Cox, as "a Captain of the Company of Militia at Yonkers. We have determined "him to be disqualified for a Commission, not only because at the time "of his signing the *Association* he declared it to be an involuntary act, but "also because he has spoke most contemptuously of the Provincial Con- "gress. And in order that the other Officers in the Company may have "a chance of promotion, which cannot be done according to the letter of "the *Militia Regulations*, you are hereby desired to cause a new Election "to be made of all the Officers of the Company, pursuant to the said "*Regulations*, taking care to give public notice that the said John Cocks "cannot be admitted to any office whatsoever.

"We are respectfully, Gentlemen,
"Your very humble Servants,
"By order of the Committee of Safety,
"John Haring, *Chairman*.

"To Frederic V. Cortlandt, Benjamin "Drake, Stephen Sneden, Thomas Em- "moss, William Betts and William "Hadley, at Yonkers, Westchester."

the passions of those who were loyal to the universally recognized Sovereign and obedient to the public Laws of the land, than to soothe them. But the farmers of the County were generally peaceable men, preferring to endure a wrong instead of resenting and resisting it by force; and they appear to have generally proceeded, therefore, to the election of Officers, in the reorganized Militia of the County, with much unanimity and general good feeling. The first to respond to the call of the Provincial Congress, by the election of its Militia Officers, was the Borough Town of Westchester, where, on the twenty-fourth of August, John Oakley was elected to the command of the local Company,[1] with Nicholas Berrian, for its First Lieutenant;[2] Isaac Leggett, for its Second Lieutenant; and Frederic Philipse Stevenson, for its Ensign.[3] Subsequently, when West Farms and the Manor of Fordham were separated from the body of the Town and made a separate and distinct Beat, Nicholas Berrian was elected to the command of the new Company, with Gilbert Taylor, for its First Lieutenant; Daniel Devoe, for its Second Lieutenant; and Benjamin Valentine, for its Ensign.[4]

In the Manor of Cortlandt, there were eight Districts or Beats, which appear to have been the same, in their several territorial limits, as those under the former arrangement; and these elected the following Officers for the respective Companies:

The District formerly commanded by Francis Lent elected James Kronkhyte, for its Captain; Abraham Lamb, for its First Lieutenant; Staats De Grote, for its Second Lieutenant; and David Penore, for its Ensign.

The District formerly commanded by Barton Underhill elected Gilbert Van Cortlandt, for its Captain; Daniel Hains, for its First Lieutenant;[5] James Taller, for its Second Lieutenant; and Haramanos Gardinear minor, or "Third," for its Ensign.

The District formerly commanded by Jeremiah Drake elected Gilbert Lockwood, for its Captain; John Drake, for its First Lieutenant;[6] Joshua Drake, for its Second Lieutenant;[7] and Peter Carman, for its Ensign.[8]

The District formerly commanded by David Montros declined to make a new Election; and its Officers under the former arrangement appear to have been retained and to have received new Commissions.

The District formerly commanded by Ebenezer Theall elected Andrew Brown, for its Captain; Samuel Haight, for its First Lieutenant;[9] John Chrissey Miller, for its Second Lieutenant; and Solomon Purdy, for its Ensign.

The northern division of the District formerly commanded by Levi Baily elected Nathaniel Delevan, for its Captain;[10] Thomas Nicholls, Junior, for its First

[1] John Oakley represented Westchester, in the County Committee, from May, 1776, until May, 1777.

[2] Nicholas Berrian was one of those, at Fordham and West Farms, who, in September, 1775, petitioned for the establishment of a Company, in that portion of the Town, separate from the other portions of it, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Petitions*, xxxi. 114); and, in October of the same year, when that Petition was granted, he was elected to the command of the new Company, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc. *Military Returns*, xxvi., 234.)

[3] *Historical Manuscripts relating to the War of the Revolution: Military Returns*, xxvi., 23; xxvii., 263.

[4] *Historical Manuscripts relating to the War of the Revolution: Military Returns*, xxvi., 234.

The following list of the names of those, from West Farms and the Manor of Fordham, who were summoned to meet at Westchester; who petitioned for the organization of the new Company; and who were its members, when it was organized, may properly find a place in this narrative. It was copied from the original manuscript, (*Historical Manuscripts, Petitions*, xxxi., 114.)

Nicholas Berrian,
Isaac Valintine,
Peter Valintine,
John Stevens,
Benjamin Curser [*Corsa?*]
Abraham Dyckman,
John Turner,
Benjamin Valentine,
his
Georg X Philpet,
mark
Isaac Valintine, Junior,
Peter Bussing, Juner,
Peter Bussing,
Abraham Wils,
Benjamin Curser, Jr.,
Hendrick Ryer,
John Lint, [*Lent?*]
John Ryer,
Isaac Corser, [*Corsa?*]
Isaac Corser, Jur,
tunus Leforge,
Phillip Hunt,
Stephen Embree,
Nathaniel Lawrenc,
Peter Devoe,
James McKay,
Robert Campbell,
Eden Hunt,
Isaac Hunt,
James Archer,
Samuel Embree, Junr,
Edward Harris,
John Collard,
Cornelius Jacobs,
hezekiah Ward,
Tunis Garrison,
Isack Cant,
Gilbert Taylor,
Robert Gilmer,
Benjamin Archer, Junr,
Daniel Devoe, Jur,
John Embree, Senr,
Jacob Lent,
his
Abram X Lent,
mark
Dennis Ryer,
Jacob Valentine,
Abraham garison,
James Grobe,
John Embree, Junr,
James Swaim,
Nazareth Breuer,
Thomas Hunt,
Abram Leggett,
William Leggett,
John Leggett, Junr,
Robert Hunt, Junr,
Cornelius Leggett,
Mr. Woods,
John Hedger,
Thomas Hedger,
Stephen Edwards,
James Rock,
George Higby,
Jacob Hunt,
Levi Hunt,
Jeremiah Regen,
Thomas Cromwell,
Gerrardus Cromwell,
Obadiah Hide,
John Cursor,
Sirion Williams,
John Ryer, Junr,
Jacob Chappel,
John Garrison,
John Jacobs,
Thomas Dogherty,
John Clark,
John Devoe,
John Blizard,
John Walbrin,
John Warnick,
Thomas Gemble.

[5] David Hains did not sign the *Association* until the day of the Election.

[6] John Drake did not sign the *Association* until the day of the Election.

[7] Joshua Drake did not sign the *Association* until the day of the Election. He was subsequently made an Ensign in the Continental Service; but soon became tired and resigned, and brought influences to bear in order to secure a Lieutenancy in the same service, in which latter operation, however, he does not seem to have been successful.

[8] Peter Carman, also, did not sign the *Association* until the day of the Election.

[9] Samuel Haight represented Westchester-county, in the Assembly of the State, 1782–'3, 1784, 1789–'90, 1791, 1792; he was Sheriff of the County, 1792–'6; and he was one of the Senators from the Southern District, 1797–1800. In 1800, he represented the Southern District in the Council of Appointment.

[10] Nathaniel Delevan represented Westchester-county in the Assembly of the State, 1781–'2.

Lieutenant; Titus Runnels, for its Second Lieutenant; and Abraham Purdy, for its Ensign.[1] The southern division of the same former District elected Gideon Selah [*Seeley?*] for its Captain, Samuel Lawrence for its First Lieutenant; Caleb Hobby, for its Second Lieutenant;[2] and Abraham Todd, for its Ensign.

The District formerly commanded by Joseph Strang[3] elected John Hyatt, for its Captain;[4] John Drake, for its First Lieutenant;[5] Obediah Purdy, for its Second Lieutenant; and Joseph Horton, for its Ensign.[6]

The eight Companies, in the Manor of Cortlandt, which were thus reorganized and re-officered, were known as the North Battalion of Westchester-county, of which, soon afterwards, Pierre Van Cortlandt was made Colonel,[7] Gilbert Drake its Lieutenant-colonel,[8] Joseph Strang its First Major,[9] Ebenezer Purdy its Second Major,[10] John Cooley its Adjutant, and Isaac Norton its Quartermaster.[11]

The District of Eastchester elected Stephen Sneden, for its Captain;[12] Thomas Pinkney, for its First Lieutenant;[13] Daniel Sebring, for its Second Lieutenant;[14] and William Pinkney, for its Ensign.[15] For some reason which is not now known, a new Election was held in the following March, when Thomas Pinkney was made its Captain, William Pinkney its First Lieutenant, John Sneden its Second Lieutenant, and William Reed its Ensign.[16]

New Rochelle and the Manor of Pelham, united, formed a District or Beat; and it elected Joseph Drake, for its Captain;[17] James Willis, for its First Lieutenant;[18] and David Guion, for its Second Lieutenant. It did not elect an Ensign.

The Manor of Philipsborough included six distinct Districts or Beats—the Upper, the East, the Lower, the Yonkers, the Tarrytown, and the Associated Company, in the upper part of the Manor—and these elected the following Officers in their several Districts:

The Upper District elected Abraham Ledew, for its Captain;[19] Benjamin Brown, for its First Lieutenant; John Relyea, for its Second Lieutenant; and John Oakley, for its Ensign. John Relyea having declined the proffered Second Lieutenancy, Jonas Arsor [*Orsor?*] was subsequently elected to fill the vacancy.[20]

The East Company elected David Davids, for its Captain: Benjamin Vermilyea, for its First Lieutenant; Gilbert Dean, for its Second Lieutenant; and Gabriel Reguaw, [*Requa?*] for its Ensign.[21] Captain-elect Davids appears to have declined the proffered office; and, at a subsequent Election, the Company elected Benjamin Vermilyea, for its Captain; Gilbert Dean, for its First Lieutenant; and William Fushie, [*Forshee?*] to its Second Lieutenancy; Ensign Requa evidently retaining the Office to which he had been originally appointed.[22]

The Lower Company elected Isaac Vermilyea, for its

[1] Abraham Purdy was a member of the County Committee, representing the Manor of Cortlandt, in 1776–7, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxviii., 309.)

[2] In April, 1776, Caleb Hobby, who was said to have been a "Gentleman," received a Commission from the Continental Congress, as First Lieutenant in "the First Regiment of New York Forces," (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, xxvii., 104); and he appears to have joined the Seventh, or Captain Hait's, Company, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Commissions*, xxv., 165, 676.) Soon afterwards, it was said that he and the Second Lieutenant and the Ensign of the Company [*Hait's or Hyatt's*] "wish to decline the service; they will be no loss to "it." (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Committee's Papers*, xxv., 488.)

[3] Joseph Strang was subsequently made First Major of the Regiment, the Third of the Westchester-county Militia, of which the eight Companies in the Manor of Cortlandt appear to have been members, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, xxvi., 13.) He represented the County in the Assembly of this State, in 1780–1, 1788, 1789.

[4] John Hyatt was subsequently a Captain, in General John Morin Scott's Brigade.—(*Letter of Captain John Osburn to the Convention of the State of New York*, "Fishkills, 13th Janr, 1777.")

[5] John Drake was a son of Gilbert Drake, Chairman of the County Committee.

[6] Joseph Horton did not sign the *Association* until the day of the Election.

[7] Pierre Van Cortlandt was subsequently a member of the Second Provincial Congress, 1775–6, and Chairman of its Committee of Safety, January and February, 1776; a member of the Third Provincial Congress, 1776; of the Fourth Provincial Congress, 1776; of the Convention of the State of New York, 1776–7; of the First Council of Safety, 1777, of which he was the President; a Senator from the Southern District, 1777; President of the Convention of the State, 1777; Lieutenant-Governor of the State, 1777–1795; and died on the first of May, 1819, aged ninety-four years.

[8] Gilbert Drake was Chairman of the County Committee, in 1775–6; a member of the Second Provincial Congress, 1775–6; of the Third Provincial Congress, 1776; and of the Fourth Provincial Congress, 1776–7.

[9] Joseph Strang had held the command, under the Colonial Government, of the District commanded, under the reorganization, by Captain John Hyatt.

[10] Ebenezer Purdy was a member of the County Committee, from the Manor of Cortlandt, 1776–'7; he represented Westchester County in the Assembly of the State, 1779–'80, 1782–'3, 1784, 1784–'5, 1787, 1791, 1792, 1795; he was one of the Senators from the Southern District, 1801–'6; and County Judge in 1797–'8.

[11] Isaac Norton was a member of the County Committee, from the Manor of Cortlandt, 1776–'7.

[12] Stephen Sneden represented the Town of Eastchester, in the County Committee, 1776–'7.

[13] Thomas Pinkney was promoted to the command of the Company, in March, 1776.

[14] Daniel Sebring represented the Town of Eastchester, in the County Committee, 1776–'7.

[15] William Pinkney was promoted to the First Lieutenancy in March, 1776.

[16] *Historical Manuscripts relating to the War of the Revolution: Military Returns*, xxvii., 144.

[17] Joseph Drake was a member of the First and Second Provincial Congresses, by the former of whom he was made Colonel of the First Westchester-county Regiment, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns* xxvi., 13.)

[18] A very interesting Affidavit, made by Lieutenant Willis, on the sixth of August, 1776, illustrative of the unpopularity of Colonel John Thomas, Junior, may be seen in the *Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxix., 347.

[19] Abraham Ledew represented the Manor of Philipsborough in the County Committee, in 1776–'7. This name was written, elsewhere, La Doux.

[20] *Historical Manuscripts relating to the War of the Revolution: Military Returns*, xxvi., 140.

[21] Gabriel Requa lived about two miles back from Tarrytown; in 1777, he was a Lieutenant; and he was known, favorably, at that time, because of his capture of a Recruiting Officer from the City of New York. (*Proceedings of a General Court Martial*, "Peekskill, April 18, 1777.")

[22] *Historical Manuscripts relating to the War of the Revolution: Military Returns*, xxvi, 140.

Captain; Israel Honeywell, for its First Lieutenant;[1] Dennis Lent, for its Second Lieutenant; and Hendrick Odell, for its Ensign.

The Beat or District of Yonkers made its election of Officers, agreeably to the provisions of the Congress's enactments; but the result was not satisfactory to Frederic Van Cortlandt and others, who had been rejected by the Company; and, through their influence in the Provincial Committee of Safety and Provincial Congress, the Commissions were withheld from the Officers-elect, and a new Election was ordered.[2] For some reason which has not been stated, although it can be very easily seen, that new Election was not held until the eighteenth of March, 1776, when John Warner, who had been elected Second Lieutenant in the former Election, was made the Captain; Jacob Post, who had been elected Ensign in the former Election, was made the First Lieutenant; Samuel Lawrence, the Second Lieutenant; and Israel Post, the Ensign of the Company.[3]

The Tarrytown Company originally elected Abraham Storm, for its Captain;[4] George Combs, for its First Lieutenant;[5] Joseph Appleby, for its Second Lieutenant; and Nathaniel Underhill, for its Ensign; but all of these, except Lieutenant Combs, having declined the honors and responsibilities of offices, a new Election was held, and Gload Requa[6] was chosen in the place of Captain-elect Storm; Cornelius Van Tassel was chosen Second Lieutenant, in the place of Lieutenant-elect Appleby; and Sibourt Acker was chosen Ensign, in the place of Ensign-elect Underhill.

The Associated Company in the upper part of Philipsborough elected William Dutcher, for its Captain;[7] Daniel Martlinghs, for its First Lieutenant;[8] Gershom Sherwood, for its Second Lieutenant;[9] and George Monson, for its Third Lieutenant.[10]

The six Companies on the Manor of Philipsborough, and those at Westchester, previously referred to, at Eastchester, and at New Rochelle and the Manor of Pelham, all of them reorganized and re-officered as thus described, were known as the South Battalion of Westchester-county, of which, soon afterwards, Joseph Drake was made Colonel,[11] James Hammond its Lieutenant-colonel,[12] Moses Drake its First Major,[13] Jonathan G. Graham its Second Major,[14] Abraham Emmons its Adjutant,[15] and Theophilus Barton, Junior, its Quarter-master.[16]

The District of Mamaroneck and Rye, except the upper end of King-street, elected Robert Bloomer for its Captain;[17] Alexander Hunt, for its First Lieutenant; Ezekial Halsted, for its Second Lieutenant; and Daniel Horton, for its Ensign.

The District in which were included Harrison's Precinct and the upper end of King-street, elected Henry Dusinberry, for its Captain; Lyon Miller, for its First Lieutenant;[18] Caleb Paulding Horton, for its Second Lieutenant; and Gilbert Dunsinberry, for its Ensign.[19] For some reason which is now unknown, a second Election for Officers of this Company was made on the tenth of January, 1776,[20] when John Thomas Minor was chosen for its Captain,[21] Gilbert Dusenberry, for

[1] Israel Honeywell was one of the Commissioners of Sequestration for Westchester County, 1777. He represented the Town of Westchester in the County Committee, 1776–'7; and he was also a Member of the Constitutional Convention of 1801, representing Westchester-county.

Israel Honeywell, Junior, was said to have been a member of the County Committee, representing the Manor of Philipsborough, 1776–'7; and, in 1777–'8 and 1778–'9, he was said to have represented Westchester-county in the Assembly of the State. It is not impossible that, in some instances, these references have become mixed.

[2] See pages 278, 279 ante.

[3] *Historical Manuscripts relating to the War of the Revolution: Military Returns*, xxvii., 142.

[4] Abraham Storm represented the Manor of Philipsborough in the County Committee, 1776–'7.

[5] George Combs was a member of the first County Committee, appointed in 1775; and in 1800, he represented Westchester-county, in the Assembly of the State.

[6] Gload Requa represented the Manor of Philipsborough in the County Committee, 1776–'7.

[7] William Dutcher was subsequently in command of a Company in the Secret Service of the Convention of the State, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxv., 457.)

The village of Irvington, on the Hudson-river, was built on his farm; and his large house was standing in the middle of that village, within a few years, and, probably, stands there, now.

[8] Daniel Martling was subsequently a Lieutenant in Colonel Thomas's Regiment, by whom he was "recommended for the Standing Army," in 1777, although he was said to have been "illiteral," (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Committee's Papers*, xxv., 849.)

[9] Gershom Sherwood represented the Manor of Philipsborough in the County Committee, 1776–'7.

[10] George Morrison was the name of this officer, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxv., 63.)

[11] Joseph Drake was elected to the command of the Company of New Rochelle and Pelham Manor, (*page* 281, *ante*;) but, as he was, also, a member of the Provincial Congress, he found means, within that body, to secure his appointment to the command of the Regiment, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, xxvi., 13.)

[12] James Hammond represented the Manor of Philipsborough in the County Committee, 1776–'7. A very interesting paper concerning his conduct on the day when the enemy's ships came to anchor off Tarrytown, in July, 1776, and concerning his doings "as a buyer of Pork for "this State," may be seen in *Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxiv., 549.

[13] Probably an importation from Suffolk.

[14] We have found no other mention of this person.

[15] Abraham Emmons, of Yonkers, was one of those, in the Yonkers Company, who had voted for Frederic Van Cortlandt for its Captain, and who had united with that gentleman, who was the defeated candidate, in disregarding the Election and securing the degradation of John Cock, from the office to which he had been elected,—(*See pages* 278, 279, *ante.*)

[16] Thus printed in the records of the State; but it was probably intended for Theophilus Bartow, Junior, of New Rochelle.

[17] Robert Bloomer was a member of the first County Committee, appointed in May, 1775.

[18] Lyon Miller was reported as a Loyalist, soon after his election to the Lieutenancy of this Company, (*List of Westchester County Tories, Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxiv., 193;) and, very probably, that was one of the reasons for the holding of a new Election, by the Company.

[19] Gilbert Dusenberry was promoted to the First Lieutenancy of the Company, at the second Election for officers, in January, 1776.

[20] *Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, xxvii., 236.

[21] John Thomas, evidently a very young man, but one of the office-holding Thomas family. He was probably the second son of John Thomas, Junior, who was, at that time, a member of the Provincial Congress and, generally, a leader of the revolutionary party, and a continual office-holder.

This Captain John Thomas died January 6, 1835.—(Bolton's *History of Westchester-county*, original edition, i., 254; *the same*, second edition, ii., 761.)

its First Lieutenant; William Woodward, for its Second Lieutenant; and James Miller, Junior, for its Ensign.

The District which included the eastern portion of Northcastle elected Benoni Platt, for its Captain;[1] David Holby, for its First Lieutenant; Abraham Knapp, for its Second Lieutenant; and Jonathan Guion, for its Ensign.

The District which included the southern portion of Northcastle elected Benjamin Ogden, for its Captain; Jeremiah Hunter, for its First Lieutenant; Caleb Merritt, for its Second Lieutenant; and James Brundige, for its Ensign.

The District which included the northern portion of Northcastle was so entirely opposed to the Rebellion that "there were not persons sufficient in num-"bers who had signed the *Association* to make Offi-"cers of, so that nothing was done," in the form of an Election, during the Summer and Autumn of 1775; but an attempt was made to organize the Company, in the following January, when Joseph Green was found, to accept the command of the Company, and Henry Peers, to accept the First Lieutenancy; the Second Lieutenancy and the place of Ensign remaining vacant.[2]

The District which included Scarsdale, the White Plains, and Brown's Point elected Joshua Hatfield, for its Captain; James Verrian, for its First Lieutenant;[3] Anthony Miller, for its Second Lieutenant;[4] and John Falconer, for its Ensign; but, for some reason which is not now known, a new Election was made, which resulted in the election of Anthony Miller, for Captain; Nicholas Fisher, for First Lieutenant;[5] and John Crumton, for Second Lieutenant; Ensign Falconer appearing to have retained the Office to which he had been elected.[6]

The District which included the eastern portion of Bedford elected Lewis McDonald, for its Captain; James Miller, for its First Lieutenant;[7] Henry Lord, for its Second Lieutenant; and Jesse Miller, for its Ensign.

The District which included the western portion of Bedford elected Eli Seeley, for its Captain; Hezekiah Grey, for its First Lieutenant;[8] Ephraim Raymond, for its Second Lieutenant; and Gabriel Higgins, for its Ensign.

The District of Poundridge elected Joseph Lockwood, for its Captain; Noah Bouton, for its First Lieutenant; William Fausher, for its Second Lieutenant; and Gilbert Reynolds, for its Ensign.[9]

The District which included the southern portion of Salem elected Abijah Gilbert, for its Captain;[10] Jacob Hait, for its First Lieutenant; Sands Raymond, for its Second Lieutenant; and Joseph Coley, for its Ensign.

The District which included the northern portion of Salem elected Thaddeus Crane, for its Captain;[11] Jesse Truesdale, for its First Lieutenant; Ezekiel Halley, for its Second Lieutenant;[12] and Ebenezer Brown, for its Ensign. For some reason, the Captain-elect and the Ensign-elect "did not take their Com-"missions;" and on the eighteenth of December, 1775, a new Election resulted in the choice of Jesse Truesdale for Captain; Ezekiel Hawley, for First Lieutenant; Solomon Close, for Second Lieutenant; and Elijah Dean, for Ensign.[13]

The Companies at Scarsdale White Plains and Brown's Point, Bedford, Poundridge, Salem, Mamaroneck and Rye, Harrison's Precinct, and Northcastle, eleven in number, which were thus reorganized and re-officered, were known as the Middle Battalion of Westchester-county of which, soon afterwards, Thomas Thomas was made Colonel;[14] Gilbert

[1] Benoni Platt was a member of the first County Committee, appointed in May, 1775. The Hon. Lewis C. Platt, formerly Surrogate of the County, is his grandson.

[2] *Historical Manuscripts relating to the War of the Revolution: Military Returns*, xxvii., 234.

[3] James Varian was a member of the first County Committee, chosen in May, 1775.

[4] Anthony Miller was elected to the command of the Company, at the second Election, in December, 1775.

[5] Nicholas Fisher was a member of the County Committee, in February, 1776. (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, xxvii., 84.)

[6] *Letter from Robert Graham to the Provincial Congress,*" White Plains, "Decem^r 21^st, 1775." (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, xxvii., 246.)

[7] James Miller appears to have held offices, subsequently, in the New York Regiments, commanded by Colonels Ritzema, Gansevoort, and Van Cortlandt; but, inasmuch as there were several persons bearing that name—two, at the same time, in the same Regiment, bearing exactly opposite characters—it is not, now, known which, if either, was the particular James Miller who is named in the text.

[8] Hezekiah Gray was chosen Captain of the Bedford Company of Minute-men, in February, 1776, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, xxvii., 196;) a Report on the military status of which Company, may be seen in *Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxix., 323. He and his Company, although not regularly enlisted, were ordered to join the Continental Troops, at Peekskill (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxix., 325.)

[9] In April, 1777, Gilbert Reynolds was a member and "Clarck" of the local Committee of Cortlandt Manor, (*Proceedings of the Committee*, "Cutlenssmanner, April 2^th, 1777"—*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxvii., 391.)

[10] Abijah Gilbert was a member of the County Committee, from Salem, 1776–'7; and he represented Westchester-county in the Assembly of the State, in 1779–'80, 1781–'2, 1782–'3, 1784, 1784–'5, 1786, 1788, 1791, 1800, 1800–'01, 1802, 1803, 1804, and 1804–'5.

[11] Thaddeus Crane was appointed Second Major of the Regiment; and he was succeeded by Lieutenant Truesdale, who was elected Captain, in the following December. He represented the County in the Assembly of the State, 1777–'8, 1778–'9, 1788–'9, and 1825; and in the Convention which ratified the *Constitution for the United States*.

[12] Ezekiel Hawley was Chairman of the Committee at Salem, in December, 1776 (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxv. 307).

[13] *Historical Manuscripts relating to the War of the Revolution: Military Returns*, xxvii., 245.

[14] Thomas Thomas was a son of Hon. John Thomas and a brother of John Thomas, Junior, who was a member of the Provincial Congress. He was a member of the first County Committee, appointed in May, 1775; and he represented Harrison's Precinct in the County Committee, 1776–'7. He was unpopular as a Military Officer; and several Officers refused to serve under him, in August, 1776, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxix., 347.) He represented Westchester-county in the Assembly of the State, in 1780–'1, 1781–'2, 1782–'3, 1784, 1784–'5, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1792–'3, 1800–'1, 1802, 1803, 1804; he was Sheriff of the County, 1788–1792; he was a Senator from the Southern District, 1805–'8; in 1807, he was one of the Council of Appointment; and he died on the twenty-ninth of May, 1824.

Budd, its Lieutenant-colonel; Ebenezer Lockwood, its First Major;[1] Thaddeus Crane, its Second Major; Jonathan G. Tompkins, its Adjutant;[2] and John Thomas, Junior, its Quarter-master.[3]

The provisions of the Provincial Congress's enactment requiring one-fourth of the Militia of the County to be organized as Minute-men, appear to have been very indifferently obeyed; and the following are the Officers of the only Companies which were raised in Westchester-county, as far as they are now procurable from the records which have been preserved:

The Company of Poundridge and Lower Salem—which was called, also, "the First Company of Min-"ute-men of the County"—elected, originally, Ebenezer Slason, to be its Captain; Henry Slason, to be its First Lieutenant; Ebenezer Scofield, to be its Second Lieutenant; and Daniel Waterberry, to be its Ensign; but, subsequently, when Captain Slason was promoted, Henry Slason was made Captain, Ebenezer Scofield was promoted to the First Lieutenancy, Daniel Waterberry to the Second Lieutenancy, and David Purdy was made its Ensign.[4]

The Company of Bedford elected Eli Seeley, to be its Captain;[5] Zephaniah Mills, to be its First Lieutenant; Cornelius Clarke, to be its Second Lieutenant; and Philip Leek, to be its Ensign; and their Commissions were issued by the Provincial Congress, on the twenty-seventh of October, 1775.[6]

Subsequently, "agreeable to the Demand made by "Colon[l] Drake to the Sub-Committee of Bedford," another Company of Minute-men was organized, in that Town, with Hezekiah Gray, for its Captain;[7] Cornelius Clark, for its First Lieutenant; James Miller for its Second Lieutenant;[8] and Isaac Titus, for its Ensign.[9]

A Company of nineteen men assembled at the White Plains and constituted themselves a Company of Minute-men, electing James Varian, to be their Captain;[10] Samuel Crawford, to be their First Lieutenant;[11] Isaac Oakley, to be their Second Lieutenant; and Joseph Todd, to be their Ensign.[12]

Besides these four Companies, such as they were, there does not appear to have been any Minute-men enlisted in the County—why should any have been

[1] Ebenezer Lockwood was a Justice of the Peace and one of the Quorum, under the Colonial Government; a member of the Second, Third, and Fourth Provincial Congresses; and of the Convention of the State of New York. He was a member of the Assembly of the State, representing Westchester-county, 1778–'9, 1784–'5, 1786, 1787, 1788; and he was County Judge, 1791–'3; and one of the Regents of the University, 1784–'7; etc. He died on the twenty-ninth of July, 1821, aged eighty-four years.

[2] Jonathan G. Tompkins was a member of the first County Committee, elected in May, 1775; a member of the Third and Fourth Provincial Congresses, of the Committee of Safety, and of the Council of Safety. He was a member of the Assembly of the State, 1780–'1, 1781–'2, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1791, 1792; of the Board of Regents of the University, 1787–1808; and of the Constitutional Convention of 1801. He was the First Judge of the County, 1793–'7, 1798–1802; and died on the twenty-second of May, 1823.

The distinguished Daniel D. Tompkins, Governor of the State, Vice President of the United States, and one of the greatest men of his period, was a son of Jonathan G. Tompkins.

[3] John Thomas, Junior, as the reader knows, was one of the leading men of his party, in Westchester-county; a member of its County Committee and of the Provincial Congress; and a brother of the Colonel of the Regiment. Although it is said, positively, that he was also the Quartermaster of this Regiment, it appears incredible that he was the person, and can be accounted for only by the profits which attended such an office and the well known proclivities of that family, in that direction, wherever an opportunity was presented. We prefer to believe that this Quartermaster's place was given to that "John Thomas Minor," the second son of John Thomas, Junior, who had been already elected to the command of the Company in Harrison's Precinct, at a second Election, after Henry Dusenberry had been elected and accepted the Office, a few weeks previously.

With the exception of the two Companies in the Borough Town of Westchester and at Yonkers, the elections of whose Officers were separately reported, the list of Officers who were *originally* elected by the several Companies, as stated in the text, have been taken, generally without any change in the spelling of the proper names, even when known to have been erroneous, from the *Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, xxvi., 122–125. In the instances of Yonkers, Eastchester, Tarrytown, Harrison, Scarsdale and the White Plains, Salem, etc., where *new* Elections were held, the statements of those new Elections have been taken from the several Returns of those new Elections, referred to, at the foot of each, respectively.

[4] *Letter from Samuel Drake and Lewis Graham to the Provincial Congress*, "1st March, 1776;" *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "4 ho., P.M., "March 1, 1876."

In the *Journals of the Provincial Congress: Correspondence*, ii., 90, Ebenezer Scofield is called "Ebenezer Scofield, Junior;" and the Commissions of the original Officers are said to have been issued on the twenty-seventh of October, 1775.

[5] Eli Seeley was originally elected to the command of the Company in the western part of the Town of Bedford, (*Page* 283, *ante*.)

[6] *Journals of the Provincial Congress: Correspondence*, ii., 90.

[7] Hezekiah Gray was originally the First Lieutenant in the Company in the western part of the Town of Bedford, of which Eli Seeley was the Captain, (*Page* 283, *ante*.)

[8] James Miller was originally the First Lieutenant in the Company in the eastern part of the Town of Bedford, of which Lewis McDonald, Junior, was the Captain, (*Page* 283, *ante*.)

[9] Isaac Titus had served in Captain Mills's Company, under Colonel Holmes, in the Campaign of 1775, (*Page* 277, *ante*.)

The authority for the statement concerning the second Company may be seen in a *Letter from the Sub-committee at Bedford to the Chairman of the County Committee*, "Bedford 15 February 1776,"—(*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, xxvii., 196.)

See, also, *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Martis, 3 ho., P.M. "Feb. 20th, 1776," where the Secretary erroneously recorded the Sub-Committee and the Company as of Harrison's Precinct instead as of Bedford.

[10] Captain James Varian was a member of the first County Committee, appointed in May, 1775, (*Page* 259, *ante*;) and First Lieutenant of the Scarsdale, White Plains, and Brown's Point Company of Militia, of which Joshua Hatfield was the Captain, (*Page* 283, *ante*.)

[11] Lieutenant Samuel Crawford was a member of the first County Committee, appointed in May, 1775, (*Page* 259, *ante*;) and the only representative of the Manor of Scarsdale, in the County Committee, 1776–'7.

[12] The authority for this statement is a *Letter from Jonathan G. Tompkins and Nicolas Fisher to the Provincial Congress*, "White Plains, Febru-"ery 14th, 1776"—(*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, xxvii., 84.)

From the same manuscript, the following list of the names of the nineteen who thus organized themselves into a Company of Minute-men, has been carefully copied, without changing the spelling of the names:

"Benjamin Lyon,	Joseph Todd,
"Olliver Killick,	John Drake,
"John Beeks,	Ezekiel Duten,
"Stephen Shelley,	James Farrel,
"Philip Huestis,	Andrew Fach,
"Micah Townsend, Esq.,	James Brundage,
"James Verryan,	Gilbert Horton,
"Samuel Crawford,	David Johnston,
"Isaac Oakley,	Robert Graham.

"William Tompson."

expected from a community in which the revolutionary party had scarcely "a Corporal's Guard," except of those who were office-holders or office-seekers?—but as soon as *two* Companies had been organized, the County Committee "took the liberty, with all "submission, to recommend Samuel Drake, to be "Colonel;[1] Lewis Graham, to be Lieutenant-Colonel;[2] "Abraham Storm, to be First Major;[3] Samuel Lyon, "of Northcastle, to be Second Major; Elijah Miller, to "be Adjutant;[4] and Josiah Mills, to be Quarter-mas-"ter[5];" and thus the re-organization of the Militia of Westchester-county and the organization of her fighting population were completed.

There was one feature in the Provincial Congress's enactment for the reorganization of the Militia which was oppressive on the great body of the working classes, who were unable to bear the burden it imposed; and it was made the subject of serious complaint to those of the well-born whom, in many instances, they had, unwittingly, placed in authority—revolutionary authority—over themselves. Reference is made to the requirement that every one, between the ages of sixteen and fifty years, should furnish himself with a good musket and bayonet, a sword or tomahawk, a cartridge-box and belts, twenty-three rounds of cartridges, twelve flints, and a knapsack; in addition to which he was to keep, in reserve, a pound of gunpowder and three pounds of bullets, of proper size for his musket. These he was required to have and to keep, continually; and he was required, also, to parade, for drill, on the first Monday of each month. Heavy penalties were imposed on those who should fail to discharge all these requirements; with levies on the properties of the delinquents, if they possessed property, or, in the absence of property, they were to be imprisoned "until such fine, together "with the charges, should be paid," which meant, at that time, an imprisonment in a cold Jail, without any other food than that which the prisoners' friends or the charitable could provide; without the slightest opportunity to earn anything, from which to support themselves or pay the fines; and the starvation of those who were dependent on the unfortunate victims.[6]

While these provisions of that enactment were peculiarly oppressive on that class of poverty-stricken working-men and boys, in the Cities, then largely unemployed, who had been the ever-ready, ever-noisy, and ever-destructive auxiliaries of the revolutionary faction, in all the riotous demonstrations of the preceding ten years, and while these enactments, therefore, in those instances, appeared to be somewhat retributive in their character and operations, they were, also, very oppressive on many a farmer in Westchester-county, who had been more peaceful in his inclinations and conduct than those working-men, in the Cities, had been. Indeed, the required equipment, in specified form, of themselves, and their boys, and their hired help—their well-tried fowling-pieces having been unavailable for that purpose—and the stated withdrawal of all of them from their farms, for drill, on frequent, specified days, no matter how necessary their presence, at home, might have been, were unduly burdensome on all those farmers, to say nothing of the opportunity which was thereby afforded, very soon afterwards, for still greater acts of lawless oppression, in the seizure of those very equipments,

[1] Samuel Drake was a member of the Provincial Convention, 1775; a member of the first County Committee, 1775; and of that of 1776–'7. He represented Westchester-county in the Assembly of the State, 1777–'8, 1779–'80, 1780–'81, 1786 and 1788; etc. He was a resident of the Manor of Cortlandt.

[2] Lewis Graham was connected with the Morrises, of Morrisania, by marriage; and he was a member of all the Provincial Congresses and of the Convention of the State, 1775–'78. He was made Judge of the Court of Admiralty, in February, 1778.

[3] Abraham Storm had been originally elected to the command of the Tarrytown Company of Militia, (*Page* 282, *ante*;) and he represented the Manor of Philipsborough in the County Committee of 1776–'7. He lived at Tarrytown.

[4] Elijah Miller was a resident and one of the Sub-committee of Northcastle.

[5] This statement is made on the authority of a *Letter from Gilbert Drake, Chairman of the County Committee, to the Provincial Congress*, "WHITE PLAINS, October 24th, 1775." The *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, ("Die Mercurii, 10 ho., A.M., October, 1775,") shows the receipt of the letter, by that body, and the issue of the Commissions to the several gentlemen named.

[6] As an illustration of the effect of the Rebellion on the great body of the lowly working-men, in this particular feature, as early as in the Autumn of 1775, and as an evidence of the uneasiness of those working-men, because of this oppressive enactment, the following homely Petition has been copied from the original manuscript, in the *Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Petitions*, xxxi., 52:

"NEW YORK, Sept. ye 9, 1775.

"TO THE GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS IN NEW YORK.

"We your humble Pertisners Gentlemen are now warned To bear "arms In Defence of our Country truly It is the Native place of some of "us wich Now Gentlemen may it please your onners To take it in Con-"sideration we are Controld more by poverty than By our own will we "must Now beg of your honners To take it in Consideration were you "in our State of Poverty you wold not lay on us more than we can "Bare Some of this poor Cyty Now who you have you have Command. "To bare Arms In Defence of ours Liberty and Rites Not our Rite but "such gentlemen as has got lands and Estates But some of us Now has "Skarsely got Victuals from one Day to another Neyther fire Nor Can-"dles our Wifes and poor Children Suffering for Bread and your honners "have pleased To lay on us or some of us such things as we Cant supply "ourselves with gun Bagnet Belts Cartridge Box Powder and Ball as "for Powder It must Please your honners some of you To open a Store "of it for I have Tryd in this City To get a Small Quantity but Could "Not and our Officers says It will be a fine to neglect having any of "them so therefore we your humble pertisoners Earnestly Beg That It "may Please your honners To lend us such thing as you have laid out "for us poor And Destressed men to get Gentlemen we beg It may be "taken in no afence we are willing to beare with with any thing It "may please you to put on us if In our power some cant without Run-"ning in Deat for For them the Next go to gail for it will any one pay "The Det Consider it would Now for you to loose All your time wich "you sit Now making laws for us as one of us or some of us to by a gun "Consider our poverty and assist the poor or make some of those with "Ruffles Turn out as well as we or supply us with acutrements I Im-"magine some of those Rich wich have lands and thousands In Estates "will not get find if neglect appearing we Beg you will think of us as "you are our hed and parliament who Ever gets This is Desired to "Covay it to the Congress In New York.

"September 9, 1775."

With this menacing paper before one, it is not difficult to make one's self believe that the "poor reptiles" had really some thoughts of "biting," as Gouverneur Morris had foreseen a few months previously.

sometimes with warrants of "impressment," nominally for the equipment of Regiments, in garrison or elsewhere; sometimes with arbitrary orders for seizing them, on *ex parte* assumptions of the disaffection to the Rebellion, of those who owned them; and sometimes, not unfrequently, by inroads of organized bodies of thieves, from Connecticut or elsewhere, who, without even a shadow of legal or local authority and only on the shallow pretext of superior "patriotism," overpowered the isolated and peaceful farmers, and retired with well-supplied stocks of lawlessly acquired plunder.

The Provincial Congress, like similar Congresses in other Colonies, and as was foretold of this, by those who had opposed the creation of it, was not long in existence and in possession of its usurped authority, when, as has been already stated, it commenced to arrest those, strangers and residents, who ventured to differ from it and to speak and to act in accordance with existing Laws and with their own convictions of duty;[1] and it did not hesitate to throw into prison[2] or to send into exile,[3] those whom it had arrested. It waited for no verified complaint: it made no pretence that a breach of any written Law or of any other enactment was necessary, to warrant an arrest: it received secret, *ex parte* "information" as all which was needed to authorize the arrest, the confinement, and the infliction of punishment on its victims, not unfrequently without a hearing or an examination: and it held those who were accused, and tried them in secret Sessions, and passed judgments on them, not unfrequently without permitting them to confront their accusers or to see and read the papers on which they had been arrested, and held, and tried—in one notable instance, the accused was not permitted to *see* the fifteen affidavits, which had been trumped up against him, *after* he had been arrested and thrown into a jail, nor to know their contents nor the nature of the accusation, until he was brought out for trial when they were only *read* to him; and copies of those affidavits were withheld from him, by a formal vote of the Congress, when they were asked for and when the cost of copying them was tendered, only because the publication of those several papers would have exposed the fifteen partisan tools and the eminently genteel hand who had guided them in a shameless and unfounded persecution of an innocent man, to the contempt of the country and of the world.[4] It sat in secret judgment over those whom it had arrested, in instances wherein it was, also, the only accuser;[5] and it recognized the existence, in merely local self-constituted "Committees," in the several Counties, of the same authority to arrest and to imprison those who were obnoxious to them, either with or without accusers or accusations, which it claimed for itself and exercised.[6] In short, it very promptly set aside the government of the written Law, and established, in its stead, that of the unrestrained will of an oligarchy, seated within every Town, against which there was no other security, for either persons or properties, than the personal favor of the stronger local power, no matter how obtained—all that, too, was done in the name of Freedom and the Rights of Man, by those who assumed to be honorable men, and, most of all, by those who insisted that their allegiance to their Prince and their attachment to "the illustrious House "of Hanover" were ranked, by themselves, as among their most singular blessings;[7] by those, indeed, who, nearly at the same time, declared they were "deeply "impressed with the importance, the utility, and the "necessity of an accommodation with their Parent "State;" and who were, also, they said, "conscious "that the best service we can render to the present "and all future generations must consist in promoting "it."[8]

[1] See, in the *Journals* and *Correspondence of the Congress* and in the *Historical Manuscripts relating to the War of the Revolution*, preserved in the office of the Secretary of State, at Albany, the records and papers in the several cases, among others, of Angus McDonald, Captain Patrick Sinclair, Captain Johan Christian Drewidz, John Morrell, Adam Patrick, Isaiah Purdy, Captain Melancton Lawrence, Joseph Allicock, Captain Charles De Kay, and John Candell. A simple reference to the several papers, in detail, would require more room than can be given to it, in this place.

[2] The instances of Angus McDonald, Captain Drewidz, John Morrell, Adam Patrick, and Isaiah Purdy, already referred to, among others.

[3] Angus McDonald was sent to General Wooster, then in command of a body of Connecticut troops; and, by him, he was sent to Fairfield, and imprisoned, with aggravated severity, of which even his jailer complained.

[4] Reference is here made to the case of Timothy Doughty, of Duchess-county, in which the victim, because he declined to sign the *General Association*—there was no evidence which the Congress considered respectable, showing any other offence—was seized by Egbert Benson, whose methods at an Election have been noticed; and sent to New York, without *any* evidence of wrong-doing; and thrown into a jail, without any provision for his support. At the request of Benson, he was kept in jail, for several weeks, without knowing for what he had been arrested; and that, only to enable his *unseen* and *malignant* accuser to manufacture evidence against him. Fifteen *worthless* affidavits were subsequently sent to the Congress, *and* READ *to the victim, when he was given a hearing;* but their worthlessness was so evident that the Congress discharged Doughty, although, as stated, it would not permit him to have copies of the papers, nor even to read them, (*Journals of the Committee of Safety*, September 4th; *the same*, September 28th, 1775; *Journals of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Jovis, 9 ho., A.M., October "19, 1775;" *the same*, "Die Martis, 9 ho., A.M., October 24, 1775;" *Petitions of Timothy Doughty and others*, September 22, 25, October 4, 11, 1775, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Petitions*, XXXI., 96, 88, 70, 36.)

[5] Among other instances, those of Angus McDonald, Melancton Lawrence, and Captain Drewitz, may be referred to.

[6] The local authorities arrested and confined, without any trustworthy evidence, John Morrell, Adam Patrick, and Isaiah Purdy, in Orange-county; the Berghs, Timothy Doughty, and Mordecai Lester, in Duchess-county; John Connor, in Tryon-county; Abraham Lawrence, in Queens county; etc.

[7] *Letter from the Provincial Congress to the Gentlemen Merchants of the Province of Quebec.* "*In Provincial Congress*, New-York, June 12th, 1775,"

[8] *Letter from the Provincial Congress to the Delegates for the Colony of New York, in the Continental Congress*, "IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, NEW-"YORK, June 28th, 1775."

See, also, the *Plan of Accommodation*, adopted in advance and kept in constant readiness for *immediate* use, by the same Provincial Congress, "4 ho., P.M., Die Martis, June 27th, 1775," (*see pages* 273, 274, *ante*;) *Letter from the Provincial Congress to the Committee of Richmond county*, "NEW-"YORK, 2d December, 1775:" etc.

In the earlier days of its existence, the Provincial Congress made those arbitrary arrests without any enactment, its own or that of any other body, which could have afforded even a shadow of even revolutionary law, if the enactments of a body in acknowledged rebellion may be regarded as Laws, for such a radical violation of what were said to have been, and of what were, the fundamental principles of the Duties of those in authority and of the Rights of Person and of Property which belonged to those who were governed; but there appear to have been some, among the supporters of the Rebellion, who continued to have doubts concerning the unauthorized and unrestrained right of arrest, even where an opposition to the measures of the Rebellion was openly and unreservedly expressed.

On the eleventh of August, a letter was received by the Provincial Congress, from the local Committee at Brookhaven, on Long Island, stating that certain persons, named therein, were "counteracting every "measure recommended for redress and grievances,[1] "and opposing the measures of Congresses and Com- "mittees; and that they declared they would furnish, "and that it is suspected they have furnished, the "men-of-war and cutters with provisions,"[2] in the same manner that the *Asia* and other men-of-war were supplied, with the approval of the Provincial Congress, at that time and subsequently, by those who were more in favor with that body; and, at the same time, "requesting the Congress to direct such "measures as they shall think proper, to suppress "such conduct." That letter was referred to a Committee of which Benjamin Kissam, of the City of New York, was Chairman.[3] A Report from that Committee was laid before the Congress, on the twenty-sixth of August;[4] and, after consideration of the subject, and apparently without dissent, the following enactment was made on the general subject of the Brookhaven Committee's inquiry:

"WHEREAS attempts may be made to promote dis- "cord among the Inhabitants of this Colony, and to "assist and aid the Ministerial Army and Navy, in "their endeavours to carry into execution the cruel and "oppressive Acts of Parliament, against the Rights "and Liberties of the Inhabitants of this Continent:

"And as the immutable laws of self-defence and "preservation justify every reasonable measure en- "tered into, to counteract or frustrate such attempts: "Therefore,

"RESOLVED, That if any person or persons shall be "found guilty, before the Committee of any City "or County, of attempting, (after the date of this "Resolution,) to furnish the Ministerial Army or "Navy with Provisions or other necessaries, contrary "to the Resolutions of the Continental or of this "Congress;[5] or of holding a correspondence, by letter "or otherwise, for the purpose of giving information "to the said Army or Navy, of the measures pursued "by the United Colonies or any of them;[6] or of ad- "vising expedients which the said Army or Navy "might or ought to pursue, against the said Colonies

[1] Thus printed in the official copy of the *Journal of the Provincial Congress*.

[2] Those who shall desire to learn more of that Brookhaven matter may be gratified by a perusal of Gaine's *New-York Gazette and Mercury*, No. 1217, NEW-YORK, Monday, February 6, 1775; of a *Letter from Major Benjamin Floyd and others to James Rivington*, "BROOK-HAVEN, SUF- "FOLK-COUNTY, NEW-YORK, March 6, 1775," (*Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 103, NEW-YORK, Thursday, April 6, 1775;) and of a *Declaration of the Inhabitants of Brook-haven, Suffolk-county, New York*, "BROOK- "HAVEN, March 10, 1775," (Gaine's *New-York Gazette: and the Weekly Mercury*, No. 1223, NEW-YORK, Monday, March 20, 1775.)

[3] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Veneris, 9 ho. A.M., August "11th, 1775."

[4] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Sabbati, 9 ho. A.M., August "26th, 1775."

[5] The Provincial Congress not only had passed no Resolutions prohibiting the supply of "the Ministerial Army and Navy with provisions or other "necessaries," thereby, even from the revolutionary standpoint, leaving that business open to whomsoever might embark in it; but, on the morning of the day on which this enactment was made, it gave its official sanction to the supply of the *Asia*, man-of-war, with its necessary supplies, from the City of New York, and with water and beer, from Brooklyn, all of them by Abraham Lott, the official "Agent-victualler "for His Majesty's Ships in this Port," (*Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Veneris, 9 ho., A.M., September 1st, 1775.") Four days afterwards, Doctor McLean was authorized to supply the same ship, with Drugs and Medicines, as he had previously done, (*Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Martis, 9 ho., A.M., September 5th, 1775.") On the twenty-ninth of January, 1776, William Allen had permission to go on board the *Asia*, to measure the men for shoes, and to make and deliver a hundred pairs, if so many should be needed. (*Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Lunæ, 10 ho., A.M., January 29th, 1776.") On the sixteenth of February, 1776, Henry White was permitted to supply the *Asia* and the *Phœnix* with fresh provisions and vegetables. (*Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Veneris, 10 ho., A.M., February 16th, 1776.")

While the Provincial Congress was thus monopolizing the supplying of the men-of-war, it "was filled with the utmost anxiety" when, during the Autumn of 1775, "small boats from Queens and Westchester-coun- "ties" undertook to enter into the same business; and "to prevent so "great a mischief," a small armed vessel was purchased, "to watch those "and other dangerous supplies of the like kind,"—(*The Committee of Safety to the New-York Delegates in Continental Congress*, "IN COMMITTEE OF "SAFETY, NEW-YORK, January 22, 1776.") On the seventh of February, 1776, when the Chairman of the Committee of the City asked permission for an *unnamed* applicant to send on board the *Asia*, two hogsheads of Spirits, two dozens of Coffee, and one dozen of Chocolate, the solicited permission was withheld until the name of the applicant could be ascertained, which does not appear to have been accomplished, (*Letter from Henry Remsen, Chairman of the Committee of the City, to the Committee of Safety*, and the reply of the latter, both undated: *Journal of the Committee of Safety*: "Die Mercurii, 10 ho., A.M., Feb'y 7th, 1776.")

There does not seem to have been any hesitation in supplying the provisions, on the part of any one, either in New York, or in Westchester-county, or in Queens-county—why should there have been? The only question appears to have been, *by whom* and *for whose* pecuniary benefit they should be thus supplied. There were those, in the Provincial Congress, who were always ready to enjoy an advantage, in trade or elsewhere: there was a commercial advantage, in victualing the ships, which those "patriots" preferred to retain. Had the boatmen of Westchester and Queens-counties, while bringing their surplus products to market, been wise enough to have consigned their cargoes to some of those enterprising "Merchants," Alexander McDougal and his armed vessel, watching "those dangerous supplies," would not have been necessary.

Verily, patriotism and pelf were closely connected, in those times.

[6] James Duane, the friend and correspondent of Lieutenant-governor Colden, was, at that time, one of the Delegates from New York, in the Congress of the Colonies; and Egbert Dumond, the friend and correspondent of the Royal Governor, William Tryon, represented Ulster-county, in that Provincial Congress, and was probably present—he was in New York—when this enactment was considered and adopted.

"or any of them,[1] such person or persons, so found "guilty, shall be punished at the discretion of the "Committee before whom he or they shall be so found "guilty, or at the discretion of the Congress or Com- "mittee of Safety of this Colony, so as the punish- "ment, by them, at their discretion inflicted, shall "not exceed three months imprisonment or other the "punishments hereinafter mentioned, for the first "offence.

"RESOLVED, That if any person or persons shall "be found guilty, before the Committee of any City or "County in this Colony, of having furnished the "Ministerial Army or Navy (after the date of this "Resolution,) with Provisions or other necessaries, "contrary to any Resolution of the Continental or of "this Congress, such person or persons, so found "guilty thereof, upon due proof thereof, shall be "disarmed and forfeit double the value of the Pro- "visions or other necessaries so furnished, to be ap- "plied to the public exigencies of this Colony, in "such manner as the Congress or Committee of Safety "of this Colony, for the time being, shall order and "direct. And that such person or persons, so found "guilty, shall be put into and detained in close con- "finement, at his or their own expense and charge, "until three months after he or they, respectively, "shall have paid such forfeiture. And that every "such person or persons, who shall be found guilty "of a second offence of the same kind, shall be ban- "ished from this Colony, for the term of seven years "from the time of such second conviction.

"Although this Congress have a tender regard to "the freedom of Speech, the rights of Conscience, "and personal Liberty, as far as an indulgence in "these particulars may be consistent with our gen- "eral security; yet, for the public safety, be it

"RESOLVED, That if any person or persons shall, "hereafter, oppose or deny the authority of the Con- "tinental or of this Congress, or the Committee of "Safety, or the Committees of the respective "Counties, Cities, Towns, Manors, Precincts, or Dis- "tricts in this Colony, or dissuade any person or "persons from obeying the recommendations of the "Continental or this Congress, or the Committee of "Safety, or the Committees aforesaid, and be thereof "convicted before the Committee of the County or "any thirteen or more of their number, who shall or "may meet upon a general call of the Chairman of "such Committee where such person or persons may "reside, that such Committee shall cause such of "fenders to be disarmed;[2] and for the second offence- "they shall be committed to close confinement, at "their respective expense.[3] And, in case any of the "said Committees are unable to carry this or any "Resolution into execution, they are hereby directed "to apply to the next County Committee or command- "ing Officer of the Militia, or to the Congress or the "Committee of Safety of this Colony, for necessary "assistance, as the case may require.[4] But if it "shall so happen that any violators of this Resolu- "tion shall reside in a County where there is no "Committee of the County, in that case, the matter "shall be triable before the Committee of the next "County: PROVIDED that no person shall be tried "before the General Committee of the City and "County of New York, upon the Resolutions herein "contained, unless the stated quorum be present; "and in the City and County of Albany, unless "there are present twenty-five members.

"RESOLVED FARTHER, That the respective Com- "mittees and the Militia of the several Counties, by "order of the respective Committees or of the Com- "missioned Officer of the Militia then nearest, are "hereby expressly enjoined to apprehend every "Inhabitant or Resident of this Colony, who now is "or who shall hereafter be discovered to be enlisted "or in arms against the Liberties of America, and to "confine such offender or offenders, in safe custody; "and his or their punishment is reserved to the "determination of this or some future Provincial "Congress. And the Committee nearest to any per- "son who shall be so enlisted or have taken up "arms against the Liberties of America are hereby "directed to appoint some discreet person to take "the charge of the Estate, both real and personal, of "any such person or persons; which person so ap- "pointed shall be invested with such Estate, and "render, on oath, a just and true account thereof, to "this or some future Congress or to Commissioners "by them to be appointed, and to pay the issues and "profits thereof to the Treasurer appointed by this "Congress, for the use of the associated Colonies.

"RESOLVED, That if any person be taken up on "suspicion of any of the Crimes in the above Reso- "lutions specified, he shall immediately be taken "before the Committee of the City, Town, Manor,

[1] Charles Lee, the second in command in the Continental Army, had not, then, laid his well-devised "*Plan*" before General Howe; General Samuel H. Parsons had not yet commenced the supply of information, concerning projected military movements, etc., through "Squire "Heron," to Sir Henry Clinton; Israel Putnam had not yet led Robert R. Livingston to "question" "his very fidelity;" and Benedict Arnold, maddened by wrongs imposed on him, had not yet commenced his correspondence with John André.

[2] Compare this particular penalty with the particular requirement, contained in the enactment concerning the Militia, adopted eleven days previously, (*page* 102 *ante*,) that *every Inhabitant*, between sixteen and fifty years of age, should fully equip himself with arms and largely supply himself with ammunition, heavy penalties being imposed, in case of default, in either respect.

[3] That particular feature of this enactment was intended to impoverish the victim, if he possessed property, or to leave him to be starved, if he had none; and the barbarism of the provision and of those who framed it, was seen, subsequently, in the physical sufferings of John O'Connor and David Purdy; and in those of the Berghs, the Dobbses, and Timothy Doughty, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Petitions*, xxxi., 98, 96, 88, 70, 36; etc.)

[4] Not long after this enactment was made, the Committee of Westchester-county, as will be seen, hereafter, called for and received the armed assistance of men of Connecticut, to enforce obedience to its Resolutions or submission to some of its arbitrary seizures of the properties of some of their law-abiding neighbors.

"Precinct, or District where the offender shall have "been taken up; and if, upon examination, the sus- "picion shall appear to the said Committee to be "groundless, that he be discharged: PROVIDED, "ALSO, that no person charged to be an offender "shall be tried upon any of the foregoing Resolves, "until the persons to be Judges of the offence be "first severally sworn to try and adjudge the person "so charged, without partiality, favour, or affection, "or hope of reward, according to evidence; and that "every witness who shall be examined on such trial "shall have the charge distinctly and clearly stated "to him; and be thereupon sworn to speak the truth, "the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."[1]

* * * * * * *

It will be seen that, by this remarkable enactment, every person in the Colony was placed at the mercy of the local Committee of the County in which he lived; that no one was permitted to disregard or to treat with disrespect either the "recommendations" or the "Resolutions" of Congresses or Committees, of either high or low degree, no matter with what disclaimers of obligation those "recommendations" and "Resolutions" might have been accompanied,[2] nor to dissent from whatever outrages on persons or properties there might be inflicted on quiet, law-abiding persons, by even the most insignificant "District Committee" in the Colony, nor even to question the authority to do whatever it should incline to do, no matter how monstrous its actions should be, in any such Congress or Committee; that sequestration, if not confiscation and absolute sale,[3] of properties, real and personal, and close confinement in barracks or jails, and banishment from home and family, no matter at what cost to him or to those who were dependent on him, were penalties to which every one was subject, whenever a County Committee saw fit to inflict them; that, by making the offences and the penalties matters of general interest to "the associa- "ted Colonies"—for doing which no one can pretend that a local Provincial Congress, even during a Rebellion, could consistently assume to legislate—this enactment afforded a warrant for inroads from other Colonies, whenever the latter were inclined to make them, for the direct adjustment of matters in which they possessed a conceded interest; that no appeal from the judgment of such a local revolutionary tribunal, too often controlled by personal or family quarrels[4] or by ecclesiastical or neighborhood feuds or by foreign interferences, was provided for or allowed; and that the dictates of his conscience and the oath of his office, if he held an office, as far as these should assert his duty to his Sovereign and to the Colonial and Home Governments, must be sternly disregarded and suppressed, by every one.

History has failed to record, in the annals of any other community, another such instance of solemn mockery and of refined hypocrisy and of relentless personal and partisan bitterness as is seen in this enactment, framed and ordained and promulgated by men who pretended to so much of honor and intelligence, to so much of loyalty to the King and of regard for the Constitution, to so much of veneration for the Rights of Man and of reverence for the supreme Laws of God, as were claimed, for themselves, by the Livingstons and the Morrises, the Van Cortlandts and the Clintons, and their several supporters, in the Provincial Congress of Colonial New York; and the annals of partisan malignity, ecclesiastical or civil, afford few instances wherein an ecclesiastical or civil enactment, no matter by what authority nor under what circumstances it may have been ordained and promulgated, has been more relentlessly enforced, in its penalties, than this enactment of a revolutionary Congress was enforced, in the Colony and State of New York. Scarcely a homestead existed in Colonial Westchester-county, in which the unbridled despotism of a self-constituted Precinct or District or Town Committee did not display its ill-gotten, ill-regulated power, under the sanction of this enactment, protected and supported, whenever protection and support were needed to ensure entire success, by the local and the Continental military power or by hungry ruffians from over the border;[5] and there are enough of

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "4 ho., P.M., September 1st, "1775."

[2] Compare the disclaimers which accompanied the *Associations* which were sent out, for signatures, (*pages* 270, 271, *ante*;) with the penalties which were subsequently imposed on those who had declined to sign those *Associations*, in the orders issued for their disarmament, (*page* 288, *ante*;) in this remarkable enactment; and with the multitude of arbitrary arrests and painful imprisonments, throughout the Colony, with which the pages of the records of the doings of the revolutionary faction so peculiarly abound.

[3] We are sensible that the *letter* of this enactment affords a warrant for nothing else than a sequestration of the properties of those who were proscribed; but the *spirit* of it was seen in the action of those Committees who were, by this enactment, made masters of the great body of the Colonists, when those Committees, as will be seen, hereafter, not only sequestrated, but confiscated and sold, the properties of those who were personally obnoxious to them.

[4] "The information you have received, in respect to Captain Cuthbert, "is, I believe, in part true, but has originated from a private pique, and "is much exaggerated. You will observe I have bought his wheat from "him, which he readily sold me, at the same time complained, most "bitterly, of being threatened with the loss of his life, by the same Don "you mentioned, who, I believe, is a very bad man. Many persons in "the country are seeking for private revenge under pretence of concern "for the publick safety."—*General* (*Benedict Arnold to Samuel Chase*, "SOREL, May 15, 1776.")

General Arnold's remarks were perfectly applicable to every portion of the Colony. Who, among historical students, does not know that one of the most virulent of those who persecuted the loyal and law abiding Colonists, in Colonial New York—a very thinly disguised monarchist who was thus figuring as a most zealous republican—had been largely prompted to play a part in the politics of the period which was radically distasteful to himself, in order that he might, thereby, revengefully oppose and persecute the friends and family of the two young ladies, sisters, who had successively preferred more graceful and more companionable, if not as mentally and scholastically deserving, suitors for their hands and fortunes?

[5] This sentence has been written with a perfect understanding of what is stated in the text, concerning those who passed from Connecticut into Westchester-county, to assist the local Committees, in that County, in their work of outrage and robbery. Greenwich, Stamford, Ridgefield, Danbury, Wilton, New Canaan, and the other border Towns

merely incidental allusions, left among the well-concealed records of those times, to say nothing of those more startling evidences which went, unrecorded, into the graves of those who had been thus plundered and outraged, when the latter were carried to their last earthly homes, to show that the Drakes and the Thomases, the Odells and the Martlings, the Lockwoods and the Dutchers, and those who were associated with them, "patriotically" supporting what was called "the glorious cause of Liberty," were experts in ruthless barbarism, and entirely worthy of thecrowns of infamy which history has awarded to more distinguished, but not more accomplished, inquisitors and despots.

The publication of this barbarous enactment was followed, immediately, by active preparations for persecution, by those, in Westchester-county, who were engaged in promoting the cause of the Rebellion; and they promptly reported to the Provincial Congress, for what purpose is very evident, the following list of those, in that County, who were especially obnoxious to them :[1]

"Col. Phillips,[2]
"Joseph Harris,
"James Harris,
"Major Brown's two sons
"Isaac and Josiah that
"lives at home,[3]
"Lyon Miller,[4]
Bartholomew Hains,[5]
Mr. Duncan and Brown
at Marroneck,
Capt. Joshua Purdy,[6]
Jeremiah Travess,
Solomon Fowler,[7]
Joshua Purdy,[8]
"Elijah Purdy,
"Gilbert Horton,[9]
"Edmond Ward,[10]
"Caleb Morgain,[11]
"James Hortan, Esq.[12]
"William Barker, Esq.[13]
"Person Seabury,[14]
"Godfrey Haines, added
"on Saturday evening,[15]
"Jeremiah Travess, Junr.,
Jonathan Pardie, White
Plains,[16]
Saml. Merrit, Manor of
Courtlandt,[17]
Mr. Peter Hatfield,
Isaac Hatfield,
Edward Palmer,[18]
Nath. Whitney, Esq.
Pater Drake,[19]
Peter Corney,[20]
"Joshua Carne."

There need be no surprise that that remarkable enactment and the activity in enforcing its provisions which was seen among those who favored the Rebellion and among those who desired the advantages which a general breaking down of those who opposed that Rebellion would probably ensure to them, in the expected and intended sequestrations and confiscations and sales of properties, real and personal, throughout the County, aroused the attention and the indignation of the great body of the conservative

in Connecticut, as is well known, were too nearly akin in sentiment to the Towns in Westchester-county to have supplied *respectable* men, for such a questionable service; and specimens of those of Connecticut who were so zealous in the support of the Rebellion, in New York, when there was no armed forces before them—those, from that Colony were not so zealous, on the northern frontier and in Canada, at Kips Bay and in New Jersey, when an armed enemy was either before or behind them—might have been seen in those who were led by Waterbury and by Sears, by Wooster and by Webb, of whom and of whose peculiarly "New Eng-"land Ideas," concerning the laws of *meum et tuum*, history has left abundant evidence.

[1] *Historical Manuscripts*, etc. : *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxiv., 193.

[2] Colonel Frederic Philipse, of Yonkers and Sleepy Hollow, Member of the General Assembly, already made known to the reader. He was exiled; and his property sequestrated, confiscated, and sold.

[3] Isaac and Josiah Brown were arrested; thrown into the Prison at the White Plains; and subsequently released on condition that they should board with William Miller, Deputy Chairman of the County Committee, at their own expense, instead of at their own homes.

[4] Lyon Miller was First Lieutenant in the Harrison Precinct Company of Militia, reorganized under the enactment of the Provincial Congress, in August, 1775.

[5] Bartholomew Haines was arrested and thrown into Prison at the White Plains. His name will be seen, very frequently, in the following pages of this narrative.

[6] Captain Joshua Purdy was, probably, the person of that name who has been referred to, elsewhere, in these notes, in connection with another person, bearing the same name but without a title, who was, also, named on this list of the proscribed of Westchester-county. Although the records do not mention the distinguishing title, if he had one, of the victim whose arrest and imprisonment and conditional release are mentioned in the note referred to, and, therefore, the untitled "Joshua Purdy" has been connected with those records, there are circumstances which favor the impression that *Captain* Joshua was the person to whom they really referred.

[7] Solomon Fowler was reported to the Provincial Congress, a second time, in June, 1776, and summoned to appear before the "Committee "on Conspiracies," soon after.

[8] Joshua Purdy, either this person of that name or *Captain* Joshua who is also named on this list, was reported to the Provincial Congress, a second time; summoned before the "Committee on Conspiracies;" imprisoned at the White Plains; and released from prison on condition that he should board with William Miller, Deputy Chairman of the County Committee, at his own expense, instead of at his own home.

[9] Gilbert Horton was arrested and thrown into the Prison at the White Plains.

[10] Edmund Ward was arrested and thrown into the Prison at the White Plains.

[11] Caleb Morgan was reported to the Provincial Congress, a second time; arrested; and thrown into the Prison at the White Plains.

[12] James Horton, Esq., was summoned before the "Committee of "Safety," as the County Committee called itself, in August, 1777; was unusually independent in his answers to that body; and appears to have remained without further trouble.

[13] William Barker, Esq., was reported to the Provincial Congress, a second time; arrested; examined by the Committee on Conspiracies; and thrown into the Prison at the White Plains.

[14] Rev. Samuel Seabury, soon afterwards, was seized and carried to Connecticut, where he was imprisoned. His very peculiar case will be noticed in the text, in its order.

[15] Godfrey Haines was seized, and sent to the City of New York, a few days after the transmission of this memorandum. His case will be seen in the text of this narrative, pages 291–296, post.

[16] Jonathan Purdy, of the White Plains, was arrested and thrown into the Prison at that place.

[17] Samuel Merrit was reported to the Provincial Congress, a second time; arrested; and thrown into the Prison at the White Plains.

[18] Edward Palmer was a resident of Cortlandt's Manor; and was subsequently accused of enlisting men for the Royal Army. There are some reasons for supposing that he was the young man who was so ostentatiously hung, as a spy, by the order of General Putnam, in August, 1777, of which mention will be made hereafter.

[19] Peter Drake was one of the Drakes of the Cortlandt Manor; and was an active Loyalist; but was not disturbed—he was a Drake.

[20] Peter Corney was reported to the Provincial Congress, a second time; arrested and taken before the "Committee on Conspiracies;" and permitted to go to Long Island, where he was peculiarly serviceable to those who desired to remove from that place. Because of this, the Committee of Safety and Committee on Conspiracies of the Provincial Congress, permitted his son-in-law to take and occupy his property; but the local Committee of Sequestration disregarded that permission; seized the property; and sold it, under peculiarly distressing circumstances. (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc. : *Petitions*, xxxiii., 522; *the same: Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxvii., 95, 99; xxxviii., 147; *Journal of Committee of Safety*, with Corney's son-in law's affidavit, "Die Veneris, 4 ho., P.M "June 6, 1777.")

farmers of Westchester-county—they would have been less than men, and unworthy of either respect or sympathy, had they remained passive spectators of what was then in progress, for the seizure of their persons, for the sequestration of their homes and of their estates, and for the impoverishment of their aged parents, of their wives, and of their dependent children, without just cause, without due process of Law, and by those who were in acknowledged rebellion against their recognized Sovereign. Indeed, the honest, hard-working yeomanry, throughout the entire extent of the County, those of revolutionary as well as those of conservative associations, was immediately thrown into a state of the most intense excitement; suspicion between those who had been peaceful neighbors and friends, was aroused and fostered; memories of half-forgotten piques and quarrels were recalled; and the animosities and the jealousies and the misunderstandings and the disputes of the past were revived and intensified; and, while the more zealous of the party of the Rebellion were loud in their threats and aggressive in their actions, those who constituted the great body of the inhabitants of the County and who were peaceful in all their relations, anxiously watched the progress of events, and, in some notable instances, denounced the enactments of the Provincial Congress and the Congress who had enacted them; declared their confidence—their ill-founded but honest confidence — that the Home Government would soon interfere for their protection; armed and organized themselves for their immediate security; and established strong patrols, from among themselves, to guard against surprise, by night or by day. Violence on the one side, of actions as well as of words, begat violence on the other. A lawless assault on the persons or the properties of the conservatives and the loyal, by the promptings of embittered human nature and the unwritten law of retaliation, was followed, sooner or later, by equally lawless assaults on the persons or on the families or on the properties of those, of the opposite party, who had been the original aggressors; and, very seldom, on those occasions, was a tooth or an eye regarded as a sufficient equivalent for the tooth or the eye which had been taken. "They hunted every man his "brother with a net;" the reign of peace, of happiness, and of prosperity — the era of good-feelings between neighbors, of regard among friends, of affection in families—in the old agricultural County of Westchester was ended; and partisan strife and personal and domestic misery and general waste and ruin prevailed.

Rye, even at a later period, was noted for its solid, unyielding conservatism;[1] and, in Rye and throughout Westchester-county, generally, the Purdys were peculiarly noted for their unfaltering loyalty.[2] Early in September, 1775, before the passage of the enactment by the Provincial Congress, to which reference has been made, could have become generally known throughout that "border Town," Godfrey Haines, an unmarried man, was at the house of Daniel Purdy, in Rye; and, in conversation, he condemned the reorganization of the Militia, by the Provincial Congress; declared he would not perform any duty in the new-organized Company; and denounced the Congresses and Committees, generally, saying "he had as "leave be in hell as in the hands of any of them," an opinion which was, probably, confirmed, very soon afterwards. He evidently looked forward to an expected movement of the Home Government, for the maintenance of its authority; he wished the men-of-war would move up the Sound; and, in his youthful outburst of indignation, he said he would be one of those who would indicate the persons on whom the Government should first lay the weight of its retributive power.

Of that Godfrey Haines, nothing is now definitely known beyond the facts, told by himself,[3] that he was tolerably well educated, but was without any available property; but it can be learned, from the papers in the case, that he was not a stranger in that neighborhood nor in that house. He was evidently a young man, suffering from wrongs already inflicted on him or on his personal friends, possessing a fiery temper, and warmly indignant at the movements and the threats of the revolutionary faction. He undoubtedly knew that he was among those who entertained opinions and preferences which were similar in their character to those which he had declared; but the latter may have been less willing to declare what they preferred and what their opinions were, concerning the doings of those who were, then, aspiring to the Government of the Colony—he was, however, less fortunate than they, in the expression of his opinions in the presence of one who, either through ignorance or malevolence, was mean enough to betray him.

Samson had his Delilah; and Godfrey had his Eunice. Of Delilah, not an Israelite, we know that she betrayed her lover to his enemies, to the oppressors of his kindred and his people: of Eunice, an ignorant, unmarried woman; unable to write her own name and, probably, unable to read what others had written—just such a tool, indeed, as suited the purposes of such men as, then, manipulated her spitefully-told information—and, evidently, a daughter or sister or other kinswoman of the man under whose roof and in the enjoyment of whose hospitality Godfrey was,

[1] "The People of Rye being wholly devoted to the Interest of the "Crown shut their Eyes and Ears against reason and knowledge" * * (*Petition of George Harris*, "HAERLEM, August 26, 1776"—*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Petitions*, xxxiii., 158.)

[2] At the marriage of Gabriel Purdy to Charity Purdy, at the White Plains, on the twenty-eighth of March, 1775, a large company, forty-seven in number, was assembled, among whom thirty-seven were Purdys, "and not a single Whig among them."—*Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 105, NEW-YORK, Thursday, April 20, 1775.)

[3] *Petition to the Provincial Congress*, "CITY HALL, October ye 4th, "1775"—page 117, post.

when he made those utterances, we know, also, that she betrayed a guest of the family, if not her own lover, into the hands of his enemies, into the hands of those who were oppressing his kindred and his people. She was not prompt in her treachery, which clearly indicates that it was an afterthought—probably, it was a girlish act of spiteful retaliation for some boyish affront, to which she had been subjected, subsequently to the day on which he had exposed himself to her ignorant vindictiveness. Whatever incited her, however, the story of Godfrey's outspoken utterances was told by her, within three or four weeks from the day of his visit to Purdy's; and, because he had evidently thus made himself obnoxious to the controlling faction, although he had not been previously regarded with suspicion,[1] the County Committee, with intemperate zeal, promptly proceeded to display and to exercise its new-found authority—Godfrey was arrested and taken to the White Plains, on no other accusation than the merely verbal information of the affronted Eunice; and that vindictive maiden was, also, taken to the same place, and before the same County Committee, there, in order that her accusation might be made in a more formal manner.

None of the details of the doings of that zealous County Committee, thus acting in its threefold character of prosecutor, judge, and executioner, have been recorded in history; but an affidavit was framed; and Eunice added "her mark" to it, and disappeared—even the industrious local historian has not found a place for her, in his genealogical record of the family of which she was apparently a member. The following is a copy of that affidavit, thus made, honestly or dishonestly, by Eunice Purdy, before the Committee of Safety of the County of Westchester:

"WESTCHESTER COUNTY, ss.:

"Eunice Purdy, of Rye, in the said County, "Spinster, being duly sworn upon the Holy Evange- "lists of Almighty God, deposeth and saith that, on or "about the second of September instant, Godfrey "Hains was at Daniel Purdy's, at Rye, and in con- "versation, at that time, said he understood that the "Committee or Congress had made a law to oblige all "to train under them; and that, 'damn them, if they "'came after him, they should either kill him or he "'would kill some of them; and that, dead or alive, "'he would be revenged;[2] and that he had enough "'in his pocket, then, for five or six of them.' That "he also damned the Congresses and Committees, "frequently, and said that he had as leave be in hell "as in the hands of the Congress or Committee; that "they would see if they were not all cut down, in a "fortnight, at farthest; that he wished the men-of- "war would come along the Sound; and that he wish- "ed they had raised their Company, three months "ago, for then the matter would have been settled "before that time; and further this Deponent saith "not.

her
"EUNICE + PURDY.
mark.

"Sworn the 28th September, 1775, }
"before me, }
"GILBT. DRAKE."

There was no other evidence than this evidently spitefully-made affidavit; and it is said Godfrey was "convicted," on this testimony, of "denying the au- "thority and speaking contemptuously of the Con- "gresses and the Committee of the County"—nothing appears to have been done on the charge, by Eunice, that he had used other and, apparently, more offensive words. He was ordered to be disarmed; but the judgment was returned unsatisfied, since he had concealed his arms and ammunition; and the Committee stated that it was highly improbable that they could be found. It was determined, however, that he was "a very dangerous man;" and, for its own peace sake as well as for its own safety, that very zealous Committee determined to send him to the Provincial Congress, in the City of New York, in order that that body might employ its more practised hand, in the further prosecution of him.

On the day after he had been tried and convicted and punished, as far as the Westchester-county Committee could do all these, [*September* 29, 1775,] Godfrey was placed in the custody of Daniel Winter, and sent to the City, the following letter, from that Committee, explaining the circumstances under which the victim had been thus transported from the County in which he had lived, being sent with him:

"WHITE PLAINS, Sept^r. 29, 1775.

"GENTLEMEN:

"We send you by Mr. Daniel Winter, Godfrey "Hains, a person who was accused and convicted, be- "fore us, of denying the authority and speaking con- "temptuously of the Congresses and the Committee "of this County. He was ordered to be disarmed; and, "upon examining him respecting his arms and am- "munition, he confessed that he has a gun, pistol, "sword, powder, and ball, but refused informing the "Committee where they are; and as Hains is a single "man, the Committee think it highly improbable that "his arms can be found.

"We enclose you an affidavit which induces us to "think him a dangerous man; and therefore send "him to you to be dealt with as you think proper.

"After reading the affidavit we think it needless to "acquaint you that his conduct (by the best infor- "mation we can get) has been very extraordinary—

[1] It will be seen, by reference to the list of those who were proscribed, (*page* 114, *ante*,) that Godfrey Haines's name was not on it, as it was originally written—it was "*added*" to that list "on Saturday "evening."

[2] This remark very clearly indicated that, when Godfrey made these violent remarks, he was smarting from wrongs already inflicted on himself or on those who were dear to him, by those of the revolutionary faction in Westchester-county or by those, from Connecticut, under General Wooster or others, who had come into the County, for the support of the Rebellion.

"such as going armed, and giving out threats against "some of the Committee and the Connecticut "troops, etc.

"The committee think it extremely necessary, for "the safety of the County, that the Commissions for "the Militia Officers should be immediately for-"warded.

"We are, gentlemen,
"Your most humble servants,
"By order of the Committee,
"GILBT. DRAKE, *Chairman.*

"TO THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY,
"FOR THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK."

Although the Autumn was well advanced and the days had become much shorter, Winter and his prisoner and the guard who accompanied them left the White Plains early enough to reach the City before nine o'clock on the morning of the twenty-ninth of September, the day on which the letter was written;[1] and the first subject which was brought before the Committee of Safety, there, at its morning session, in the City of New York, was the letter from the Committee of Westchester-county, which Winter had brought, with his prisoner.

Although Gilbert Livingston, and Alexander McDougal, and Isaac Sears, and others of the more radical revolutionists were present, in the Committee, that body handled the subject with great caution, and determined to have no connection with it, ordering, as the result of its deliberations, "That the said "Godfrey Haines be sent back to the Committee of "Westchester, under the care of the persons who "brought him to this City; and that Mr. Paulding, a "Deputy for the said County, be requested to write a "letter to the said Committee, informing them that "it is the opinion of this Committee, that, agreeable "to the Resolutions of the Provincial Congress of this "Colony, the County Committees are altogether com-"petent for punishing and confining persons guilty "of a breach of the said Resolutions or of either of "them."[2]

The Westchester-county-men were not inclined, however, to be troubled with the subject, especially with the knowledge which they possessed concerning the temper of many of those who were within that County; and, on the morning of the thirtieth of September, Daniel Winter "represented" to the Committee in New York "that the taking the said God-"frey Haines back will be attended with danger of "his being rescued by persons inimical to the cause "of Liberty;" and that body thereupon reconsidered its Order of the preceding day, and ordered "that the "said Godfrey Haines be committed to the Jail in this "City till the further order of this Committee or the "Provincial Congress of this Colony;"[3] and into the Jail, in New York, Godfrey was accordingly cast, without, however, the slightest provision for his support, while he should remain there.

The Jail, in the City of New York, when Godfrey Haines was cast into it, was confining other victims of arbitrary and unwarranted arrests who, also, had been sent to the Congress, by the country Counties; and it may be reasonably supposed that his animosities against the Congresses and the County Committees and those who favored them, were not, in the slightest degree, modified, by his association with those prisoners or by his own imprisonment. But, notwithstanding those animosities, his necessities compelled him to seek relief; and, on the fourth of October, the fifth day of his confinement, he united with his fellow-prisoners, in the following *Petition*, probably written by himself, addressed to the Provincial Congress, which had reassembled on the morning of that day:[4]

"TO THE HONOURABLE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS.

"GENTLEMEN: As there is Six of us Confined in "Goal by your order Charg'd with misdemeanors, we "should take it kind of you if you'd bring us to Im-"ediate tryal or provide for us in our Confinement as "we have not wherewithal to suport our ourselves. "And you will oblige yours

"CITY HALL, October y^e^ 4^th^, 1775.
"GODFREY HAINS, ADAM BERGH,
"TIMOTHY DOUGHTY, CHRISTIAN BERGH, JUN^R^.,
"JOHN DOB, DAVID DOB."

That Petition was duly presented to the Congress, on the day of its date, and was read before that body; but no action whatever appears to have been taken on it,[5] then or subsequently.

Eight days after the Provincial Congress had received and read the Petition of Godfrey Haines and his fellow-prisoners, that body received the following Resolution from the Continental Congress, which probably served to intensify rather than to ameliorate the prevailing partisan animosities; and it was certainly not well-constituted for the relief of those who were already imprisoned on similar charges:

"RESOLVED, That it be recommended to the several "Provincial Assemblies, or Conventions and Coun-"cils, or Committees of Safety, to arrest and secure "every person, in their respective Colonies, who is

[1] It is not impossible that this arrest had been made after it had become dark, on the twenty-eighth of September: it is quite clear that the Committee was in session, that the letter of transmission was written, and that Godfrey was hurried through the County, *after midnight, on the following morning.* Secrecy was probably necessary to ensure success, where the revolutionary faction was so insignificant in numbers, especially, as will be seen in the farther proceedings in this case, when those who were also active, in the maintenance of their own rights and properties, had been aroused.

[2] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Veneris, 9 ho., A.M., Sep-"tember 29, 1775."

[3] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Sabbati, 9 ho., A.M., Sep-"tember 30th, 1775."

[4] *Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Petitions*, xxxi., 70.

[5] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., Octo-"ber 4 th, 1775."

"going at large, as may, in their opinion, endanger "the safety of the Colonies or the Liberties of "America."[1]

Appended to the copy of this Resolution which was laid before the Provincial Congress of New York, was a memorandum, not included in the official transcript of the Resolution, and without a signature, which was in these words: "To be kept as secret as "its nature will admit;" and it was accompanied by extracts from letters which the Continental Congress had received from London, in one of which the Governor of New York, William Tryon, was mentioned; and in which, also, it was said that "it would be a "capital stroke to get possession of Tryon."[2] The same good fortune which Lieutenant-governor Colden had enjoyed, in receiving early information of what was proposed or done in the secret sessions of the Continental Congress of 1774, was enjoyed by Governor Tryon, concerning the private correspondence and the secret proposals and doings of the Continental Congress of 1775;[3] and he took refuge, first, on board the *Halifax*, packet, and, subsequently, on board the *Duchess of Gordon*, the latter lying under the protecting guns of the *Asia*. The prisoners in the Jail, victims of arbitrary power, were less fortunate, in their intercourse with those exercising authority, among the revolutionary faction.

There is no record of the discharge of Godfrey Haines from the Jail, in the City of New York; but, on the contrary, when the record of the proceedings of the Committee of Safety, on the morning of the twenty-ninth of September, when he was taken before that body by Daniel Winter and the guard who had brought him from the White Plains,[4] was laid before the Provincial Congress, after the latter body had reassembled, after its recess, those proceedings were officially approved;[5] and, subsequently, the further proceedings of the Committee of Safety, on the morning of the thirtieth of September, when Godfrey was committed to the Jail, in New York,[6] were also officially approved by the same Provincial Congress.[7] He was not officially released; but, very soon after his *Petition* had been filed, without receiving any other attention, his necessities nerved his arms;[8] and, about midnight, he broke six grates out of the window of his prison, and released himself. Hastening to the wharf, on the East River, the starved fugitive, from whom all food and drink had been withheld for more than a week,[9] he "impressed," if he did not steal, a boat; and found refuge and food on board of

[1] *Journal of the Continental Congress*, "Friday, October 6, 1775;" *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Jovis, 9 ho., A.M., October 12th, 1775."

[2] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Jovis, 9 ho., A.M., October 12 "1775."

[3] Compare the correspondence of Joseph Galloway and James Duane with the venerable Lieutenant governor of New York, and the knowledge of the latter, concerning the secret doings of the Congress of 1774, which the former, members of the Congress and pledged to secrecy, had communicated to him, (*pages* 27, 33, 34, *ante*,) with this later instance of secret information and copies of secret correspondence, "received from the "Fountain-Head," by Governor Tryon, enabling him to secure his personal safety by taking refuge, first, on the *Halifax*, a packet-ship, and, finally, on the *Duchess of Gordon*, the latter lying under the protecting guns of the *Asia*.

Judge Jones, in his *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, (i., 61,) said that information was conveyed to the Governor by Egbert Dumond, a member of the delegation from Ulster-county, in the Provincial Congress; and de Lancey, in his *Notes* on that work, (i., 559, 560,) acquiesced in that statement. We cannot bring ourself to an agreement with those excellent authorities.

The Resolution was adopted by the Continental Congress, on Friday, the sixth of October; transmitted to the Provincial Congress, by the President of the Continental Congress, on the ninth of October; and was not laid before the Provincial Congress, until the twelfth of October, until which day Dumond could not have had any knowledge of it. But, on the tenth of October, two days before the Provincial Congress received it, Governor Tryon had received the information, "from undoubted au "thority from the City of Philadelphia," (*Governor Tryon to the Mayor of the City of New York*, "New York, 10th Oct. 1775;") and his subsequent statement, that he was in correspondence with "the Fountain-head," (*Governor Tryon to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "On board the Dutchess of "Gordon New York 11 th Nov 1775,") confirmed his former statement, that the information came "from the City of Philadelphia." Having failed to secure that guaranty of protection from the Corporation of the City of New York which the circumstances led him to ask for, he went on board the *Halifax*, on the eighteenth or nineteenth of October, (*Governor Tryon to Mayor Hicks*, 'On board the Halifax Packet, 19th "October, 1775.")

As the Delegates from New York, in Philadelphia, were well-informed, not only concerning the Resolution but concerning the secret correspondence of the Continental Congress, which evidently formed a portion of the information which was communicated to the Governor, there is reason for believing that the correspondent of the Governor was a member of that Delegation; and the reader need not be told, in view of the fact that Lieutenant-governor Colden exposed the names of his correspondents, one of whom was in the Delegation of 1775, which was the particular Delegate who was undoubtedly the correspondent, also, of Governor Tryon, especially since, as was well known, the Governor's official and personal leanings were toward the Livingstons rather than toward the rivals of the latter, the De Lanceys, who had previously occupied the nearest place to the throne, in the Colony; and, especially, since the Delegate referred to was, by marriage, a member of the Livingston family.

The *Memorandum* which the Governor is said to have subsequently stated "was the ground of my subsequent conduct in removing on Board "the Packet," (*Governor Tryon to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "On board the "Dutchess of Gordon New York 11 th Nov 1775,") bears, on its face, the date when he is said to have received it—"Mem. Rec[d] from N York: "the best authority Nov 2 1775 W T."—and it may have been sent to him by Egbert Dumont, as stated by Judge Jones and his commentator; but, when it was said to have been received, the Governor had surely been on the *Halifax* or on the *Duchess of Gordon*, more than a fortnight.

The name of the real author of that *Memorandum*, on which Governor Tryon is inconsistently said to have placed so much dependence, and the purpose for which it was transmitted to him, *after he had been warned of his danger and had secured his safety*, are questions which need not be discussed, in this place.

[4] See page 293, ante.

[5] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Jovis, 10 ho., A.M., October "26th, 1775."

[6] See page 293, ante.

[7] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Veneris, 10 ho., A.M., Oc- "tober, 27, 1775."

[8] "David Rhea says that Captain Haines told him he was put in jail "because he refused to deliver up his arms; and that his punishment "had been determined, that he should not eat nor drink until he had "delivered them up."—(*Testimony of David Rhea, before the Committee of Safety—Journal of the Committee*, "Die Sabbati, 10 ho., A.M., January "20th, 1776.")

[9] Haines was tried and sentenced, at the White Plains, on the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth of September, when his sentence of starvation probably commenced to run. Six, if not seven, days afterwards, he petitioned for food, saying "he had not wherewithal to suport himself," his jailers, in the City of New York, doing nothing more than to read his *Petition*, and to place it on their files, (*page* 293, *ante*.) It is not probable that his long fast was continued longer than the succeeding midnight.

the *Asia*, man-of-war, then lying in the stream.[1] Captain Vandeput of that ship, treated him kindly; gave him an order for some oars; and evidently found a way to restore him to his home, in Rye. He was there, during the same month, engaged in "getting "out a parcel of oars for the man-of-war," in New York,[2] declaring, at the same time, that he "was "determined to have satisfaction on some particular "persons," evidently in retaliation for the wrongs which those persons had inflicted on him.[3]

The subsequent career of that unfortunate victim of Westchester-county's "patriotism" would afford material for a romance, as it has done that for dispassionate history. During the succeeding December [1775], in company with "one Palmer"—said to have been of Mamaroneck—he loaded the Sloop *Polly and Ann*, which he had recently purchased from Isaac Gedney, with Beef, Pork, and other Provisions; and, taking on board three quarter-casks of Madeira Wine, a package of Turnips, and other articles, all of them for General Howe, and other packages for General Ruggles, Mr. Willard, and Mrs. Ann Wood, together with Isaac Gedney, Bartholomew Haines (who was his cousin) Mr. Palmer (who was one of the owners of the cargo), and seven other persons, passengers, he sailed for Boston. He sailed from New York, on a Wednesday, the nineteenth of December, nominally for the West Indies, but undoubtedly for Boston. It appears, however, that adversity still accompanied him; and, on the following Saturday night, [*December* 23, 1775], the *Polly and Ann* was driven ashore, at Squam Beach, on the coast of New Jersey, so widely known as the "graveyard" of the mercantile marine of the world.

The savory reputation of the "wreckers" of that treacherous coast, sometimes made more treacherous by reason of the false lights displayed by those who lived there, will prepare the reader for the remainder of that sad story of adventure and of disaster—the vessel does not appear to have gone to pieces; and that and what remained of her cargo, after the "wreckers" had satisfied themselves from it, were seized by the local revolutionary Committee of Monmouth-county, and sold, not for the benefit of the owners of either the vessel or the cargo, but for whatever other purpose the Provincial Congress of New Jersey should determine; while "the Captain, Mas- "ter, and Passengers," or such of them as had not already abandoned the scene of their last affliction, after nineteen days had elapsed since the wreck of the Sloop, were ordered to be sent, duly guarded, to the City of New York, and delivered to the Committee of Safety of that Colony. As may be foreseen, Godfrey Haines was remitted to the tender mercies of those from whom he had escaped, in the preceding October.[4]

Three days after Major Henderson and his prisoners reached New York, [*January* 23, 1776,] "The Com- "mittee of Safety took into consideration the case of "Godfrey Haines, lately apprehended and sent here "by the Committee of Safety of New Jersey; are of "opinion that his many and mischievous machina- "tions are so dangerous that he ought to be kept in "safe custody and close jail; and that, by the Res- "olutions of the Continental Congress of the second "day of January instant,[5] they are fully authorized, "and that it is their duty to the Country, to have him "confined; and as the said Godfrey Haines lately "broke the Jail of this City, and escaped, when he "was confined there, as a prisoner,[6] and, continuing "his evil practices,[7] set off to navigate a vessel loaded "with Provisions to supply the Ministerial Army and "Navy, at Boston, they conceive it will be very "dangerous to keep or convey the said Godfrey "Haines to Ulster-county Jail, unless he is fettered "or manacled; therefore

"Resolved and Ordered, That the said Godfrey "Haines be conveyed to Ulster-county Jail, to be "there confined in safe and secure custody, in close "jail, until the further order of the Continental or "Provincial Congress, or of this Committee. And

"Ordered, That the said Godfrey Haines be sent, "manacled or fettered, under guard, to Ulster-county "Jail; and that Colonel McDougal be requested to "procure an Officer, with a proper Guard of the "Militia or Minute-men of this City, to guard the "said prisoner and the other prisoners heretofore "ordered to jail, to Kingston, in Ulster-county."[8] At the same time, a letter was written to the Ulster-county Committee, "praying" that body "that very "particular directions for keeping him in safe cus- "tody, to prevent his escape, be given as to Haines,

[1] Haines made this statement to one of the guard which subsequently conveyed him to New-York, after he had been re-captured, (*Testimony of Major Henderson, before the Committee of Safety;*) and he also made the same statement to David Rhea, (*Testimony of David Rhea, before the same Committee: Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Sabbati, 10 ho., "A.M., January 20, 1776.")

[2] *Examination of Gilbert Budd before the Provincial Congress—Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Veneris, 5 ho., P.M., November 3, "1775."

[3] *Affidavit of Philip Pinckney*, November 1, 1775—page 301, post.

[4] This statement is based on the *Affidavit of James Webb*, one of the passengers; on the *Proceedings of the Committee of Safety of New-Jersey*, "*with respect to those Prisoners;*" on the *Supplementary statement of James Webb*; on the *Testimony of David Rhea*; and on the *Statements of Major Thomas Henderson of the Monmouth-county Minute men*, who conveyed the prisoners to New York.

[5] The reader will not fail to observe that the Committee carefully concealed the notable enactment of the Provincial Congress, of the first of the preceding September, (*vide pages* 287–289, *ante.*)

[6] The Committee made no mention of the fact that he had, then, been kept without food or water, a full week; and that, since his prayer for food had been disregarded by the Provincial Congress, he was compelled either to force his way out of the prison or to starve, (*vide page* 118, *ante.*)

[7] The only "evil practises" for which he had been condemned were "denying the authority and speaking contemptuously of the Congresses "and the Committee of Westchester-county"—Eunice Purdy had made other charges against him, which, however, had evidently been dismissed by the County Committee, (*vide page* 294, *ante.*)

[8] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Martis, 3 ho., P.M., 23rd "Jan'y, 1776."

"as he formerly broke the Jail, in this City, and made "his escape;" and, at the same time, directing that Committee to "appoint some person whom you shall "think proper, to supply them with the necessaries of "life, at their own expense, if they can pay for them; "and if they cannot, at the public expense."[1] Agreeably to that prayer, a special Guard of Grenadiers was placed over Godfrey and his two fellow-prisoners; and the Committee, in Kingston, said, "they will be "safe, we think."[2]

The subsequent career of Godfrey Haines, as far as it is known, can be told in few words—the severity of the treatment which he had received and which he continued to receive broke down his health; and the Committee of Ulster-county was applied to, to permit him to be removed from his close confinement and to have "the liberty of the house," until he should have recovered his health and strength. Permission was accordingly given for his liberation from his manacles and his close imprisonment; and, very evidently, the sympathy of those who held him in custody was turned toward him far enough to permit him to escape.[3] We have found nothing further concerning him.

There were other arrests in Westchester-county similar to that of Godfrey Haines, one of which, that of Elijah Weeks, was followed by an attempt to rescue him, by an armed force, among the latter of whom were Isaac Gedney, Junior,[4] William Nelson,[5] Joshua Boyea, Joshua Ferris,[6] Bartholomew Haines,[7] Elijah Haines, William Haines, and John Haines, the persons who made the arrest having been Job Haddon, of Harrison Precinct, Benjamin Morrell, of New York, and Isaac Sniffen, of Rye-neck.[8]

Among those who were, also, arrested and thrown into prison, by the Committee of Westchester-county, under the provisions of the enactment of the Provincial Congress which is now under consideration, were Joshua Purdy, Caleb Morgan, John McCord, Gilbert Horton, Josiah Brown, Edmund Ward, Samuel Merrit, Philip Fowler, Gabriel Purdy, William Barker, Junior, John Besley, Isaac Brown, Bartholomew Haines, Joseph Purdy, and Jonathan Purdy; and, as an evidence of the wide-spread ruin which was inflicted on the inhabitants of the County, by the sequestrations of the real and personal estates of those who were "suspected" of being opposed to the Rebellion, there were sequestrated in the single Town of Salem, prior to the sixth of December, 1776, the properties of Ephraim Sanford, Thomas Smith, Benjamin Close, Gilbert Hunt, Samuel Baxter, Abraham Close, Job Keeler, Jonathan Wallace, Ezra Morehouse, Jacob Wallace, Samuel Wallace, Nathaniel Palmer, Nathan Osborn, Abraham Dan, Edward Jones, and George Butson.[9]

It was a reasonable consequence, under the existing circumstances, that questions should be raised, concerning the legitimacy of any such authority as the Provincial Congress had created, in these enactments, and delegated to the several local Committees, none of which were recognized by the Law of the land and all of which were antagonistic to those Laws. It was a short-sighted policy, also, even among those who were in rebellion, which inflicted penalties, especially such penalties as these, on those persons who continued, peacefully, on their respective farms, quietly pursuing their daily labors, honestly respecting the Laws of the country, and consistently recognizing and honoring the Sovereignty of the King, whom even those who were in rebellion quite as fully recognized, as their undoubted Sovereign; and these, for no other reason than for disrespectful words, concerning the several Committees and Congresses, and for the utterance of questions concerning their respective authorities. It was a reasonable consequence, under existing circumstances, we repeat, that quiet men should become excited and excitable men angry, and that all should become alarmed and indignant, when a mere handful of their neighbors, without their "consent" and without the slightest warrant of Law and without the slightest necessity, usurped and maintained such unheard-of authority as was created in these enactments; and it was equally reasonable, under the circumstances which then existed, that there should be neighborly consultations and neighborhood organizations, as well as personal efforts, for the support and protection of

[1] *Letter from the Committee of Safety to the Committee of Ulster-county* "In Committee of Safety, New-York, 23rd June, 1776."

[2] *Letter from the Ulster-county Committee to the Committee of Safety*, "Kingston, January 27th, 1776."

[3] *William Elsworth, Chairman of the Ulster-county Committee, to the Provincial Congress*, "Kingston, May 22, 1776;" *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Sabbati, 9 ho., A.M., May 25, 1776."

[4] Isaac Gidney, probably the same person, visited Governor Tryon, on the *Duchess of Gordon*, a few months afterwards, (*Examination of William Sutton before the Westchester-county Committee*, July 23, 1776.)

[5] William Nelson was one of those who, in the following year, "were "supposed to have gone to the British Army," (*List of Sundry Persons, Inhabitants of Cortlandt's Manor*, etc.: *Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxvi., 594).

[6] Joshua Ferris, a son of Caleb Ferris, was one of those who went on board the *Phœnix*, when that ship went up the Hudson, in July, 1776, (*Examination of Joshua Ferris: Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxv., 69, 85.) He, or another person bearing the same name, was a prisoner, in the Jail at the White Plains, in September, 1776, at which time he petitioned the Provincial Congress "that His Irons may be "taken off as he cannott posibly Shift Himself or get clear of the Ver-"min, with which he is Greatly Infected to the great disturbance of his "unfortunate fellow prisoners," (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Petitions*, xxxiii., 82.)

[7] Bartholomew Haines, a cousin of Godfrey Haines, was one of those who were reported to the Provincial Congress, as obnoxious to the revolutionary faction in Westchester-county, (*page* 290, *ante*;) and he was, also, one of those who were arrested and thrown into the Jail, at the White Plains, in the Summer of 1776, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Petitions*, xxxiii., 108.)

[8] *Letter from the Sub-committee of the Committee of Westchester-county to the Provincial Congress*, "White Plains, November 1, 1775."

[9] The names of those who were arrested and imprisoned, which are named in the text, were copied from a single Petition for relief, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Petitions*, xxxiii., 108); but there were many others. The names of those farmers, in Salem, whose Farms, Stock, Tools, Crops, Household Furniture, etc., were thus seized and sold, were taken from the same *Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxv. 307, in which the properties are mentioned, in detail.

the personal and domestic and political Rights which those farmers indisputably possessed, under the Constitution and the Laws of the Kingdom—they would have been unworthy of their manhood and of their families, of their homes and of their Rights, had they failed to become excited and alarmed, to have armed and organized and fought, for themselves and their wives and their little ones, for their homes and their properties and their Rights, whenever and by whomsoever and under whatever pretence of ill-gotten authority, these might have been assailed. It was a mistake, as well as a crime, therefore, to assume authority for the arrest and imprisonment of men and for the sequestration of their properties and the impoverishment of the aged and of the dependent and helpless, without a shadow of legal authority and in audacious defiance of it; without a shadow of existing necessity, even from the standpoint of the Rebellion, for the enactment of such extreme measures; and with a reasonable assurance that a manly self-respect among those who were proscribed, would be surely aroused, not only for their own and their families' protection, but, as far as they could do it, for the suppression of that haughty lawlessness which had presumed to create and to enforce so grave an enactment of despotism. It was loudly declared to have been the most ardent wish of even the most advanced advocate of rebellion, to have secured a reconciliation with the Mother Country and a restoration of harmony and good-will among the adverse parties throughout the several Colonies:[1] how much more of wisdom there would have been displayed among those who had seized the reins of government, therefore, had they practised their hands in the work of reconciliation and harmony and goodwill among their neighbors, instead of driving the staid and the quiet and the conscientious and the law-abiding, among the latter, into active and bitter partisanship, and of spreading alarm and strife and misery and ruin over the entire County. There might have been fewer transformations of moral and intellectual pigmies into potent political giants—there might have been a smaller number of fortunes rapidly and largely increased from the plunder of neighboring better-provided-for households and farmyards—but there would have been, also, fewer outrages against the Laws of both man and of God; less occasion for bitterness among the descendants of those who were, then, neighbors in locality, if not in fact; and very much less for the faithful historian to condemn and to denounce, while reciting the annals of the American Revolution, as that Revolution was developed and seen in the agricultural and prosperous and peaceful County of Westchester, in New York. But the end of such outrages had not yet come.

While the excitement occasioned by the enactments of the Provincial Congress, authorizing local Committees to seize and imprison and disarm and deprive of their estates those who should become obnoxious to those local demagogues and against whom, by fair means or by foul, an accusation of unfriendly thoughts or words against the Rebellion could possibly be trumped up, was at its height, and while some of the inhabitants of the County were already suffering from imprisonment, attended by the most distressing circumstances, under the provisions of those enactments, the Committee of Safety, whom the Provincial Congress had left on duty, with a limited authority, during a brief recess of the latter body, still further aroused the excitement and the indignation of the greater number of the Colonists in New York, of nearly all of those within Westchester-county, by the publication of the following Resolution and Orders:

"In Committee of Safety,
"For the Colony of New York,
"September 16th, 1775.

"Whereas, a great number of the men enlisted in "the Continental Service, in this Colony, are destitute of Arms, and in order to carry into execution "the Resolutions of the Continental Congress, it is "absolutely necessary to have those troops armed: "And whereas, every method to hire or purchase "Arms, hitherto attempted, has failed to procure a "sufficient number of Arms for the said troops, and "the only method remaining is to impress Arms for "their use,

"Resolved, therefore, That all such Arms as are "fit for the use of the troops raised in this Colony, "which shall be found in the hands or custody of any "person who has not signed the *General Association* "in this Colony, shall be impressed for the use of the "said troops. And

"Ordered, That the person or persons who shall "have the charge of the carrying this Resolution into "execution, in each County, shall direct all the Arms "that shall be so impressed, to be collected at some "place in the County where they are impressed, and "there valued and appraised by three indifferent men "of reputation of the County, any two of whom "agreeing, shall be sufficient to ascertain the price; "that an account be kept from whom every Musket, "Gun, or Firelock, so impressed, shall have been "taken; and each such Gun, Musket, or Firelock "caused to be marked with the initial letter of the "name of the County where it is impressed and numbered, the numbers following each other, successively; and that the same be entered in a book provided for that purpose, with the name of the owner "opposite to the number marked on each Musket, "Gun, or Firelock, respectively. And

[1] "The thought that we might be driven to the sad necessity of breaking our connection with Great Britain, exclusive of the carnage and destruction, which it was easy to see must attend the separation, always gave me a great deal of grief. And even now, I would cheerfully retire from public life, forever, renounce all chance for honors or profits from the public, nay, I would cheerfully contribute my little property, to obtain peace and liberty."—(*John Adams to his Wife*, "7 October, 1775.")

"ORDERED, That a Certificate, specifying the value "and the mark of the Musket, Gun, or Firelock so "impressed, appraised, and marked, shall be signed "by the Appraisers and Impressers, which shall enti- "tle the owner thereof to receive the appraised value "from the Treasurer of the Provincial Congress of "this Colony: PROVIDED the same be not returned at "or before the conclusion of the present unhappy "controversy between Great Britain and the united "Colonies. And that an account, signed by the said "Appraisers and Impressers, of all such Muskets, "Guns, and Firelocks, so impressed, shall be sent, "forthwith, to the Secretaries of the Provincial Con- "gress, or either of them, to be filed. And that all "the Muskets, Guns, and Firelocks so impressed, on "Nassau Island,[1] be delivered, without delay, to Peter "T. Curtenius, the Commissary of the Provincial "Congress of this Colony; and those that shall be im- "pressed in the other Counties of this Colony, to be "deposited with their respective Committees, subject "to the order of the said Provincial Congress or Com- "mittee of Safety. And

"ORDERED, That the Captains of the respective "Companies of the Third Regiment of the troops of "this Colony, who are now in Suffolk-county, be "authorized to carry these Resolutions into execu- "tion in Queens-county. That Colonel Lasher[2] be "requested to send two or more Companies of his "Battalion, to give such assistance in Queens-county "as may be necessary, at such time and to such place "or places as Colonel McDougal and John Sloss Ho- "bart, Esq., shall direct or advise. And

"ORDERED FARTHER, That the Chairman of the "Committee and Captain Dutcher,[3] with such drafts "from the Militia as he shall think necessary, or with "the assistance of some of General Wooster's troops,[4] "be enabled to carry the said Resolutions into effect, "in Westchester-county. And that these Resolutions "be carried into execution, in every other County, by "the Chairman of the County Committee, with the "assistance of the Militia Officers, who are hereby "ordered to be aiding therein with such parts of the "Militia as each such Chairman shall think necessary. "And

"ORDERED, That the several persons who shall be "disarmed by virtue of the above Resolutions, shall "be exempted from doing duty in the Militia, as or- "dered by the Provincial Congress of this Colony. "And farther

"ORDERED, That in case any of the non-associators "aforesaid shall resist those persons authorized to "put these Resolutions into execution, they (the per- "sons hereby authorized to put in execution the "above Resolves) are hereby authorized to repel "force by force, and to take into custody such per- "son or persons so resisting, and cause him or them "to be brought before this Committee or the Provin- "cial Congress of this Colony."[5]

The real purpose of the Committee of Safety, in the adoption and publication of this Resolution and of these several Orders, was the entire disarmament of every one who, for any reason, had neglected or declined to sign the *General Association*; and, for that reason, every class of fire-arms, whether adapted to the uses of the Army or not, was included, in every instance, in the Orders wherein the Arms to be seized were specifically described. It will be seen, also, that the Counties of Queens and Westchester were especially noticed; and that they, alone, were selected for details of foreign troops, for the enforcement, within each of them, respectively, of the utmost requirements of the Committee's Orders—besides the local Militia, in each of the two Counties, thus honored by the Committee of Safety's malignant animosity, a large additional force of troops, from beyond the boundaries of the County, in each instance, was placed at the disposal of those who were sent, within those Counties, respectively, for the "impressment" of the Arms, in order to ensure the most complete success of the enterprise.

It must have been peculiarly galling, among those who had been accustomed to hear of the "Rights of "Man" and of the "Constitutional Rights of Engiish- "men" and all the other catchwords and maxims in the science of government—generally true, in theory, although, practically, they had been seized and employed by demagogues, in those instances, only for the advancement of personal and partisan ends—when a military force, no matter by whom commanded nor of what troops it was composed, was moved from farmhouse to farmhouse, failing to call only on those who were in favor with the Chairman of a County Committee, for the seizure of whatever "Muskets, Guns, "and Firelocks" the occupants of those several farmhouses owned or had in their possession. Not an exception was made, no matter what reason there might have been for such an exception; and everything which had a gun-lock on it, whether useful or useless for military purposes—whether a young man's fowling-piece, with which he was wont to have a few hours' sport, when squirrels and robins abounded, or to have more serious work, when foxes and more formidable marauders poached in the poultry-yards or in the sheep-pastures; or an old man's worn-out musket, a trusty friend in earlier Wars and, now, only a remembrancer of other days and other hardships—everything was doomed, by that new-formed

[1] Long Island was continued to be called "Nassau Island," long after 1775.

[2] John Lasher was Colonel of First Regiment of New York City (uniformed) Militia.

[3] William Dutcher, of what is now Irvington, was Captain of "the "Associated Company of the upper part of Philipsburgh," (*ride page* 282 *ante*.)

[4] General Wooster was encamped near Harlem, on Manhattan Island, with a large body of troops, brought thither from Connecticut.

[5] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Sabbati, 9 ho., A.M., Septem- "ber 16th, 1775."

power, to seizure and, practically, to forfeiture. There was grave reason for increased discontent and excitement. There was ample reason, under the circumstances which then existed, for obstructing the execution of the Committee's Orders—indeed, there was greater reason for concealing the objects which the military force was expected to seize and "impress," under the provisions of these Orders, than there had been for the concealment of the Bay Colony's military stores, at Concord, when Lieutenant-colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn were sent to seize them, and for resisting the aggression of the Committee, than there had been for the punishment of the invader, in that instance, after his work had been finished, on the highway, between Concord and Charlestown.[1]

It is said that, in Queens-county, "the people "conceal all their Arms that are of any value; many "declare they know nothing about the Congress, "nor do they care anything for the Orders of the "Congress, and say that they would sooner lose their "lives than give up their Arms; and that they would "blow any man's brains out, who should attempt to "take them from them. We are told," the writer continued, "that the people have been collecting "together, and parading, in sundry places, armed, "and firing their Muskets, by way of bravado. On "the whole, had we the Battalion" [*Lasher's*] "we "believe we should be able to collect a very consider-"able number of good Arms and support the honour of "Congress; but without it, shall not—and think that "if the Battalion is sent up, the sooner the better."[2]

There are no known records of the doings of Gilbert Drake and Captain William Dutcher, in their tours of pillage, among the conservative and peaceful farmers of Westchester-county; but there appears, from a brief mention which has been made, in other connections, that the men of that County, like those of Queens-county, armed themselves, and patroled the County, in large parties, to guard against surprises; declaring their determination to defend themselves, and saying "that if any body came to "their houses to take away their Arms, they would "fire upon them."[3] It appears, also, that the declaration was fully sustained; that the united farmers proved more than a match for the local Militia and the other troops which the Chairman of the County Committee had been authorized to call for his support; and that, for the more effectual accomplishment of his purposes, that Chairman had assumed still further authority, by calling on the floating population of the neighboring Towns, in Connecticut, for reinforcements[4]—as the Chairman of the County Committee was authorized by the Committee of Safety, to call for the entire Militia of the County, already seem to have been sufficient to fill three Regiments,[5] and as many of General Wooster's command of Connecticut troops, then encamped below Harlem,[6] and numbering "about 400 men,"[7] as should be required, that opposition must have been wide-spread and resolutely maintained, in Westchester-county, which had required, in addition to all these, for its suppression, an additional force, drawn from what may be properly called the Swiss Guards of Colonial America, mercenaries, who, while they professed to have been ardent friends of Freedom, were, nevertheless, whenever they could see any possible advantage to their individual interests, constantly ready to enlist in any service, outside of Connecticut, and to become, in their new associations, the most devoted of all supporters of despotism and the most relentless of all persecutors of those, no matter of what country, who dared to question the sanctity of the assumed authority of those who employed them.

[1] Doctor Sparks noticed this outrage, in these words: "The Committee "reasoned but imperfectly from the facts of history and the principles of "human nature, when they supposed that people, with arms in their "hands, would be tempted to resign them, by such motives as were held "out. They must either be treated as friends or enemies. If friends, "their safety and interest required that the soldiers who were to pro-"tect their property and defend their rights should be armed; and the "call of patriotism would be the loudest that could be made to them. "While deaf to this call, they would not be made to listen to the Orders "of a Committee or the Resolves of a Congress. If enemies, the sense "of present danger, operating on the first law of nature, would prompt "them to keep within their power, their only sure means of defence. "In either case, the idea of taking away their arms, by a compulsory "impressment, had little to recommend it, either in policy or prudence." —(*Life of Gouverneur Morris*, i., 63.)

The Doctor reasoned, above, on the ground that the *Order* of the Committee was an isolated act, disconnected with any other of the class; and he reasoned well, on that premise; but the fact was, another *Order* had just been made, *in secret*, to seize the persons and properties of those who were obnoxious to the Committee and its subordinates; and it was considered necessary, for the safety of the marauders, to deprive the secretly proposed victims of that earlier enactment, of their means for defence, before it commenced, openly, its work of lawlessness and outrage, on the persons and properties of those who had been or who should, thenceforth, be designated as its victims.

[2] *Letter from Major William Williams to the Committee of Safety.* "Jamaica, September 25th, 10 o'clock, P.M."

Major Williams appears to have been a resident of Queens-county.

[3] *Testimony of Colonel Gilbert Budd of Mamaroneck, before the Provincial Congress. Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Veneris, 10 ho. A.M., "November 3, 1775," (*vide page 302, post.*)

[4] This conflict between those who were executing the Orders of the Committee of Safety, for the disarmament of those who had not signed the *Association*, and those, in Westchester-county, who were intended to have been the victims of the Committee's aggressive policy, has been studiously concealed by all who have written on the subject of the American Revolution; but the Provincial Congress, on the twelfth of December, gave the formal thanks of that body "to those of the In-"habitants of the Colony of Connecticut, who so cheerfully gave "their aid, at the request of the Committee of Westchester-county, "in the late suppression of the Insurgents in that County, against the "cause of Liberty." *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Martis, 3 "ho., P.M., Decr. 12th, 1775,") which is ample authority, for the statement, in the text.

[5] See pages 281, 282, 283, ante.

[6] General Wooster and his command were encamped on property belonging to Arent Bussing, near Harlem, from the eighteenth of July, preceding, (*Journal of Provincial Congress*, "Die Martis, 9 ho., A.M., "July 18th, 1775.")

[7] "General Wooster is at Harlem, with about 400 men, which appear "to us to be unemployed," (*Letter from the Committee of Safety to the Continental Congress*, "In Committee of Safety for the Colony of New "York, during the recess of the Provincial Congress, New-York, "Sept. 19, 1775.")

It is proper that notice shall be taken, in this connection, of the fact that the Provincial Congress, on the twenty-fourth of October, twenty days after that body had returned to its place and to its work and thirty-eight days after its Committee of Safety had adopted and published the Resolution and Orders, "relating to the impressment of Arms," which have been thus described and denounced, passed a formal Resolution "disapproving" and, therefore, abrogating them;[1] but the mischief which had necessarily proceeded from the adoption and publication and attempts to execute that Resolution and those Orders, could not be undone; the wounds which had been inflicted, were too deep to be healed by such an emollient; and an increased and constantly increasing bitterness of feeling, between the conservative and the revolutionary portions of the inhabitants, was every where seen, scattering its baleful and ruinous influence, from one extreme of the County to the other.

The radical changes in the characters and conduct of the previously quiet and orderly and industrious and prosperous inhabitants of Westchester-county, which were produced by the succession of aggressive enactments, made and published by the Provincial Congress and by its Committee of Safety, may be seen in the following letter and in what followed it, while that Provincial Congress was in session:

"WHITE PLAINS, November 1st, 1775."

"SIR:

"The Committee of Westchester-county, having "been called together upon a request of some of their "body, upon suspicion of a plot being contrived to "carry off several of the members and some others "who had shewed themselves zealously attached to "the Liberties of this country, Mr. Philip Pinkney,[2] "(who had given very full information, to some of the "Committee, of the plot, and had offered to swear to "it, provided he was brought by the Committee by "an appearance of force, and had engaged not to be "out of the way,) upon being sent for, by some of the "guard attending the Committee, was not to be "found; whereupon some of the Committee, by order "of the whole, waited upon Mr. Pinkney, who, after "refusing to come before the Committee, and after a "great deal of equivocation, made the enclosed affi-"davit, before a Magistrate, which we have reason to "think is not the whole truth; for which reasons we "refer you to Colonel Budd[3] and Mr. Gill. Budd "Horton,[4] with whom Mr. Pinkney has conversed.

"As we are only a Sub-committee appointed to take "the examination of Mr. Pinkney and such other "persons as might be necessary, and to make a Re-"port of our Proceedings to the Honourable the Pro-"vincial Congress, we beg leave to request that Mr. "Pinkney may be sent for and critically examined, "by the Congress, respecting the above matter, and "with relation to Oars being made by the request of "Captain Vandeput;[5] and, also, that William Davis, "(who was employed in making the Oars,) and Sarah "Williams, the wife of Isaac Williams, of Westchester, "may also be sent for and examined as witnesses, "respecting them.

"We also request that Mr. William Lounsberry,[6] "Isaac Gedney, Junior, and three hired men who "work at Justice Sutton's,[7] may be sent for, on account "of what Mr. Pinckney has related, though not sworn "to, that they, among others, were Minute-men, as he "called them; that they were to be ready, at a "moment's warning, to take off some persons who "were the most obnoxious.

"We would also request, when the others are sent "for, that the before-mentioned Isaac Gedney, Junior, "and William Nelson, Joshua Boyea, Joshua Ferris, "Bartholomew Hains, Elijah Hains, William Hains, "and John Hains, be also taken and brought before "the Honourable Congress, for taking up arms to "rescue Elijah Weeks, who was brought before the "Committee upon a charge against him. Upon the "charge, we would mention the Widow Margaret "Gedney, of the White Plains, (where they left their "Arms), Job Haddon, of Harrison Precinct, Benjamin "Morrell, of New-York, and Isaac Sniffen, of Rye-"Neck, as witnesses.[8]

"For evidence to the other charges, we beg leave to

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Martis, 9 ho., A.M., October 24th, 1775."

[2] There is not the slightest mention of this evidently tricky Philip, in any of the contemporary records with which we have any acquaintance, except in this instance; and we suspect he was that loyalist, Philip, who fled to Nova Scotia, at the close of the War, of whom Bolton made mention. He was evidently well-fitted for a "Cow-boy;" and, very probably, he was one.

Bolton, in his *History of Westchester-county*, (original edition, i., 155, 156; *the same*, second edition, i., 248, 249,) gave a sketch and pedigree of the family.

[3] Gilbert Budd of Mamaroneck, was Lieutenant-colonel of the Second Regiment of Westchester-county Militia, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, xxvi., 13—*pages* 283, 284, *ante*.)

Bolton, in his *History of Westchester-county*, (original edition, ii., 80, 81, 509; *the same*, second edition, 197, 715, 716,) gave an account of his family.

[4] Gil. Budd Horton, of Mamaroneck, was the only representative of that Town, in the County Committee of 1776–'7, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxviii., 309.) He was captured and carried away, by the Royal troops or by the local loyalists, in 1777, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Petitions*, xxxiii., 710.)

[5] Captain Vandeput commanded the *Asia*, man-of-war, then at New York. Concerning the making of these Oars, vide page 295, ante.

[6] See page 302, post.

[7] "Justice Sutton" was the "William Sutton, Esq." who was one of the signers of the call for the Meeting at the White Plains, in April, 1775, as well as one who signed the *Declaration and Protest*, at the same place, against the proceedings of that Meeting, (*vide pages* 246, 248, *ante*.) He was one of the King's Justices of the Peace; and one of those who were reported to the Committee on Conspiracies, in June, 1776, and ordered to be arrested, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxx., 156.) He was summoned to appear before the Committee, (*Ibid*, xxxv., 485;) and his examination, before the County Committee, on the twenty-third of July, 1776, indicated the temper of that body against the De Lanceys, and all who were connected with that family, either by kinship or in politics, (*Ibid*, xxxiv., 531, 605, 537, 535.)

[8] See page 296, ante.

"refer you to Colonel Budd and Mr. Gill. Budd "Horton.

"We would not have troubled the Congress about "apprehending the above-named persons, but that "we look upon ourselves, at present, too weak to do "it, without great danger;[1] and we beg leave to sub- "mit it, whether it be not necessary, for the security "of many amongst us, as well as to prevent Provisions "being conveyed to the Ministerial Army, that a "Guard be placed along the Sound, in this County.

"We are, Sir,

"Your most humble servants,

"JONATHAN G. TOMPKINS,[2]

"THOMAS THOMAS,[3]

"JESSE HUNT,[4]

"MICAH TOWNSEND,[5]

"ANTHONY MILLER.[6]

"To NATHANIEL WOODHULL, President
"of the Provincial Congress in New York."

The Affidavit referred to in this letter was as follows:

"WESTCHESTER COUNTY, ss.

"Personally appeared before me, James Horton, "Junior, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace "in and for said County,[7] Philip Pinkney, of full age, "who deposeth and saith, that on Wednesday, the "twenty-fifth day instant,[8] being in company, he "heard one say that Godfrey Haines was determined "to have satisfaction on some particular persons,[9] and "that there was a tender expected, to take them off, "instantly; and that this Deponent was asked if he "would assist in taking off Judge Thomas,[10] private- "ly; and that they were determined to have him, if "possible"; and that there was a person to be in a "particular place, to receive him from those that took "him.

"PHILIP PINCKNEY.

"Taken and sworn before me this
"first day of November, 1775,
"JAMES HORTON, JUNR."[12]

The Provincial Congress received the letter and the affidavit, and placed them on file, without taking any other action which was recorded on its *Journal*, than the making of an Order that Colonel Budd and Gil. Budd Horton, who had evidently taken those papers to the Congress, should attend that body, at five o'clock, on the same afternoon.[13] At the appointed hour, those gentlemen made their appearance before the door of the Assembly Chamber, in the City Hall, in which the Congress was assembled in secret Session; and when they were admitted into the Chamber, they were duly examined—the testimony of Gil. Budd Horton, however, was evidently so entirely useless that it was not reduced to writing, and, consequently, no portion of it was entered on the *Journal of the Provincial Congress*. The testimony of Colonel Gilbert Budd, as it appears on that *Journal*,[14] is in these words:

"Col. Gilbert Budd and Gilbudd Horton, from "Westchester County, attending according to order, "were called in, and examined; and the examination "of Gilbert Budd was taken in writing, and filed, and "is as follows, to wit:

"Gilbert Budd, of Mamaroneck, says that the tories "are getting the upper hand of and threaten them, "daily, and have injured their private property, by "throwing down stone fences and cropping his horses' "tails and manes; that Philip Pinckney told him, "last Sunday, that he was in company, on the twenty- "fifth of October last, with a man who told him that "there would be bad times in Mamaroneck, before "long; and said that some of the people of "the place would be taken off; that he, Pinck- "ney, asked the man that told him, how they were to "be taken off; he answered, that they expected a ten- "der, in the harbour, in a few days; and that she "would send barges on shore, in order to carry the "people off; that he, Pinckney, further asked the "man, where they were to be carried to, and he an- "swered, 'To Gage.' Mr. Budd told Pinckney that "Gage was not there; he answered, 'To Gage's "'Army;' that Pinckney said he asked the man, who "the men were that were to be taken off; that the

[1] The puny faction which, with the aid of the military power, was exercising such a terrible authority, in Westchester-county, here confessed its weakness, when unsupported by that power.

[2] See page 284, ante.

[3] See page 283, ante.

[4] Jesse Hunt was Sheriff of Westchester-county, 1781–1785.

[5] Micah Townsend was a member of the County Committee of 1775–'6, and its Secretary; he was one of the Minute-men, at White Plains, in February, 1776; and he was in command of a Company, in the following Summer. He evidently left Westchester-county, soon afterwards, as he was in the Assembly of the State, in 1779–'80, representing Cumberland-county.

[6] Anthony Miller was Second Lieutenant of the Scarsdale and White Plains Company of Militia, in 1775, and Captain of the same Company, in 1776.

[7] James Horton, Junior, was proscribed as a Tory, and ordered to be arrested in June, 1776, (*Historical Manuscript*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxx., 156.)

[8] This date was, evidently, a clerical error. It was, undoubtedly, intended for "the twenty-fifth *ultimo*," October 25, 1776.

[9] Of Godfrey Haines, his grievances, and his threats, see pages 291–296, *ante*.

[10] "Judge Thomas" was Hon. John Thomas, County Judge of Westchester-county, 1755–1777, and Member of the General Assembly of the Colony, representing the county of Westchester, 1743–'75, in which latter capacity the reader has already been made acquainted with him.

[11] Although the project of carrying Judge Thomas away from his home, in 1775, if such a project was really entertained, was not carried out; a similar project, in 1777, was successful; and he was carried to New York, as Haines had been, and thrown into prison, in that City, as Haines had been, (*vide pages* 292, 293, *ante*,) and died there.

[12] The entire prostration of the Colonial Government, in New York, and its entire helplessness to protect the Colonists from the outrages to which they were subjected by the promoters of the Rebellion, is nowhere more clearly seen than in this appearance of one of those who were in rebellion, before one of the King's Justices of the Peace, to make an official affidavit concerning a plot to carry away from his home, one of the leaders in that Rebellion, by those who were not in rebellion.

[13] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Veneris, 10 ho., A.M., No- "vember 3d, 1775."

[14] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Veneris, 3 ho., P.M., Novem- "ber 3, 1775."

"man intimated to him that Mr. Gilbert Budd" [*the witness*] "and Mr. Samuel Townsend[1] were the men "that were to be taken off; and that there was another "that they would have, at all events; that Pinckney "told Budd that he asked the man, who the other "man was that was to be taken off; that the man an- "swered him that Judge Thomas was the man, who "they would have if it cost them the lives of fifty "men; that Pinckney told the said Mr. Budd that "there was a number of his, Budd's, neighbours, who "stood ready to assist the tender, in order to take "them; that Mr. Budd asked Pinckney if he knew "who those neighbours were; he answered that one "of them was William Lounsberry[2] and one, Isaac "Gedney, Junr., and all Sutton's men, alluding to "some hired servants of Sutton's;[3] that Pinckney "said he came as a friend, and advised Mr. Budd to "keep out of the way, for that he did not think it safe "for him to sleep in his house, one night. Mr. Budd "further says that he heard that Godfrey Haines said "that he was going to get a parcel of Oars made for "the man of war; that Haines came to Mamaroneck, "and that the next day, Isaac Gedney set about mak- "ing Oars; that they were making (as Budd under- "stood) by Haines's order, for Capt. Vandeput. Mr. "Budd says the tories are equipped, and constantly "in arms, walking about, at night, 6, 8, and 10 at a "time. Mr. Budd further says that it is reported that "those tories say they are determined to defend them- "selves; and that if any body came to their houses to "take away their Arms, they would fire upon them."

The Congress appears to have been in one of its temperate moods when that delegation from the chivalry of Colonial Westchester-county, bearing the missive from the Committee of that County and its kindred Affidavit, approached its doors; and for that reason, unless it was because of the shallowness of the several accusations and requests which were in the papers or of the poltroonery of those who bore them the Congress did no more than to order the letter and affidavit and examination to be filed; to charge all who knew of "this matter," "to keep the whole of it "a secret;" and to transmit a letter to the Committee of Westchester-county—the latter, the most noteworthy of all that it did, in "this matter"—of which the following is a copy:

"In Provincial Congress,
"At New-York, November 3rd, 1775.

"Gentlemen:

"We received a letter of the 1st inst., from the "Sub-committee of your County, relative to the "conduct of the people of Rye; and the Congress "have directed me to recommend to your Com- "mittee to make an immediate and strict inquiry "into the matters to which the letter refers, and "to take the examinations on oath of the wit- "nesses; and if you find satisfactory reasons to sup- "pose the persons threatened to be in danger, that "you take the proper means to protect them; perhaps "the binding over to the peace such persons as may "be strongly suspected of a design to injure the per- "sons or estates of those gentlemen, may be a useful "expedient.[4] If anything afterwards shall be thought "necessary to be done, for their further protection, "the Committee will attend to it. If you should "find the County unable to give the necessary pro- "tection, you will transmit the examinations to us, "that the Congress may take such order therein, as "may be proper. The Committee may rest assured "that this Congress will support the friends of "Liberty, to the utmost of their power.

"We are, Gentlemen, your humble servants,
"By order of the Provincial Congress,
"Abraham Yates, Jr., *Pres't.*

"To Gilbert Drake, Esq., *Chairman*
"*of the Committee of Westchester-county.*"[5]

The suggestion which was made in this letter, that those of the revolutionary faction, in Westchester-county, whose safety was imperiled by the threats of their conservative and law-abiding neighbors, should go before the King's Magistrates and ask that the latter should be put under bonds to keep the peace towards the former, was received with disfavor by Isaac Sears, of New York, and Melancton Smith, of Duchess-county, and Doctor Lewis Graham and John Thomas, Junior—the latter a son of one of those who had been threatened with removal from the County—and an attempt was made by them to strike out from the letter that portion "which refers them" [*the Committee of Westchester-county*] "to the Civil Magis- "trate;" but the Congress declined to make the

[1] Samuel Townsend represented the Town of Rye, in the County Committee of 1776–'7.

[2] On the twenty-ninth of August, 1776, "one Lounsberry of Westchester "County who had headed a party of about 14 Tories was killed by a Per- "son named Flood on his refusal to surrender himself Prisoner; That in "his Pocket book was found a Commission signed by Genl. How to "Major Rogers empowering him to raise a Battalion of Rangers with the "Rank of Lieut Col Commandant. That annexed to this was a Warrant "to this Lounsberry signed by Major Rogers appointing him Captain in "one of these Companies & a Muster Roll of the men already enlisted." (*Letter from the Committee of Safety to General Washington*, "In Commit- "tee of Safety, Harlem, Augt 30th, 1776.")

Very probably, the William Lounsberry who is mentioned in the text was the same Lounsberry who had accepted a Commission from Major Rogers, and was killed, in August, 1776, as stated in the letter.

[3] The Sutton referred to was William Sutton, Esq., living on De Lancey's Neck, of which he was the tenant, (*vide page 290, ante.*)

[4] This remarkable suggestion, that those, in Westchester-county, who were in rebellion, and who were threatened with arrest by those of their neighbors who were not in rebellion, should go before the King's Justices of the Peace, and ask that those loyal inhabitants who were inclined to support the Home and Colonial Governments and the Laws and to arrest those who were in rebellion, *should be put under bonds to preserve the peace toward the latter*, will be duly appreciated by the reader. Whatever the County Committee of Westchester-county may have thought of it, it will be evident to the reader that the Provincial Congress, when it wrote to that Committee and made that suggestion, was not inclined to regard the men of Westchester-county who were in rebellion as entitled to very much of its respect and sympathy.

[5] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Veneris, 5 ho., P.M., Novem- "ber 3, 1775."

solicited change, only the four gentlemen already mentioned having arisen in favor of it. The letter was transmitted to the Westchester-county Committee; and nothing more was heard on the subjects referred to; and the Committee itself, thenceforth, gradually disappeared from the notice of the world.

The Provincial Congress had continued in session, closely withdrawn from the sight of its constituents, until the eighth of July,[1] when it had taken a fortnight's rest, during which period a "Committee of "Safety" was left on duty, with large authority, to administer the affairs of the new organization.[2] On the twenty-sixth of July, it had resumed its work, continuing it without interruption, until the second of September, when it had adjourned for a month,[3] during which period, a "Committee of Safety" had again administered the affairs of the new organization.[4] On the fourth of October, it had re-assembled, and resumed its work, continuing it until the fourth of November, when it adjourned, or was dissolved, without day.[5]

The dissolution of the first Provincial Congress, which occurred at about the close of the first half-year of the entire and, as far as the Colonial and Home Governments were concerned, of the undisputed, domination of the revolutionary faction of the purely aristocratic portion of the Colonial party of the Opposition and its plebean auxiliaries, over the vastly greater body of those who were its fellow-men and fellow-subjects of the Crown and fellow-colonists, within the Colony of New York,—without, however, having interfered with the administration of the public affairs of the Colony, by the Royal Colonial Government, which was continued in all else than in the protection of the Colonists and in the suppression of the revolt, which that Colonial Government had not the means for doing—affords a favorable opportunity for the careful student of the history of that eventful period to rest, and to review the progress of events, in New York, during the preceding six months; to ascertain, by comparison of its earlier professions with its later practises, how much of sincerity and how much of deceit and of fraud there had been, in the apparent devotion of that controlling faction to "the Rights of man and of Englishmen," of which it had said so much, in its earlier movements toward political supremacy; to learn its matured views concerning the arrogantly assumed prerogatives of the well-born and the contemptuously assigned mission of the lowly, the latter to nothing else than to submission, to obedience, and to labor; and to ascertain and to examine those systems of government and those methods of administration which, in the unrestrained exercise of its recently acquired, but undisputed, power, and of its seemingly cultured intellect, that revolutionary faction had practically regarded as fit and proper for the government of a "free people."

* * * * * * *

During the interval, between the dissolution of the first and the organization of the second of the series of Provincial Congresses which controlled the destinies of the Colony of New York and crowded an unwilling community into rebellion and ruin, an illustration was made, first in the County of Westchester and then in the City of New York, of the spirit of the controlling power, among the disaffected; of the shallowness of the prevailing pretensions to patriotism and personal integrity in those who were engaged in the revolt; and of the personal character of the ruffians who were employed—as they had been employed in the Stamp-act and other riots, earlier in the struggle of parties—by those who were the master-spirits, in the works of lawlessness by means of which the Rebellion was promoted and established and made respectable.[6]

At that time, there was no newspaper-press in the Colonies which was conducted with greater ability than Rivington's *New-York Gazetteer; or Connecticut, Hudson's River, New-Jersey, and Quebeck Weekly Advertiser*, which was published, weekly, by James Rivington, in the City of New York. It was a newspaper, in the proper sense of the word; and it published the news of the day, from every quarter of the world, regardless of their political character, with rare industry and the most liberal impartiality. It did not accord with the interests of some nor with the passions of others, however, that such a faithful recorder of the sayings and doings of every faction and of every party should be continued in the Colonies; and there were times, also, when the exposure of the double dealings of particular individuals, of high as well as of low degree, in well-printed columns, in a widely circulated newspaper, as James Rivington had done, in his *Gazetteer*, were distasteful to those who were thus exposed and unwelcome to those whom the culprit was serving. It was evidently determined, therefore, that James Rivington should be silenced; and that his only means for inflicting pain on the persons of those who favored the Rebellion should be taken from him.

There was, also, at that time, no one, in the Colony of New York, who possessed greater intellectual and executive abilities combined with superior scholastic attainments, than Samuel Seabury, a Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, ordinarily known as "The Venerable "Society," Rector of the Established Church in the

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, May 22, until July 8, 1775.

[2] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, July 11, until July 25, 1775.

[3] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, from July 26, until September 2, 1775.

[4] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, from September 4, until October 3, 1775.

[5] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, from October 4, until November 4, 1775.

[6] "This I know, a successful resistance is a 'REVOLUTION,' not a 'RE-"'BELLION.' 'REBELLION,' indeed, appears on the back of a flying en-"emy; but 'REVOLUTION' flames on the breastplate of the victorious "warrior."—(JOHN WILKES, *in the House of Commons*, February 6, 1775.)

Borough Town of Westchester, and Master of a Boarding-school for Boys, in the same Town. He was the friend and Pastor of Isaac Wilkins, the able leader of the conservative majority of the Opposition, in the General Assembly of the Colony; and the Manor of Morrisania was within the boundaries of his Parish; and the Morrises, brothers-in-law of Isaac Wilkins, but masquerading as leaders in the Rebellion, were, nominally, if not in reality, among his parishioners. He was learned, as was well-known: he was fearless in the declarations and support of his well-considered opinions, as was known to his neighbors and friends: that his convictions led him to support the conservative portion of the Opposition, led by his friend, Isaac Wilkins, is more than probable: that the same convictions led him to oppose, within the circle of his influence and consistently with his ministerial duties, the doings of the revolutionary faction of the Opposition, among whom his neighbors and parishioners, the Morrises, were capering, was no secret. When the press was teeming with publications, adverse to the violence of the revolutionary faction, he was improperly designated as one of the very few who had written them, with no other evidence to support the allegation than his recognized ability and fearlessness; and when "A. W. FARMER" appeared, with his practised and powerful pen, arousing the most violent bitterness of those who were in rebellion, the intellectual rustic who had written them, by common consent, was erroneously but reasonably said to have been the Schoolmaster and Parson at Westchester, while the real but unrecognized author of the obnoxious publications was generally passed, unnoticed. The political Parson, therefore, was very offensive to those of the revolutionary faction who were not his neighbors—"in justice to the rebels of East and West "Chester, I must say," he wrote, in 1776, "that none "of them ever offered me any insult or attempted to do "me any injury that I know of"—and it was evidently determined that he, also, like James Rivington, should be silenced, even at the expense of his personal liberty and of all which was dear to him, on earth.

There was one man, more than all others, who was qualified to enter on any adventure, no matter how lawless nor how atrocious, provided, and only provided, he could have an abundant force to support him and to overpower any opposition which might possibly arise to obstruct or to endanger him. He had been a privateer, in the War with France and Spain; and in the only encounter which he had had with an enemy, he had shown the white feather of cowardice, his crew having become his accusers. He was known, subsequently, as one of those blustering, reckless, law-defying leaders of the floating denizens of the docks, in New York, ready to disregard all Rights, all of every thing except their own wills, in acts of which only the traditional pirates and banditti were supposed to have been capable of performing, whenever, and only whenever, in his judgment, those acts could be done without personal risk to the aggressors, and whenever, and at no other time, those acts of lawlessness promised that the plunder to be secured therefrom would afford a sufficient compensation.

He had married the daughter of the keeper of a low, unlicensed alehouse, a resort of sailors, boatmen, stevedores, and such as they, opposite to Beekman's Slip, and that alehouse was his rendezvous;[1] and those who had resorted to Jasper Drake's, had always been his ready instruments, in whatever acts of violence in which he had ventured to engage. He had never possessed the entire confidence of the leaders of the revolutionary faction of the Opposition, in the City of New York: he had never been taken into the *sanctum sanctorum* of that coterie of Livingstons and of Smiths and of Scotts, whose had been the unseen master-hands by whom such puppets as he had been handled and made conspicuous: he had never been permitted to occupy any place, in Committee or in Congress, unless in minorities which, because of their comparative insignificance, were incapable of disturbing the harmony of the aggregate bodies into which they had been adroitly introduced.

At the time of which we write, he was an ignorant blusterer, as vain as he was ignorant; and he needed only, as General Charles Lee said of him, "to have "his back clapped" by some one in authority and to be shown that it would be useful to himself—if he could be vested with an office, no matter what nor how ephemeral in its character nor how "impu-"dently" bestowed, so much the better—to be ready, at short notice, to exercise his entire power, as a ruffian of the dirtiest water, in any required act of lawlessness, regardless of any Rights of Person or of Property, or of any claim which age or sex might interpose. He called himself a Merchant, in the City of New York; but he had been more conspicuous in shipping Merchandise and Provisions to the eastward, clandestinely, when such shipments to the eastward were interdicted, than in any more legitimate business. He had been a member of the recently dissolved Provincial Congress, during a portion of its existence; but, in entire harmony with his earlier proclivities, when there were threatenings of danger from the Home Government, he had abandoned the

[1] A letter from John Case, from the County of Suffolk, on Long Island, "to the Printer of the *New-York Gazetteer*," and published in *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 91, NEW-YORK, Thursday, January 12, 1775, narrated the method in which those who were not inclined to favor the theories and practises of the revolutionary faction were inveigled into that Tavern, and, there, subjected to the teachings of Alexander McDougal, Isaac Sears, and others of that faction; and a description of the insults and outrages inflicted on those who were inclined to object to the subject matters of those teachings, by those ale-house "patriots," especially by Isaac Sears, may also be seen, in the same letter.

The attempted reply to John Case, in which Isaac Sears subsequently attempted to raise new issues instead of meeting old ones, served only to establish, more clearly, the truthfulness of Case's original statement; and those who shall incline to pursue the inquiry, may find it in Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1674, NEW-YORK, Thursday, February 2, 1775.

City of New York; and, in the latter part of November, 1775, Isaac Sears was safely housed in New Haven, although it is evident that he continued to correspond with the leaders of the Rebellion, in the former City.

On Monday, the twentieth of November, 1775, that cowardly ruffian, Isaac Sears, accompanied with sixteen others of the same class, all of them mounted, left New Haven, in Connecticut, for the purpose of regulating Westchester-county.[1] It had become a favorite pastime, among the rowdies on the borders of Connecticut, as it has been a favorite pastime among Texan rowdies of a later period, in their country, to make depredatory raids on those who lived on the opposite side of the river-boundary; and those "border ruffians," in revolutionary Connecticut, had been encouraged to raid on the conservative farmers, in Westchester-county; to overpower those farmers with numbers and, especially after the disarming process had deprived the latter of the means for protecting themselves or their property, to rob them of whatever could be carried away; to return to their own side of the Byram-river, well-laden with whatever had pleased them best, on the farms and in the farm-houses which they had visited; and to enjoy, in their own "Christian New England," the stolen products of other men's honest and earnest toil, and to be cheered, as "patriots," by their "Christian New "England" neighbors.

The avowed purpose of that band of acknowledged "banditti"[2] was "to disarm the principal tories "there," [*at East and West Chester,*] "and secure the "persons of Parson Seabury, Judge Fowler, and "Lord Underhill," three residents of Westchester-county; and it is said they were joined, on their way, by other parties of men, numbering about eighty, under the leadership of "Captains" Richards, Silleck, and Mead.[3] It was not pretended that these enterprising Connecticut-men had any other warrant to engage in such an undertaking, than that afforded in the propensity of every cowardly thief to plunder those who were known to have been stripped of their means for defence, and who were, therefore, helpless. It was not pretended that any of the proposed victims, in the instance under notice, had said or done anything, in opposition to the Rebellion, which had made them amenable to the unbridled caprices of those who were in rebellion; and it was evident that, had those proposed victims thus transgressed against the "*Associations*" or the "rec-"ommendations" or the "Resolutions" of the revolutionary authorities, the local Committee in Westchester-county, or the Provincial Congress in the City of New York, or the Committee of Safety of the last-named body, and not an improvised and self-constituted power, in another Colony, was the proper tribunal to take cognizance of such an offence. But in such a party, led by such a ruffian, only the law of the will of the stronger possessed any authority or secured any respect; and that law of "the pirate "and the banditti," unfortunately, prevailed in the instance now under notice.

The expedition evidently moved slowly, on its way to New York;[4] and, especially after it had passed the Byram-river, it undoubtedly foraged on those who were unfortunate enough to live on the line of its march. It pillaged the farm-houses; and, at Mamaroneck, it burned a small sloop which belonged to one who was assumed to have been a friend of the Government.[5] A detachment of about forty men, under a Captain Lothrop, appears to have been pushed forward to the Town of Westchester, where, on Wednesday, the twenty-second of November, it seized the person of Nathaniel Underhill, the Mayor of that Borough, and that of the Rev. Samuel Seabury, who, as we have said, was the Master of

[1] "On the 20th of this month, sixteen respectable inhabitants of this "town, in company with Captain SEARS, set out from this place, for "*East* and *West Chester*, in the Province of New-York, to disarm the "principal tories there, and secure the persons of Parson Seabury, "Judge Fowler, and Lord Underhill." * * * (*The Connecticut Journal*, No. 424, [*New-Haven,*] Wednesday, November 29, 1775.)

Frank Moore, in his *Diary of the American Revolution*, (i., 349–351,) published a mutilated version of that editorial article, from the original of which the above was extracted—the other portions of the latter of which will be used hereafter—and credited it to *The Pennsylvania Journal*, published in Philadelphia, on the ninth of December.

[2] In the preceding September, Lord Dunmore, then at Norfolk, in Virginia, had helped himself to the type and printing-press of John Holt, in that Town; and it was said of the thief and his confederates, "a few "spirited gentlemen in Norfolk, justly incensed at so flagrant a breach "of good order and the Constitution, and highly resenting the conduct "of Lord Dunmore and the Navy Gentry, who have now commenced "*downright Pirates and Banditti*, ordered the drum to beat to arms," etc. (*Extract from a contemporary publication*, in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, iii., 847.)

Besides the entire fitness of the words to distinguish those who were guilty of such lawless doings, a precedent for the use of those otherwise strong terms in such specific connections, is afforded in the above extract, from unquestionably revolutionary authority; and we offer no apology for applying one or both of them to those, from Connecticut, on the occasion now under notice, when Lord Dunmore was far outdone, in wanton atrocity.

[3] "On their way thither" [*for East and West Chester,*] "they were "joined by the Captains Richards, Scillick, and Mead, with about 80 "men." * * * (*The Connecticut Journal*, No. 424, [NEW HAVEN] Wednesday, November 29, 1775.)

It is due to the respectable portion of the inhabitants of the Connecticut of that period, that mention should be made of the fact that no such names as these appear on the lists of Officers of Connecticut Companies, in 1775, which Mr. Hinman published in his *Historical Collections of the part sustained by Connecticut during the War of the Revolution;* and that it is very probable that these three "Captains," like that other "Captain" who led them, on that occasion, possessed no other warrant than that of "courtesy," so called, for the privilege of carrying the title.

[4] It left New Haven on Monday, the twentieth of November; but it did not reach Westchester until Wednesday, the twenty-second, and the City of New York, to which place it extended its excursion, until noon on Thursday, the twenty-third of that month.

[5] "At *Marinek* they burnt a small sloop, which was purchased by Gov-"ernment, for the purpose of carrying provisions on board the *Asia*."—(*The Connecticut Journal*, No. 424, [NEW HAVEN,] Wednesday, November 29, 1775.)

"* * * * and burnt one sloop belonging to persons friendly to gov "ernment."—(*Governor Tryon to the Earl of Dartmouth*, No. 22. "ON "BOARD THE SHIP DUTCHESS OF GORDON, NEW YORK HARBOUR, 6th Dec. "1775."

a Boarding-school and Rector of the Established Church, in the same place, the former, as was subsequently seen, only because he had signed the *Declaration and Protest*, at the White Plains, in the preceding April,[1] the latter, because he was more obnoxious to those who were in rebellion, in consequence of his greater intellectual power and of his decidedly greater bravery in the assertion and maintenance of his opinions and of his Rights.[2] Having accomplished its purposes in the seizures of the persons and in the plunder of the properties of the two victims, in Westchester, the detachment permitted Mr. Seabury, if not Mr. Underhill, to send for his horse; and, then, it hastened away, on the road which connected that Town with Kingsbridge. It had not proceeded far, however, when it was met by the main body of the banditti, with whom, with characteristic cowardice, was Sears; and the entire party then returned to Eastchester, where, on its way toward New York, it had already seized the person of Jonathan Fowler, who was one of the Judges of the Superior Court of Common Pleas and Colonel of one of the Battalions of the Colonial Militia, against whom, also, it seems there was no other complaint than that he, also, had signed the *Declaration and Protest*, at the White Plains, in the preceding April.[3]

The contemporary records do not present the circumstances which attended the seizure of the Mayor of the Borough of Westchester; but it is probable they were similar to those which attended the similar seizure of Judge Fowler and that of Mr. Seabury—the banditti undoubtedly ransacked the house and examined his papers and helped themselves to such articles of his movable property as best pleased them. From Judge Fowler's house, there were carried away a beaver hat, a silver-mounted horse-whip, and two silver spoons,[4] besides the sword, gun, and pistols which formed portions of his official equipments as a Colonel in the Colonial Militia;[5] and at Mr. Seabury's, besides assaulting one of that gentleman's daughters, thrusting a bayonet at her breast and through her cap, and tearing down her hair, the marauders cut a quilt which was in the frame, rendering it useless; examined his private papers and scattered them; and carried away a small sum of money, which was in the drawer of his desk. Of course, the Boarding-school for Boys, which he had organized and established with so much labor,[6] for the better support of his family, was broken down; and the pupils, five of whom were from Jamaica and one from Montreal, the parents of four others being in Europe, besides "others from "New York and the country," were necessarily scattered, inflicting an irreparable injury to him and to his large and dependent family.[7]

When these seizures had been accomplished and after what had been stolen had been sufficiently secured, another detachment from the main body of the banditti was sent back to Horseneck [*West Greenwich, Connecticut,*] as an escort and guard of the three prisoners and of the booty;[8] while the main body, itself, numbering seventy-five mounted men, moved forward, from East Chester, toward the City of New York.[9]

Where that large body of horsemen spent the fol-

[1] See pages 248–250, ante.

[2] "At East Chester they seized Judge *Fowler*, then repaired to West "Chester and secured Seabury and Underhill."—(*The Connecticut Journal*, No. 424, [New Haven,] Wednesday, November 29, 1775.)

In his *Memorial to the General Assembly of Connecticut*, Seabury expressly stated that he was arrested by a detachment; that the main body of the party was subsequently joined, by the detachment; and that all, then, returned to East Chester.

[3] *Memorial of Samuel Seabury to the General Assembly of Connecticut*, December 20, 1775.

See, also, *The Connecticut Journal*, No. 424, [New Haven,] Wednesday, November 29, 1775; Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 66, 67; etc.

[4] *Memorial of Samuel Seabury to the General Assembly of Connecticut*, December 20, 1775.

[5] Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 67.

[6] The following advertisement, copied from *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, No. 97, New-York, Thursday, February 23, 1775, will clearly indicate the high character of that Colonial Westchester Boarding-school for Boys, probably the prototype of those similar institutions, in more recent days, which have made Westchester-county so widely known, in the world of Education:

"To the Public,

"SAMUEL SEABURY, *M.A.*

"*Rector of the Parish of Westchester,*

"HATH opened a School in that Town, and offers his Service to "prepare young Gentlemen for the College, the Compting-"House, or any genteel Business for which Parents or Guardians may "design them. Children who know their Letters will be admitted to "his School, and taught to read English with propriety, and to write it "with a fair Hand, and with grammatical accuracy. They will be in-"structed in Arithmetic, if required, in its utmost extent; and in the "Elements of Geometry; in Trigonometry, Navigation, Surveying, etc. "—The Latin and Greek Languages will be taught those who are in-"tended for a learned Education.

"There are already eleven Students under Mr. Seabury's Care, and as "soon as the Number of Scholars shall require it, a good Usher will be "provided: And no Care or Diligence shall be wanting to give Satisfac-"tion to those Gentlemen who shall favor him with the Education of "their Children.

"Proper attention will be paid to the young Gentlemen, that they be "kept clean and decent, and that they behave with propriety; and as "the most essential Part of Education is to qualify them to Discharge "the Duties and Offices of Life with Integrity and Virtue, particular "Care will be taken to explain to them the Principles of Morality, and "the Christian Religion, by frequent short Lectures, adapted to their "Capacity.

"Board, (Washing included) may be had, in unexceptionable Fami-"lies, at about twenty Pounds per Ann. and the Tuition will be six "Pounds, New-York Currency, and eight Shillings for Fire-wood.

"Westchester is about nineteen Miles from New York, by Land, and "about fifteen by Water; and a Water-passage may be had almost "every Day, when the Weather will permit, in good safe Boats."

[7] *Memorial of Samuel Seabury to the General Assembly of Connecticut*, December 20, 1775.

[8] "Having possessed themselves of these three caitiffs, they sent them "to Connecticut under a strong guard."—(*The Connecticut Journal*, No. 424, [New Haven,] Wednesday, November 29, 1775.)

See, also, *Memorial of Samuel Seabury to the General Assembly of Connecticut*, December 20, 1775.

[9] *The Connecticut Journal*, No. 424, [New Haven,] Wednesday, November 29, 1775.

lowing night is not now known—it is not in the slightest degree probable that it paid its way, in whatever part of Westchester-county it billeted itself—it is very evident, however, that it was expected by the leaders of the Rebellion, in the City of New York, since it was met and escorted into town by Samuel Broome, John Woodward, and others of their class;[1] and it is said, also, that Alexander McDougal, Peter R. Livingston, John and Joshua Hett Smith—the latter so conspicuous, subsequently, in the interviews between General Arnold and Major André and in the evident exposure of the latter to arrest—and a number of others, their confederates if not their tools, were assembled on Hanover-square, on which the Bookstore and Printing-office of James Rivington were situated, apparently and nominally for military exercises, but really for the purpose of covering and protecting the approaching banditti, in its proposed work of devastation and robbery.[2]

The column appears to have moved from Eastchester, by way of Kingsbridge and the old Boston post-road, through what are, now, the Central Park and Madison-square and Broadway and the Bowery and Chatham-square and Chatham-street, to what is, now, Pearl-street—then known as Queen-street[3]—which was the direct route to Hanover-square, the objective point of its march. With its escort of local sympathizers, its progress was not obstructed; and, on Thursday, the twenty-third of November, at noon, when it reached the Square, it "drew up, in close "order, before the printing-office of the infamous "James Rivington,"[4] those who had already assembled there, evidently for the purpose of covering it, if not for the purpose of doing more than that, should any opposition to its purposes be manifested by any one welcoming it, as their auxiliaries and confederates.

It is said that, while the main body of the banditti remained in position, in front of the Bookstore and Printing-office of the proscribed Englishman, "a "small detachment" entered the latter, and gathered "the principal part of his types," which was placed in sacks prepared for the purpose, destroying those portions which could not be taken away, and demolishing, also, his presses and other office-material.[5]

It is said that three quarters of an hour were spent in that work of reckless destruction, without the slightest attempt by either the Municipal or the Colonial authorities, legal or revolutionary, to interfere, for the preservation of the peace or for the protection of the property of the citizen or for that of the freedom of the Press; and, consequently, after its appetite for outrage had become satisfied, taking with it the type which it had not destroyed and such articles from the Bookstore as were fancied by those who entered it,[6] the banditti mounted its horses, its music striking up the tune of *Yankee Doodle*, and its local sympathizers in the Square and around the head of the Coffee-house Slip giving it cheers which were returned, and left the City by the same route as that on which it had entered it.[7]

[1] *Minutes of the General Committee of the City and County of New York*, Thursday, November 23, 1775; Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 66; *Governor Tryon to the Earl of Dartmouth*, No. 22, On Board the Ship Dutchess of Gordon New York Harbour, 6th Decr 1775; etc.

[2] Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 66.

[3] *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New-York for* 1855, 511.

[4] "The main body, consisting of 75, then proceeded to New-York, "which they entered at noon-day on horseback, with bayonets fixed, and "in the greatest regularity, went down the main street, and drew up in "close order before the printing-office of the infamous James Rivington." (*The Connecticut Journal*, No. 424, [New Haven,] Wednesday, November 29, 1775.)

See, also, *Governor Tryon to the Earl of Dartmouth*, No. 22, "On Board "the Ship Dutchess of Gordon New York Harbour, 6th Decr 1775"; *Petition of the General Committee of the City and County of New York to the Provincial Congress*, (*vide page* 134 *post*;) *the Provincial Congress of New York to the Governor of Connecticut*, "In Provincial Congress, New-"York, 12th Decr. 1775;" Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 66; etc.

[5] "A small detachment entered it," [*the printing-office*,] "and in about "three-quarters of an hour brought off the principal part of his types, "for which they offered to give an order on Lord Dunmore" [*who had previously stolen John Holt's type and press, at Norfolk*,] (*The Connecticut Journal*, No. 424, [New Haven,] Wednesday, November 29, 1775.)

They "entered his" [*Rivington's*] "house, demolished his printing "apparatus, destroyed a part and carried off the remainder of his "types."—(Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 66.)

See, also, *Governor Tryon to the Earl of Dartmouth*, No. 22, "On "Board the Ship Dutchess of Gordon New York Harbour, 6th Decr "1775;" etc.

[6] *Governor Tryon to the Earl of Dartmouth*, No. 22, "On Board the Ship "Dutchess of Gordon New York Harbour 6th Decr 1775."

[7] "They then faced and wheeled to the left, and marched out of town to "the tune of *Yankee Doodle*. A vast concourse of people assembled at "the Coffee House bridge on their leaving the ground, and gave them "three very hearty cheers."—(*The Connecticut Journal*, No. 424, [New Haven,] Wednesday, November 29, 1775.)

The *Petition of the General Committee of the City and County of New York*, laid before the Provincial Congress, on the eighth of December, 1775, presented the general facts of the outrage on James Rivington, while it also called for the protection of the City, by that body. The *despatch of Governor Tryon to the Earl of Dartmouth*, No. 22, "On Board the Ship "Dutchess of Gordon New York Harbour 6th Decr 1775," described the raid on Westchester-county as well as that on the City of New York, and narrated the blustering threats which were made by Sears, to return with "a more numerous body of the Connecticut Rioters and to take "away the Records of the Colony." The *letter of the Provincial Congress to the Governor of Connecticut*, "In Provincial Congress, New-York, "12th Decr., 1775," recited the outrage in Westchester-county as well as that in the City; but in such delicate terms as indicated that that body was either in sympathy with the banditti or was intimidated by those who were so. Judge Jones, in his *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, (i., 65–68,) noticed the entire raid, saying that Sears "en-"tered the town at the head of about 200 men, well mounted," which, from the context, evidently included those who had gone out to meet the banditti. Gordon, (*History of the American Revolution*, London: 1788, ii., 121, 122.) made mention of nothing else than of the robbery of the printing-office, of which he said, "While thus employed, people col-"lected, and the street was thronged. To prevent interruption, he called "out and told them that if they attempted to oppose him, he would "order his men to fire on them; and preparation was made for doing it, "in case it should be needful. This appearance instantly cleared the "street, when Captain Sears and his party rode off in triumph, with the "booty they were pleased to take away." Dunlap, (*History of New York*, ii., Appendix, ccxx,) erroneously stated that the destruction of the printing-office was effected "by the Connecticut Light Horse," on the fourth of December. Bancroft, (*History of the United States*, original edit. viii., 275,) said Sears was "vexed at his want of influence, impatient at "being overlooked, and naturally inclined to precipitate counsels;" and in *the same work*, centenary edition, v., 184, the same author stated

The progress of the banditti, through Westchester-county, on its return, was necessarily slow, since it finished, at that time, the work of pillage among the farmers of that County, which it had commenced on its outward march—it left the City of New York on Thursday, at two o'clock; and it did not reach Horse-neck, where the detachment which was guarding its first collection of plunder and its three prisoners (the latter of whom, as the practise then was among that new-formed power, having been provided, meanwhile, with neither food nor shelter) had halted, until the following Monday, the twenty-seventh of November. Its progress through Connecticut appears to have been attended with the highest popular approval; many joined it, "the whole making a "very grand procession;" and, on Tuesday, the twenty-eighth of November, amidst the salutes of two cannon and the cheers of the populace, it re-entered New Haven. The procession moved through nearly every street in the Town, stopping at every corner, in order that the crowds might gaze on the victims and jeer at and insult them; and, after having quartered the latter, at their own expense, at one of the Taverns, the successful banditti, sustained by what there was of the ignorance and lawlessness of the New Haven of that period, spent the remainder of the day in "festivity and innocent mirth."[1]

The principal portion of the bitterness of the banditti appears to have been bestowed on Mr. Seabury—indeed, there was wisdom in that discrimination, since Judge Fowler and Mayor Underhill were differently constituted men, more easily intimidated and, therefore, more pliable than he, and very soon recanted and were dismissed from their confinement[2]—

that Sears "deserved a high appointment in the American Navy," which he did not receive; that he was "impatient at being overlooked," etc. Not the slightest allusion is made to the doings of the banditti in Westchester-county, in either of the editions of that much-praised work. Lossing, (*Field Book of the Revolution*, ii., 796, 797,) stated that Mr. Rivington "aided by his *Royal Gazetteer*," was very influential; that he had no regard for the truth nor for "common fairness;" that Sears had gone to Connecticut "to plan schemes for the future with ardent Whigs;" that the type which was stolen from Rivington was converted into bullets; etc.; but the truth is that the *Royal Gazette* was not established until December, 1777, as he had stated on the opposite page of the *Field Book;* that Rivington published everything of news and political papers, regardless of party; that Sears had removed his family and himself to New Haven, to get out of the way of threatened danger and to pout over personal grievances; and that the printers in Connecticut were too glad to increase their limited supplies of type to convert the stolen type belonging to Rivington into bullets, for which common and far cheaper lead was better adapted. Rev. Doctor Beardsley, (*History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, i., 302-305, and *Life and Correspondence of the Rt. Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D.*, 35-47,) appropriately noticed, in detail, the dealings of the banditti with Mr. Seabury, without, however, making the slightest mention of what was done elsewhere than in Westchester-county.

In Connecticut, from that day to this, the doings of that party of ruffians have been considered only as praiseworthy. Governor Trumbull, after having snubbed General Washington by sheltering and justifying the wholesale desertion of the Connecticut troops which the latter had denounced, (Compare *General Washington's letter to Governor Trumbull*, "CAMBRIDGE, December 2, 1775," with *the reply*, "LEBANON, December "7, 1775;" that of the former, "CAMBRIDGE, December 5, 1775," with *the reply*, "LEBANON, December 9, 1775"; etc.,) waited until the following June, before he paid the slightest attention to the letter which the Provincial Congress had sent to him, in December, 1775, and then only to shelter, if not to justify, the offenders. (*Jonn. Trumbull to the Honble. Nathl. Woodhull*, "HARTFORD, June 10, 1775.") Hinman, (*Historical Collection of the part sustained by Connecticut during the War of the Revolution*, 79, 80,) included that lawless raid among the notable and praiseworthy acts of Connecticut; and the following, which is the latest specimen which has met our eye, presents, at once, the satisfaction with which respectable men, of our own day, in Connecticut, continue to regard that outrage, and the character of what is circulated, in New England, as veritable history: "Some time during the War, a paper was "published in the City of New York, by one, Rivington. This paper was "professedly and to all outward appearance devoted to the British in-"terests. It was afterwards, however, known to have aided the Amer-"icans much, and was under the control of Washington himself. The "hostile appearance of the sheet, however, deceived the Americans as "well as their enemies, and about half a dozen Greenwich men re-"solved that the press should be stopped; they stole into the City, de-"stroyed the press, and bagged the type, which they brought off with "them from the very midst of a watchful enemy. Messrs. Andrew and "Peter Mead were the principal men of the expedition. It is said that "they only of the company were able to carry the bags of type from the "printing-office to the street and throw them across the backs of their "horses. After the type was brought to Greenwich, it was totally de-"stroyed, except enough to print each of the company's names, which "the veterans kept for a long time in memory of their exploit." One might readily suppose this latest tidbit of what has currency as history, was written in China or Timbuctoo; but the curious reader may find it in an elegant and expensive *History of Fairfield County, Connecticut*, compiled under the supervision of D. Hamilton Hurd, and published by J. W. Lewis & Co., Philadelphia, in 1881. It occupies a portion of page 378 of that handsomely printed volume, and affords a fine example of the character of what is written, concerning New Englanders and their character and doings, when the pen of the writer and the patronage of the publisher are within that pretentious portion of the Union.

[1] "On their way home they disarmed all the tories that lay on their "route; and yesterday [*November* 28,] arrived here, escorted by a great "number of gentlemen from the westward, the whole making a very "grand procession. Upon their entrance into town, they were saluted "with the discharge of two cannon, and received by the inhabitants with "every mark of approbation and respect. The company divided into "two parts and concluded the day in festivity and innocent mirth. "Captain Sears returned in company with the other gentlemen, and "proposes to spend the winter here, unless publick business should re-"quire his presence in New-York.—Seabury, Underhill, and Fowler, "three of the dastardly protestors against the proceedings of the Conti-"nental Congress, and who it is believed had concerted a plan for kid-"napping Captain Sears, and conveying him on board the Asia man-of-"war, are (with the types and arms) safely lodged in this town, Where "it is expected Lord Underhill will have leisure to form the scheme of "a lucrative lottery, the tickets of which cannot be counterfeited; and "Parson Seabury sufficient time to compose sermons for the next Conti-"nental fast."—(*The Connecticut Journal*, No. 424, [NEW HAVEN,] Wednesday, November 29, 1775.)

See, also, *Seabury's Memorial to the General Assembly of Connecticut*, December 20, 1775, *vide page* 136, *post;* and Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 66, 67.

[2] Although the instruments of the recantation of these two of the three victims do not appear in *The Connecticut Journal*, they were printed in Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1718, NEW-YORK, Thursday, December 7, 1775, and may be seen in Force's *American Archives*, IV., iii., 1708.

I.

"Whereas I, Jonathan Fowler, Esq., one of His Majesty's Judges of "the Inferior Court for the County of Westchester, in the Province of "New-York, did, some time ago, sign a Protest against the Honourable "Continental Congress, which inconsiderate conduct I am heartily sorry "for, and do hereby promise for the future not to transgress in the view "of the people of this Continent, nor in any sense to oppose the meas-"ures taken by the Continental Congress.

"I do also certify that, some time past, being at Court at the White-"Plains, I heard a person say, whom several people present believed to "be a Lieutenant or Midshipman of the *Asia*, man-of-war, that the Cap-"tain of the *Asia* intended to take Captain Sears up, and that there "would soon be delivered, gratis, from on board the man-of-war, great "quantities of Paper Money, in imitation of Continental Currency,

and he was "prevented from enjoying a free inter-"course with his friends; forbidden the visits of "some of them, though in company with his guard; "prohibited from reading prayers in the Church, and "in performing any part of Divine Service, though "invited so to do; interdicted the use of pen, ink, "and paper, except for the purpose of writing to his "family, and then it was required that his letters "should be examined and licensed" [*by the leaders of the banditti,*] "before they were sent off; though "Captain Sears condescended that he should be in-"dulged in writing a *Memorial to the Honourable* "*Assembly.* He received only one letter from his "family, and that was delivered to him open, though "brought by the post." Indeed, with characteristic bravado, and entirely conscious of his influence among those, in Connecticut, who were then controlling the Rebellion, Sears told his only remaining victim—the others having ransomed themselves from the hands of their captors with cowardly-made recantations—"that they did not intend to release him, nor to "make such a compromise with him as had been "made with Judge Fowler and Mr. Underhill, but to "keep him a prisoner, till the unhappy disputes be-"tween Great Britain and America were settled—"that, whatever he might think, what they had done "they would take upon themselves and support."[1]

At that time, and, indeed, until 1818, the Government of Connecticut, under her Charter, like that of Rhode Island, was based on the Sovereignty of the King of Great Britain; and the lawlessness of the Rebellion had not been permitted to disturb the forms and formalities of either her Executive or Legislative or Judicial Departments of Colonial Government—adroitly securing the monopoly of that Government in the hands of the comparatively few by whom it was held under the Royal Charter of 1661, no matter what the result of the Rebellion might be—and all these were being carried on, in the several long-established forms, nominally in the name of the Sovereign. Knowing these facts, Mr. Seabury is said to have applied to the Magistrates, in New Haven, for protection and redress, since he was held in captivity, in that Town, by no pretense of legal process nor by any other authority than the individual will of the ruffian, Sears, who was, at best, only a sojourner in that Colony and, subsequently, was sheltered by the Governor, on that ground; but his application found no favor before those Magistrates, notwithstanding their authority was undisputed. He then sought the interference of the local revolutionary Committee, with the same result. The Governor, also, disregarded his demand; and when the banditti who continued to hold him, a captive, in the midst of that Capital-town of the Colony, consented that he should memorialize the General Assembly of the Colony, which does not appear to have been, then, in Session,[2] no benefit to the memorialist, from the Legislature of the Colony, could have been intended.[3]

While these proceedings were in progress, in Connecticut, the revolutionary authorities, in New York, were almost equally unmindful of what was due from them, in the protection of the individual Colonists from the aggressions of their neighbors, and in the support of the autonomy of the Colony, which those from Connecticut were beginning to threaten[4]—the Colonial Government and the armed vessels which

"which would be printed with the types taken from Mr. Holt, of Vir-"ginia."

"As witness my hand:

"JONATHAN FOWLER.

"NEW-HAVEN, November 29, 1775."

II.

"Whereas I, Nathaniel Underhill, of Westchester, in the Province of "New-York, did, some time ago, sign a Protest against the Resolves of "the Honourable Continental Congress, which inconsiderate conduct I "am heartily sorry for, and do hereby promise, for the future, not to "transgress in the view of the people of this Continent, nor, in any "sense, to oppose the measures taken by the Continental Congress.

"As witness my hand, in New-Haven, November 30, 1775.

"N. UNDERHILL,

"*Magor of the Borough of Westchester.*"

[1] *Memorial of Samuel Seabury to the General Assembly of Connecticut*, December 20, 1775.

[2] We are not insensible of the fact that it is said that Mr. Seabury's *Memorial* was laid before the General Assembly, and referred to a Special Committee of seven members, of which William Samuel Johnson was the Chairman, and unto whom the Letter from the Provincial Congress of New York had been already referred, (Beardsley's *Life and Correspondence of Rt. Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D.*, 43;) but in his recital of the circumstances, in his letter to the Venerable Society, on the twenty-ninth of December, 1776, Mr. Seabury made mention of nothing else than of his "puting in a Memorial to the General Assem-"bly," (*Ibid*, 46;) and Mr. Hinman, who was Secretary of State, with the original *Journals* before him, in his carefully-made synopsis of the doings of the General Assembly, from the opening of the May Session, 1774, until the close of the February Session 1778, stated that the Special Session of the General Assembly, which was assembled by special order of the Governor, on the fourteenth of December, 1775, closed its business, and was adjourned by Proclamation, on the same day; that the Special Committee of which Mr. Johnson was Chairman, was appointed for an entirely different purpose; and that the Session of the General Assembly which next succeeded that which was adjourned on the fourteenth of December, 1775, was not commenced until the ninth of May, 1776. (*Historical Collections of the part sustained by Connecticut in the War of the Revolution*, 198, 200.) General Peter Force, who diligently reprinted all the *Journals of the General Assembly*, in his elaborate *American Archives*, made no mention of a Session of the General Assembly, between that which was dissolved on the fourteenth of December, 1775, and the ninth of May, 1776, as stated by Hinman.

What mockery there was in that grace of the banditti, therefore, when it favored its captive with permission to memorialize an Assembly which had been dissolved, six days before the *Memorial* was written.

[3] *Memorial of Samuel Seabury to the General Assembly of Connecticut*, December 20, 1775; *Samuel Seabury to the Venerable Society*, "NEW-YORK, "December 29, 1776"; Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 67, 68.

[4] Besides the unceasing attempts to encroach on the territory of New York, and, in other ways, to invade the Rights of the Colonists, in that Colony, which Connecticut and men from Connecticut were constantly making, Isaac Sears, on the occasion now under notice, with the evident purpose of throwing all the titles of properties, in New York, and all the domestic and business relations, therein, into confusion and uncertainty, in order to make the inroads of depredators more certain of success, "intimated his design speedily to revisit this Province with a more "numerous body of the Connecticut Rioters, and to take away the "Records of the Province." (*Governor Tryon to the Earl of Dartmouth*, No. 22. "ON BOARD THE SHIP DUTCHESS of GORDON NEW-YORK HAR-"BOUR, 6th Decr 1775.")

The declarations of Colonel Waterbury and Isaac Sears, on the sam subject, subsequently, will be noticed hereafter.

occupied the harbor and commanded all the approaches to the City, by water, and by whom a large armed force could have been thrown into the City, to protect the inhabitants from such outrages as that which is now under consideration, meanwhile, remaining, apparently unconcerned, without raising a hand or firing a gun for that principal purpose of their presence in the Colony.

In the evening of the day on which the outrage on James Rivington was committed, [*Thursday, November* 23, 1775,] Lancaster Burling and Joseph Totten, members of the General Committee for the City and County of New York, offered a Resolution, in that body, citing Isaac Sears, Samuel Broome, and John Woodward to appear before it, to answer for their conduct in entering the City, on that day, with a number of horsemen, in a hostile manner, which the movers of the Resolution considered a breach of the *Association*;[1] but on the following evening, probably because it was distasteful to the greater number, Mr. Burling withdrew the Resolution,[2] rather than to see it ignominiously defeated.

Three days after the event, John Jay, with more self-respect and, certainly, with more respect for the honor of the Colony, notwithstanding he, also, appeared to take no interest in any other portion of the general subject, wrote a letter to the President of the former Provincial Congress, in which he warmly condemned the proceeding;[3] but, as has been stated, there was, then, no Provincial Congress to receive and to consider his protest.

On the fifth of December, the General Committee of the City and County of New York returned to the subject and adopted a well-written *Petition* to the Provincial Congress praying that that body would take measures to protect the inhabitants of the Colony from a renewal of such aggressions.[4]

Three days afterwards, [*December* 8, 1775,] that vigorous demand for protection, made by the local revolutionary Committee of the City of New York—the Committee of Westchester-county made no such movement, nor any other, in the matter—was presented to the Provincial Congress, by which body, after some time had been spent "in debates thereon," it was sent to a special Committee, of which John Morin Scott was the Chairman, with instructions to "report thereon with all convenient speed."[5]

Four days subsequently, [*December* 12, 1775,] a Report was made by the Committee, with a draft of a letter to be addressed to the Governor of the Colony of Connecticut, "on the subject matter of the Gen-"eral Committee's Petition," both of which were violently opposed by those who were most revolutionary in their inclinations. The debates were continued through two Sessions of the Congress, and various amendments were made in the letter, when it was adopted, Colonel Gilbert Drake and Stephen Ward, Deputies from Westchester-county, opposing the motion, and Colonel Lewis Graham, also a Deputy from that County, supporting it.[6]

[1] *Minutes of the General Committee for the City and County of New York*, "Thursday, November 23, 1775."

[2] *Minutes of the General Committee*, etc., "Friday, November 24, 1775."

[3] The following are his words, on the subject of the raid:

* * * "The New-England exploit is much talked of, and conjec-"tures are numerous as to the part the Convention will take relative to "it; some consider it as an ill compliment to the Government of the "Province, and prophesy that you have too much Christian meekness "to take any notice of it. For my own part, I don't approve of the "feat; and I think it neither argues much wisdom or much bravery; at "any rate, if it was to have been done, I wish our own people, and not "strangers, had taken the liberty of doing it.

"I confess I am a little jealous of the honour of the Province, and "am persuaded that its reputation can not be maintained without some "little spirit being mingled with its prudence."

[4] *Minutes of the General Committee of the City and County of New York*, "Tuesday evening, December 5, 1775."

The record is in these words:

"A Draft of a Petition to the honourable the Provincial Congress for "the Province of New-York, was read, and is as follows, viz.:

"'To the Honourable the Provincial Congress for the Prov-"'ince of New-York.

"'The Petition of the General Committee for the City and County of "'New-York, humbly sheweth:

"'That a body of troops,* from a neighbouring Colony, did lately "'make their publick entry into the City, at noon-day, and did seize "'and carry off the types belonging to one of the publick Printers of "'this Colony, without any authority from the Continental or this Con-"'gress, your Petitioners, or any other body having power to grant "'such authority. And being apprehensive that such Incursions, "'should they be repeated, will be productive of many great and evil con-"'sequences to the Inhabitants of such place wherein they may be here-"'after made, your Petitioners do therefore conceive it highly necessary, "'in the present situation of publick affairs, as well for the sake of inter-"'nal peace and harmony of each Colony as for the maintenance of the "'general union of the Continent, now happily subsisting, and so essen-"'tial, at this juncture, that each of the associated Colonies on the Con-"'tinent should have the sole management and regulation of its publick "'matters by its Congress or Committee, unless otherwise directed by "'the honourable the Continental Congress.

"'Your Petitioners do therefore most humbly pray, that this honour-"'able House of Delegates would be pleased to take the premises into "'their consideration, and devise some expedient to prevent, for the "'future, the Inhabitants of any of the neighbouring Colonies "'coming into this, to direct the publick affairs of it, or to destroy the "'property or invade the liberty of its Inhabitants, without the direc-"'tion of the Continental or this Congress, or the Committee of Safety, "'or the Committee of the County into which such Inhabitants may "'come, or of the Continental Generals, unless there should be an Inva-"'sion made into this Colony.

"'And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, etc.

"'By order of the Committee.'

"Ordered, That the same be fairly copied, and signed by the Chair-"man of this Committee, and delivered to the Chairman of the Con-"gress."

* It is evident, from these words, that it was, then, supposed to have been a regular military operation: that the fact was, then, unknown, that it was only an inroad of banditti, winked at, it is true, but without any authority, legal or revolutionary: that the Committee did not even suspect that the raiders were only an organized band of robbers, composed only of the floating population of another Colony.

[5] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Friday morning, December 8, "1775."

[6] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Martis, 10 ho., A.M., Decem-"ber 12, 1775;" and *the same*, "Die Martis, 3 ho., P.M., Decr. 12, "1775."

The following is a copy of that very important letter:

"In Provincial Congress,
"New-York, 12th Decr., 1775.

"Sir:

"It gives us concern that we are under the necessity of addressing

The Governor of Connecticut, regarding with reasonable contempt the feeble, if not the hypocritical, outpourings of such a bashful, if not such a double-faced,[1] body as the Provincial Congress of New York then was—at the very moment when it was considering the proposition to send a letter to him, on the subject of the raid which is now under notice, it was also balancing on the tight-rope of loyalty to the King and reconciliation with the Home Government, under the leadership of Thomas Smith, one of the distinguished body of political acrobats of that name[2]—made no reply whatever to its letter, until the following June, when he adroitly turned the scale against the complaining Provincial Congress, by reminding it that the leader of the banditti was a resident of the City of New York,[3] doing business in that City, and, also, a member of the complaining Provincial Congress; that he was, therefore, amenable, directly, to the Congress itself, for what he had done; and that it was not expedient, then, to call the rest of the banditti to account[4]—a conclusion which was perfectly reasonable while the complaining Congress complacently permitted the leader of the party, who was the principal offender, to go at large, within its own jurisdiction, without question concerning it. The long process of intercolonial diplomacy, on what, in this instance, would have been an interesting topic, had the parties in that diplomatic correspondence been honest and consistent, might have been productive of useful results; but they were neither consistent nor honest; and, like the greater part of other diplomacy, it consisted of little else than empty words, really meaning nothing and, really, producing nothing.[5]

While that feeble demonstration of her "independence and dignity" was being presented by the revolutionary authorities in New York, and there was no other demonstration, by either the Colonial Government or the armed force which occupied the harbor and commanded the City, the Rector of the Parish of Westchester, as has been already stated, remained in captivity, in the hands of the banditti who had seized

"you on a subject that has given great discontent to the inhabitants of "the City and County of New-York.

"We are informed by a Petition from the General Committee, that a "body of troops from your Colony lately made a public entry into this "City, at noon-day, and seized and carried off the types belonging to one "of the public printers, without any authority from the Continental or "this Congress or their Committee.

"While we consider this conduct as an insult offered to this Colony, we "are disposed to attribute it to an imprudent though well-intended zeal "for the public cause; and cannot entertain the most distant thought "that your Colony will approve of the measure. It is unnecessary to "use arguments to show the impropriety of a proceeding that has a "manifest tendency to interrupt that harmony and union which, at "present, happily subsists throughout, and is so essential to the interest "of the whole Continent. It is our earnest desire that you would take "the most effectual steps to prevent any of the people of your Colony "from entering into this, for the like purposes, unless invited by our "Provincial Congress, a Committee of Safety, or the General Committee of one of our Counties, as we cannot but consider such intrusions "as an invasion of our essential rights, as a distinct Colony; and com-"mon justice obliges us to request that you will give orders that all the "types be returned to the Chairman of the General Committee of the "City and County of New-York. We beg you will not consider this re-"quisition as an attempt to justify the man from whom the types were "taken: we are fully sensible of his demerits; but we earnestly wish "that the glory of the present contest for Liberty may not be sullied by "an attempt to restrain the Freedom of the Press.

"The same body of troops, we are informed, seized the Mayor of the "Borough of Westchester, the Rector of that Parish, and one of the "Justices of the County, and carried them to your Colony. Mr. Seabury, "we are informed, is still detained. If such should be the case, we must "entreat your friendly interposition for his immediate discharge; the "more especially as, considering his ecclesiastical character, which, per-"haps, is venerated by many friends to Liberty, the severity that has "been used towards him may be subject to misconstructions prejudicial "to the common cause, and the more effectually to restrain such incur-"sions which, if repeated, may be productive of mischief of the most se-"rious consequence; and, as we would be exceedingly sorry to give "room for jealousies among individuals in your Colony that we are "desirous to damp the spirit of Liberty or countenance any of its "enemies among us, we propose to apply to the Continental Congress, "not by way of complaint, but for such a general regulation, on this "subject, as may as well prevent such jealousies as any future incur-"sions by the inhabitants of either Colony into the other, for the appre-"hending or punishing any enemy or supposed enemy to the cause of "Liberty, without application to the Congress, the Committee of Safety, "or the Committee of the County within the jurisdiction of which such "persons shall reside, or command of the Continental Congress.

"We are, Sir, with the utmost respect and esteem,
"Your mo. obt. servts.
"By order of the Provincial Congress.

"To the Honble JONA. TRUMBULL, "NATH'L WOODHULL, *Pres't.*
"*Gov. of the Colony of Connecticut.*"

[1] It is proper to say, in this connection, that the insincerity of the Provincial Congress was never more boldly presented than in its *Order* concerning the disposition which was to be made of the letter which it had just ordered to be written to the Governor of Connecticut, in the matter of the raid of Connecticut's ruffians—instead of ordering it to be forwarded to the Governor, it "ORDERED, That the said letter be engrossed and signed "by the President, so as to be ready to be transmitted, WHEN DIRECTED." (*Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Martis, 3 ho., P. M., Decr. 12, "1775.")

Just *when* the Congress "*directed*" it to be "transmitted," is not known.

[2] Vide page 317, post.

[3] The notice of the raid which was published in *The Connecticut Journal*, already copied into this narrative, clearly indicated that Isaac Sears was only a temporary sojourner at New Haven, when he made that raid.

[4] *Governor Trumbull to the President of the Provincial Congress of New York*, "HARTFORD, June 10th, 1776."

[5] The Provincial Congress evidently called the attention of the Delegation in the Continental Congress to the subject, as it promised to do, in its letter to Governor Trumbull; and on the eleventh of January, 1776, the Delegation wrote, in reply: "We highly applaud the spirit, "and, at the same time, respectful manner in which you have supported "the dignity and independence of our Colony, and demanded reparation "on the subject of the Connecticut inroad. An interposition, so rash, "officious, and violent gave us great anxiety, as it was not only a high "insult to your authority, but had a direct tendency to confirm that fatal "spirit of jealousy and distrust of our eastern brethren which has done "so much injury to our cause, and which every wise and virtuous patriot "should study to suppress." The Government of Connecticut, we are "persuaded, will not only do you the justice which you have required, "but adopt effectual means to restrain their inhabitants from similar at-"tempts in future. In this expectation, we shall take the liberty "to defer the application to Congress which you direct, until we are "favoured with a copy of Governor Trumbull's answer to your letter." (*Philip Livingston, James Duane, John Jay, Henry Wisner, and William Floyd to the Provincial Congress*, "PHILADELPHIA, 5th January, 1776.")

The Governor of Connecticut having, meanwhile, taken no notice whatever of the letter which the Provincial Congress had written to him, in the preceding December, on the 8th of March, 1776, the latter informed the Delegation from New York in the Continental Congress, of that fact, (*Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Veneris, "10 ho., A.M., March 8, 1776;") but there seems to have been no action, on that subject, in the former body, then or at any other time.

him and carried him from his home; and he was thus held by that law-defying gang of ruffians, in one of the Capital-towns of Connecticut, in which the Legislature was, then, in session, without the slightest attempt, by the legally constituted Government of that Colony, to interfere, either for the rescue of the captive or for the vindication of the Law of the land, which had been indisputably violated by those who held him. As has been stated, the captive was not permitted to hold a free intercourse with his friends; the use of pen, ink, and paper, unless for the purpose of writing to his family, was interdicted; and his correspondence with his family was subjected to examination by his captors. As a matter of favor, however, he was permitted to memorialize the General Assembly of the Colony within which he was held in captivity, although that Assembly had been dissolved by Proclamation of the Governor, six days previously; and, because that *Memorial* is a portion of the revolutionary literature of Westchester-county, to say nothing of its importance as an authority in history, a place for it may be properly found in the text of this narrative.[1] It was in the following words:

"To the Honorable General Assembly of the "Gov. and Company of the Colony of Con-"necticut, now sitting in New Haven, in "said Colony, by special Order of his "Honor, the Governor.

"The Memorial of Samuel Seabury, Clerk, A.M., "Rector of the Parish of West Chester, in the County "of West Chester and Province of New York, humbly "showeth:—

"That on Wednesday, the 22d day of November "last, your Memorialist was seized at a house in "West Chester where he taught a grammar school, by "a company of armed men, to the number, as he "supposes, of about forty; that after being carried to "his own house and being allowed time to send for "his horse, he was forced away on the road to Kings-"bridge, but soon meeting another company of "armed men, they joined and proceeded to East "Chester.

"That a person styled Captain Lothrop ordered "your Memorialist to be seized. That after the two "companies joined, the command appeared to your "Memorialist to be in Captain Isaac Sears, and the "whole number of men to be about one hundred. "That from East Chester your Memorialist, in com-"pany with Jonathan Fowler, Esq., of East Chester, "and Nathl. Underhill, Esq., of West Chester, was "sent under a guard of about twenty armed men[2] to "Horseneck,[3] and on the Monday following was "brought to this town and carried in triumph through "a great part of it, accompanied by a large number "of men on horsback and in carriages, chiefly armed. "That the whole company arranged themselves before "the house of Captain Sears. That after firing two "cannon and huzzaing, your Memorialist was sent "under a guard of four or five men to the house of "Mrs. Lyman, where he has ever since been kept "under guard. That during this time your Memor-"ialist hath been prevented from enjoying a free inter-"course with his friends; forbidden to visit some of "them, though in company with his guard; prohibited "from reading prayers in the church, and in perform-"ing any part of divine service, though invited by "the Rev. Mr. Hubbard so to do; interdicted the use "of pen, ink, and paper, except for the purpose of "writing to his family, and then it was required that "his letters should be examined and licensed before "they were sent off; though on Friday last, Captain "Sears condescended that your Memorialist should "be indulged in writing a Memorial to this Hon. "Assembly. That your Memorialist hath received "but one letter from his family since he has been "under confinement, and that was delivered to him "open, though brought by the post.

"Your Memorialist begs leave further to represent, "that he hath heard a verbal account that one of his "daughters was abused and insulted by some of the "people when at his house on the 22d of November. "That a bayonet was thrust through her cap, and her "cap thereby tore from" [*her*] "head. That the "handkerchief about her neck was pierced by a bay-"onet, both before and behind. That a quilt in the "frame on which the daughters of your Memorialist "were at work was so cut and pierced with bayonets "as to be rendered useless. That while your Memo-"rialist was waiting for his horse, on the said 22d day "of November, the people obliged the wife of your "Memorialist to open his desk, where they examined "his papers, part of the time in presence of your "Memorialist. That he had in a drawer in the desk "three or four dollars and a few pieces of small sil-"ver. That he hath heard that only an English "shilling and three or four coppers were found in the "drawers after he was brought away. That your "Memorialist thinks this not improbable, as Jonathan "Fowler, Esq., informed him that a new beaver hat, a "silver-mounted horsewhip, and two silver spoons were "carried off from his house on said day. Mr. Meloy, "also, of this town, informed your Memorialist that

[1] A portion of this notable paper was published by Hinman, in his *Historical Collections of the part sustained by Connecticut during the War of the Revolution*, (pages 548–551.) Rev. E. E. Beardsley, D.D., in his *Life and Correspondence of the Right Reverend Samuel Seabury, D.D.*, (Second Edition, 36–42,) published as nearly a complete and accurate copy of it as those who printed his book would permit him to give to his readers. It is believed that, with his kind assistance, we have the privilege of laying an entirely accurate and complete copy of the original manuscript before our readers, from the copy of that original which was furnished to him by Charles J. Hoadley, the Librarian of the State Library, at Hartford, the custodian of that paper.

[2] It will be observed that Mr. Seabury did not regard his captors as "troops" or "Light Horse" or military men, of any class: he evidently considered them as what are known as "irregulars;" and, for that reason, called them only "armed men."

[3] Horse Neck of that period is West Greenwich of this.

"he, the said Meloy, had been accused by some peo-
"ple of pointing a bayonet at the breast of a daughter
"of your Memorialist, desiring your Memorialist to ex-
"culpate him from the charge, to which request your
"Memorialist replied that he was not at his house but
"at his school house when the affair was said to have
"happened; but that a daughter of your Memorialist
"met him as he was brought from the school house,
"and told him that one of the men had pushed a
"bayonet against her breast and otherwise insulted
"her; and your Memorialist remembers that when
"he left his house in the morning his daughter had a
"cap on, but when she met him near the school
"house she had none on and her hair was hanging
"over her shoulders.

"Your Memorialist, also, begs leave further to
"represent that after he had been eight or ten days
"at New Haven, he was carried by Mr. Jonathan
"Mix, to whose care he was committed, to the house
"of Mr. Beers, innkeeper, in said town, where were
"Captain Sears, Captain Lothrop, Mr. Brown, and
"some others, whose names he did not know or does
"not recollect. That several questions were asked
"him, to some of which he gave the most explicit
"answers, but perceiving some insidious design
"against him by some of the questions, he refused to
"answer any more. That Captain Sears then ob-
"served to him, if he understood him right, that they
"did not intend to release him, nor to make such a
"compromise with him as had been made with Judge
"Fowler and Mr. Underhill,[1] but to keep him a pris-
"oner till the unhappy disputes between Great
"Britain and America were settled. That whatever
"your Memorialist might think, what they had done
"they would take upon themselves and support.
"That your Memorialist then asked an explicit de-
"claration of the charges against him, and was told
"that the charges against him were:—

"That he, your Memorialist, had entered into a
"combination with six or seven others to seize Cap-
"tain Sears as he was passing through the county of
"West Chester, and convey him on board a man-of-
"war.

"That your Memorialist had signed a Protest at the
"White Plains, in the county of West Chester,
"against the proceedings of the Continental Con-
"gress.

"That your Memorialist had neglected to open his
"church on the day of the Continental Fast.

"And that he had written pamphlets and news-
"papers against the liberties of America.

"To the first and last of these charges your
"Memorialist pleads not guilty, and will be ready to
"vindicate his innocence, as soon as he shall be
"restored to his liberty in that province to which only
"he conceives himself to be amenable.[2] He considers
"it a high infringement of the liberty for which the
"virtuous sons of America are now nobly struggling,
"to be carried by force out of one colony into
"another, for the sake either of trial or imprison-

[1] Vide pages 308, 309, ante.

[2] In our early manhood, after a careful examination of all the evidence which was accessible to us, we reached the conclusions that the celebrated political tracts of "A. W. FARMER" [*a Westchester Farmer*] which were published in 1774, and which created such an intense excitement among the revolutionary faction, were written by Isaac Wilkins, of Westchester, and not by the Rev. Samuel Seabury, also of Westchester, to whom they had been generally attributed. Several years afterwards, those conclusions secured the respect and deference of one whose respect and deference, in such matters, were distinctions of which any one might have been reasonably proud, (*Historical Magazine*, New Series, iii., 9—January, 1868;) and we have not since seen the slightest reason for revising our early judgment, in that much canvassed question of authorship.

Within a few months after the publication of those notable political essays, the satirist, John Trumbull, wrote his versified version of General Gage's *Proclamation* of the twelfth of June, 1775, in which, in the following lines, the well-informed author of that well-written piece very clearly indicated the person who, at that early date, was recognized as the detested "A. W. FARMER:"

> "What disappointments sad and bilkings,
> "Awaited poor departing W . . . . . s;
> "What wild confusion, rout and hobble, you
> "Made with his farmer, Don A. W."

(Trumbull's *Origin of McFingal*, 31, 32;) and within six months after Trumbull's publication, Samuel Seabury, in that portion of his *Memorial to the General Assembly of Connecticut* which is now under notice, added his very clear, very precise, and very unequivocal testimony, on the same interesting question. With these two independent pieces of evidence before him, the reader may easily ascertain with how much of accuracy that early judgment was formed.

We are not unacquainted, also, with a paper, entitled *The Westchester Farmer*, written by D. Williams, and published in *The Magazine of American History*, viii., 117—February, 1882. It contains what purports to have been an unsigned draft of a Memorial supposed to have been addressed, or intended to have been addressed, by Samuel Seabury, several years after the occurrences now under consideration, to the Commissioners for adjusting the losses of the Loyal Refugees, in which draft of a Memorial he claimed, if the paper is not something else than what it purports to have been, to have been the SOLE author of the "A. W. "FARMER" tracts, as well as of various other tracts and publications. But we are constrained to say that, whether the paper is what it purports to have been or not, and whether it was copied and delivered to the Commissioners or not, of both of which we have grave doubts, there are evidences within itself of its entire untrustworthiness, in its recital of known facts; that we do not believe, therefore, that it was written by Samuel Seabury, carefully and deliberately, if he really wrote it; and that we need more evidence than we have yet seen, that he was capable of deliberately and understandingly telling or writing unqualified falsehoods, for any purpose, either while he was in New Haven, in 1775–6, or in Lond n, after he had received his Doctor's degree from Oxford University, several years afterwards.

In view of the fact, if it is a fact, which Mr. Williams has copied from Boucher's *Sermons*, that a pension was granted to some other person for having done what, in this paper, was said to have been done by Seabury, it is very evident the British Government preferred to believe that Samuel Seabury was NOT the author of the "A. W. FARMER" tracts nor of the other publications named in that draft of a Memorial, referred to in Mr. William's paper; and that it acted, accordingly.

We are not insensible of the fact that a great-grandson of Samuel Seabury, in a paper which was published in *The American Quarterly Church Review*, for April, 1881, without any supporting testimony which any Bench in the country would have received as evidence, in any case, undertook the ungracious task of showing, by argument, that Samuel Seabury was not sincere, when he wrote the disclaimer which is now under notice; that his words, on the matter of his alleged authorship of the political pamphlets and newspaper articles referred to, were artfully intended to mislead the General Assembly, beneficially to himself; and that, in fact, notwithstanding what he and others had said and written to the contrary, Samuel Seabury was really the author of the "A. W. "FARMER" tracts! We must be excused, however, for dissenting from the conclusions of this younger member of the Seabury family, and for

"ment. Must he be judged by the laws of Connecti-
"cut, to which as an inhabitant of New York he
"owed no obedience? or by the laws of that colony
"in which he has been near twenty years a resident?
"or, if the regulations of Congress be attended to,
"must he be dragged from the committee of his own
"county, and from the Congress of his own province,
"cut off from the intercourse of his friends, deprived
"of the benefit of those evidences which may be
"necessary for the vindication of his innocence, and
"judged by strangers to him, to his character, and
"to the circumstances of his general conduct in life?

"One great grievance justly complained of by the
"people of America, and which they are now strug-
"gling against, is the Act of Parliament directing
"persons to be carried from America to England for
"a trial. And your Memorialist is confident that the
"supreme legislative authority in this colony will not
"permit him to be treated in a manner so destructive
"to that liberty for which they are now contending.
"If your Memorialist is to be dealt with according to
"law, he conceives that the laws of Connecticut, as
"well as of New York, forbid the imprisonment of
"his person any otherwise than according to law. If
"he is to be judged according to the regulations of the
"Congress, *they* have ordained the Provincial Con-
"gress of New York or the Committee of the county
"of West Chester, to be his judges. Neither the
"laws of either colony nor the regulations of the
"Congress give any countenance to the mode of
"treatment which he has met with. But considered
"in either light, he conceives it must appear *unjust*,
"*cruel*, *arbitrary*, and *tyrannical*.[1]

"With regard to the second charge, viz.: That
"your Memorialist signed a Protest against the pro-
"ceedings of the Congress, he begs leave to state the
"fact as it really is. The General Assembly of the
"province of New York, in their sessions last winter,
"determined to send a petition to the king, a
"memorial to the House of Lords, and a remonstrance
"to the House of Commons, upon the subject of
"American grievances;[2] and the members of the
"house, at least many of them, as your Memorialist
"was informed, recommended it to their constituents
"to be quiet till the issue of those applications should
"be known. Some time in the beginning of April, as
"your Memorialist thinks, the people were invited to
"meet at the White Plains to choose delegates for a
"Provincial Congress. Many people there assembled
"were averse from the measure. They, however, gave
"no other opposition to the choice of delegates than
"signing a Protest. This Protest your Memorialist
"signed in company with two members of the assem-
"bly, and above three hundred other people.[3] Your
"Memorialist had not a thought of acting against the
"liberties of America. He did not conceive it to be
"a crime to support the measures of the representa-
"tives of the people, measures which he then hoped
"and expected would have good effect by inducing a
"change of conduct in regard to America. More
"than eight months have now passed since your
"Memorialist signed the Protest. If his crime was
"of so atrocious a kind, why was he suffered to
"remain so long unpunished? or why should he be
"now singled out from more than three hundred, to
"endure the unexampled punishment of captivity
"and unlimited confinement?

"The other crime alleged against your Memorialist is
"that he neglected to open his church on the day of the
"Continental Fast. To this he begs leave to answer:
"That he had no notice of the day appointed but
"from common report: That he received no order
"relative to said day either from any Congress or
"committee: That he cannot think himself guilty of
"neglecting or disobeying an order of Congress,
"which order was never signified to him in any way:

retaining our own well-considered opinion that Samuel Seabury was nothing else than a learned, sincere, truthful, honorable, and fearless man, incapable of such dishonorable trickery as has been attributed to him. Others are at liberty, of course, to think differently.

[1] The reader of the two preceding paragraphs, in which the captive responded to the first and fourth of the charges which his captors had presented against him, cannot fail to find evidence, of the highest character, that, in his political opinions, Samuel Seabury was, at that time, as he had previously been, in exact accord with Isaac Wilkins and Frederic Philipse, also of Westchester-county; and that he was and had been in accord with the great body of Americans, believing and maintaining that the Home Government had invaded the personal and political rights of the Colonists; that the latter had just reason for complaints and opposition to the Colonial and Home Governments, because of those grievances; that the Colonists were justified in their opposition to those obnoxious measures and to those who enacted and promoted the execution of them, as far as that opposition involved no violation of the Rights of Persons or Properties nor of the Laws of the Land; and that the Continental Congress of 1774, until it passed beyond the prescribed limits of its authority, as that authority had been specifically defined by its constituent Colonies, and until it assumed the unwarranted authority of legislation, thereby closing the open door of reconciliation with the Mother Country, for the promotion of which it had been expressly and solely constituted, was worthy of the respect and support which were given to it, by nearly every one, in the Colony. In common with the great body of the Colonists, throughout the entire seaboard, he was sincere in his convictions that the Colonies were suffering from the wrongs which had been inflicted on them by the Mother Country; and he was willing to resort to all lawful means for their relief. But when the entire machinery of the party of the Opposition was seized by those who only cared for the offices which they could secure and for the promotion of only a factional struggle for the control of the political power of the Colony, he preferred to remain among the conservatives, and to act, if he acted in any political movement, with the conservative rather than with the revolutionary faction of the party of the Opposition.

Whatever he may have subsequently become, and the persecutions to which he was subjected by those of the opposite faction of the Opposition would have soured the most amiable of dispositions and have transformed those who were more opposed to the Government than he into active "friends of the Government," when this *Memorial* was written, and previously thereto, Samuel Seabury, like Isaac Wilkins and Frederic Philipse and the De Lanceys and the great body of the farmers of Westchester-county and those who were not seekers for offices and official power and official emoluments, everywhere, as far as they were politically inclined, in any direction, were unchanged, conservative members of the earlier party of the Opposition to the existing, governing Ministry, without either pretending to be or being, in the slightest degree, what were then known, distinctively, as "friends of the Government," or what have subsequently become known by the technical term, as offensive as it was distinctive, of "Tories."

[2] Vide pages 231, 232, ante.

[3] Vide pages 247, 250, ante.

"That a complaint was exhibited against your "Memorialist to the Provincial Congress of New "York, by Captain Sears, soon after the neglect with "which he is charged, and that after the matter was "fully debated, the complaint was dismissed:[1] That "he conceives it to be *cruel*, *arbitrary*, and in the "highest degree *unjust*, after his supposed offense has "been examined before the proper tribunal, to be "dragged like a felon seventy miles from home, and "again impeached of the same crime. At this rate "of proceeding, should he be acquitted at New "Haven, he may [*be*] forced seventy miles farther, "and so on without end.

"Further your Memorialist begs leave to repre-"sent: That he has a wife and six children, to "whom he owes, both from duty and affection, pro-"tection, support, and instruction. That his family "in a great measure depend, under the providence of "God, upon his daily care for their daily bread. "That there are several families at West Chester "who depend on his advice as a physician, to which "profession he was bred. That as a clergyman he "has the care of the towns of East and West Chester. "That there is not now a clergyman of any denom-"ination nearer than nine miles from the place of "his residence, and but one within that distance "without crossing the Sound; so that in his absence "there is none to officiate to the people in any "religious service, to visit the sick, or bury the dead.

"Your Memorialist also begs leave to observe: "That in order to discharge some debts which the "necessity of his affairs formerly obliged him to con-"tract, he, about a year ago, opened a grammar "school,[2] and succeeded so far as to make it worth "one hundred pounds, York money, for the year "past. That he was in a fair way of satisfying his "creditors and freeing himself from a heavy incum-"brance. That he had five young gentlemen from "the Island of Jamaica, one from Montreal, four "children of gentlemen now in England, committed "to his care, among others from New York and the "country. That he apprehends his school to be "broken up and his scholars dispersed, probably "some of them placed at other schools, and that it "may be difficult, if not impracticable, again to "recover them. That if there should be no other "impediment, yet if the people of West Chester are to "be liable to such treatment as your Memorialist hath "lately endured, no person will be willing to trust "his children there. That in this case, your Memor-"ialist must lie entirely at the mercy of his creditors "to secure him from a jail, or must part with every-"thing he has to satisfy their just demands.

"Your Memorialist, thinking it his duty to use all "lawful and honorable means to free himself from "his present confinement, mentioned his case to the "judges of the superior court lately sitting in this "town. Those honorable gentlemen thought it a "case not proper for them to interfere in; he has, "therefore, no remedy, but in the interposition of the "Honorable House of Assembly.

"To them he looks for relief from the heavy hand "of oppression and tyranny. He hopes and expects "that they will dismiss him from his confinement, "and grant him their protection, while he passes "peaceably through the colony. He is indeed "accused of breaking the rules of the Continental "Congress. He thinks he can give a good account "of his conduct, such as would satisfy reasonable "and candid men. He is certain that nothing can "be laid to his charge so repugnant to the regula-"tions of the Congress, as the conduct of those "people who in an arbitrary and hostile manner "forced him from his house, and have kept him now "four weeks a prisoner without any means or pros-"pect of relief. He has a higher opinion of the "candor, justice, and equity of the Honorable House "of Assembly, and shall they incline to inquire more "minutely into the affair, he would be glad to ap-"pear at the bar of their house, and answer for him-"self; or to be permitted to have counsel to answer "for him; or, in such way as they in their wisdom "shall think best, to grant him relief. And your "Memorialist, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

"SAMUEL SEABURY.

"Dated in NEW HAVEN the 20th day of Decem-"ber, 1775."

Three days after this spirited Memorial was written —there is no record that it was ever laid before a General Assembly[3]—as the brave Memorialist subse-

[1] The ruffianly leader of the banditti who seized Samuel Seabury and destroyed or carried away the property of James Rivington, had had a public controversy with the latter, and had been most ignominiously defeated, (deLancey's *Notes* on Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 561–566.) The text of the *Memorial of Samuel Seabury*, in this place, indicated that the same disreputable *habitué* of Jasper Drake's Beekman's Slip unlicensed alehouse had also had a political tilt with the Rector of St. Peter's Church, in Westchester, with a similar result. The reader may gather from those facts, without resorting to that general fact of the disappointment of Sears, in his scramble for "a high office in the American Navy," of which Bancroft has made mention, just what was the reason that that ruffian was so zealous, in his pursuit of the two who had so signally defeated him.

[2] Vide pages 304, 306, ante.

[3] We are not insensible of the fact that Hinman, in his *Historical Collections of the part sustained by Connecticut during the War of the Revolution*, (*page* 548,) stated that Samuel Seabury "brought his petition on the "20th day of December, 1776,* to the General Assembly of Connecticut, "then sitting at New Haven;" and, further, (*page* 551,) that "the peti-"tion, in the Assembly, was referred to a Joint Committee of the two "Houses, with William Samuel Johnson, Esq., as Chairman, who re-"ported that a letter had been received from the President of the New "York Congress, on the subject; and that to answer said letter, a pub-"lic hearing should be had before both Houses of said Assembly." We are not insensible, also, that Mr. Seabury addressed his *Memorial* "To "the Honorable the General Assembly * * * now sitting in New "Haven, in said Colony, by special Order of his Honor, the Governor," (*vide page* 312, *ante*.) But the *Journal of that Special Session*, called by the Governor, and sitting at New Haven, shows "the General Assembly "was adjourned by Proclamation, on the 14th day of December, 1775;" and that there was no other Session of the Assembly, from the latter

* Thus stated in that work.

quently stated, "the gang who took" [*him*] "prisoner thought proper to withdraw their guard and "let" [*him*] "return" to his desolated home.[1]

It was not pretended that either the Executive, or the Legislative, or the Judicial authorities of the Colony of Connecticut, none of whom had been disturbed by the revolutionary element within that Colony and all of whom were enabled to discharge all their legitimate functions, had made the slightest movement for the relief or for the release of the captive, who, during the preceding nearly five weeks, had been held in captivity, with the entire knowledge and acquiescence and in the presence of each of those several departments of the Colonial Government, in one of the Capital-Towns of the Colony. It was not pretended that any one of the seventeen banditti, residents of the Town of New Haven and known to all in authority, had been called to account, by any one in authority, for their flagrant violation of the Law of the land. On the contrary, it is evident that his captors had become tired, since they found that an able and courageous prisoner, such as Samuel Seabury was, was not likely to be useful to either the general cause of the Rebellion or to those who held him; and, therefore, without any official action which has been recorded, either by the official pens or by the traditional stylus of history—just as similar political prisoners, within the memory of living men, have been informally and unceremoniously ejected from places in which they had been lawlessly confined by warrant of no other *mittimus* than the naked *ipse dixit* of reckless and law-defying political demagogues possessing a revolutionary power to issue such orders—the guards which had barred the outlet from his improvised prison were removed; the doors were opened; and he was permitted to depart, without hindrance, and to return, without molestation, to his home and family.

He reached Westchester, on his return, on the second of January, 1776;[2] but his private affairs were very much disturbed;[3] his School, on which he largely depended for the payment of his debts and for the more comfortable support of his family, was broken up;[4] his present means were very limited—the expense of his month's confinement, in the hands of the banditti, had amounted to the very large sum of ten pounds sterling[5]—his papers were so much scattered that he was unable to discharge his official duties with propriety and accuracy;[6] he and his family were subjected to constant annoyances and insults;[7] his house was occupied, soon after, by a Company of Cavalry, who consumed or destroyed all the products of his Glebe, on which, to a considerable extent, his family was made dependent;[8] he was thus made entirely dependent for support on his small stipend as a Missionary of the Venerable Society; and, finally, like his friend and neighbor, Isaac Wilkins, he was compelled to seek shelter and safety in flight[9]—when a favorable opportunity was afforded, he gathered such of his effects as could be conveniently carried, and, with his wife and six children, he fled, first across the Sound, to Long Island and, subsequently, to the City of New York.[10]

Need there be any surprise that, after such an experience of what, in practice, were "the Liberties of "America," Samuel Seabury's political opinions underwent a radical change—that he ceased to be of the party of the Opposition to the Ministry then in place; and that he became, decidedly and firmly, "a friend "of the Government," in other words, an unqualified and distinctive Tory?[11]

On the fourth of December, 1775, also during the period between the dissolution of the first and the organization of the second of the series of the Provincial Congresses, the Governor of the Colony, William Tryon, from his shelter, on board the ship *Dutchess of Gordon*, lying in the harbor of the City of New York, evidently and reasonably encouraged by the backwardness of the Deputies to the Provincial Congress; by the known inclination to peace, of a large majority, if not of nearly all, the Colonists; and by the countenance and expected support of sundry of the leaders of the Rebellion, addressed a letter to the Mayor of that City, Whitehead Hicks,[12]

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date until the second Thursday of the following May, see the same *Historical Collections*, etc., 200.

[1] *Rev. Samuel Seabury to the Secretary of the Venerable Society*, "NEW "YORK, December 29, 1776."

[2] *Rev. Samuel Seabury to the Venerable Society*, "WESTCHESTER, Janu- "ary 13, 1776;" Beardsley's *Life and Correspondence of Rt. Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D.*, 43.

[3] *Rev. Samuel Seabury to the Venerable Society*, "WESTCHESTER, Janu- "ary 13, 1776."

[4] Beardsley's *Life and Correspondence of Rt. Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D.*, 48.

[5] *Rev. Samuel Seabury to the Venerable Society*, "WESTCHESTER, January "13, 1776."

[6] Ibid.

[7] *Rev. Samuel Seabury to the Venerable Society*, "NEW YORK, December "29, 1776."

[8] Beardsley's *Life and Correspondence of Rt. Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D.*, 48.

[9] Samuel Seabury's name was on the first "List of Westchester-county "Tories," (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscelluneous Papers*, xxxiv., 193.) In September, 1776, after reciting the disaffection of Rev. Samuel Seabury, the Committee of Safety, five of the Westchester-county members being present, directed Colonel Joseph Drake, forthwith, to remove him from his home to the house of Colonel John Brinckerhoff, at Fishkill, to remain there till the further order of the Convention or the Committee of Safety; and that he be not permitted to leave the farm of the said Colonel Brinckerhoff, except in company with the Colonel. At the same time Colonel Van Cortlandt, John Jay, and Robert Harper were directed to ascertain what property Mr. Seabury had which might be seized and sold for the payment for his board and lodging, in his involuntary exile, (*Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., "A.M., September 11, 1776.")

[10] Beardsley's *Life and Correspondence of Rt. Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D.*, 50.

[11] Beardsley's *Life and Correspondence of the Rt. Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D.*, 48–50.

[12] *Governor Tryon to the Mayor of the City of New York*, "SHIP DUTCH- "ESS OF GORDON, NEW YORK HARBOUR, 4th Dec. 1775."

This letter appeared, in print, in Gaine's *New-York Gazette: and the Weekly Mercury*, No. 1261, NEW-YORK, Monday, December 11, 1775.

enclosed in which was another letter addressed "To "THE INHABITANTS OF THE COLONY OF NEW YORK."[1] expressive of his hope that some measure might be adopted as the basis of an accommodation between the Mother Country and the Colony. It was written in a spirit of kindness and regard for the welfare of the country, probably as a feeler, and certainly after consultation with some of the leaders of the Rebellion; and it was well-calculated to lead the revolutionary portions of the Colonists back to their duty and to peace, in which it appears to have been quite effective—"several of the Delegates" [*in the Provincial Congress*] "were favorably disposed," we are told; and there can be little doubt that by far the greater number of the Colonists, also, could their well-considered and honest preferences have been safely expressed, would have heartily concurred in the proposition.

It was not, then, generally known, but the revelations made by the publication of the records of that period have recently shown, that that letter was introductory to a movement toward a peaceful solution of the political troubles of the Colonies, which, if the letter should be well-received, the very able family of Smith, who had been among the originators and most earnest promoters of the Rebellion, and whose duplicity and hypocrisy are well known, was preparing to direct and lead. Thomas Smith, one of the brothers, was a member of the Provincial Congress, and, of course, in all the councils of the party of the Rebellion, enjoying the confidence of those who were concerned in them. Joshua Hett Smith, another of the brothers, whose unholy associations with General Benedict Arnold and Major John André, at a later period, are well known, was not, then, in any Committee or Congress; but, nevertheless, he was, at that time, one of the leaders of the Rebellion, out-doors, and was admitted to the inner councils of those who were its leaders. William Smith, the elder of the historical family of that period and allied to the Livingstons, by marriage, was the most influential of all those who were, at that time, engaged in the political affairs of the Colony. He had been associated with William Livingston and John Morin Scott, in the historically famous "triumvirate." He had professed to approve the usurpations of legislative authority and other questionable doings of the Continental Congress of 1774; and he is known to have been an outside adviser of the factious minority of the General Assembly, with whom and with whose inconsistency of action the reader is already acquainted. He was the life-long and confidential friend and the frequent host of General Philip Schuyler; and the correspondent, friend, and political adviser of George Clinton. He gave up his house, for the occupation of General Washington, when the latter occupied the City; and, with much ostentation, he appeared to be largely in sympathy with those, in New York and elsewhere, who were in the Rebellion. But, notwithstanding all these, William Smith adroitly avoided the placing of his name to the *General Association* of the Congress of 1774, that act which was made the political shibboleth, after the catchwords of "Rights" and "Liberty" had accomplished their purposes and a new issue, that of an implicit obedience to the powers which were, had been made by those who were leaders in the Rebellion. He was, also, at the same time that he was thus masquerading as a *confidantè* and an adviser of those who were leading the Rebellion and as a sympathiser with and promoter of the Rebellion itself, a Member of the Colonial Council of the King; an intimate friend and confidential adviser of the Governor of the Colony, William Tryon—whose leanings toward the pretensions of the Livingston family were as distinctly seen as were those of the venerable Lieutenant-governor, Cadwallader Colden, toward the pretensions of the more influential De Lancey family—and a secret schemer, aiming to promote the interest of his own family by disarming the Rebellion of its strength[2] and, thereby, effecting a reconciliation with the Home Government.

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As far back as the eighth of June or eighth of July, a Report had been made by a Committee which had been previously appointed to consider the subject, provid-

[1] The following is a copy of that letter, taken from the *New-York Colonial Manuscripts*, ci., 123, in the Office of the Secretary of State, at Albany:

"TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE COLONY OF NEW YORK:

"I take this public Manner to signify to the Inhabitants of this Prov- "ince, that his Majesty has been graciously pleased to grant me his "Royal Permission to withdraw from the Government; and at the same "Time to assure them of my Readiness to perform ever Service in my "Power, to promote the common Felicity. If I am excluded from "every Hope of being any Ways instrumental towards the Re-establish- "ment of that Harmony, at present interrupted between Great Britain "and her Colonies, I expect soon to be obliged to avail myself of his "Majesty's Indulgence.

"It has given me great Pain to view the Colony committed to my "care, in such a turbulent State as not to have afforded me since my "Arrival, any Prospect of being able to take the dispassionate and "deliberate Sense of its Inhabitants, in a constitutional Manner, upon "the Resolution of Parliament for composing the present Ferments in "the Provinces; A Resolution that was intended for the Basis of an "Accommodation; and if candidly considered in a Way in which it will "be most probably successful, and treated with that Delicacy and "Decency requisite to the Cultivation of a sincere Reconciliation and "Friendship, might yet be improved for the Purpose of restoring the "general Tranquility and Security of the Empire.

"I owe it to my Affection to this Colony, to declare my wish, that "some Measure may be speedily adopted for this purpose; as I feel an "extreme Degree of Anxiety, in being Witness to the growing Calamities "of this Country, without the Power to alleviate them: Calamities "that must increase, while so many of the Inhabitants withhold their "Allegiance from their Sovereign, and their Obedience to the Parent "Country; by whose Power and Patronage they have hitherto been sus- "tained and protected.

"WILLIAM TRYON.

"SHIP DUTCHESS OF GORDON,
"HARBOUR OF NEW YORK, 4th Dec. 1775."

[2] The strength of the Rebellion was in the union of all the disaffected Colonies; and, had he succeeded in withdrawing New York from the existing confederation, which he and all the Smiths endeavored to do, that strength would have been impaired, and, possibly, the confederation of the Colonies effectually broken.

ing "for the dissolution of this Congress and election "of a new Provincial Congress for this Colony;"[1] but, very probably, nothing was really done and determined on, concerning the subjects referred to. There was some action, in the Provincial Congress, on collateral subjects; but it was not until a much later period that that body was dissolved—on the fourth of November, either because of the absence of a quorum or for some other reason, no record of a formal adjournment having been made, the Provincial Congress ceased to exist; and the works which it had done as well as its own existence, became matters of history. Sooner or later, History will assign each to the place to which it is justly entitled.

It has been stated[2] that, as the out-come of the various labors of that body, on that subject, an Ordinance had been adopted by the Provincial Congress, on the twenty-seventh of October, providing for the Election of new Delegations to a new Provincial Congress, on the seventh of November, and for the assembling of that new Provincial Congress, on the fourteenth of that month; but there is no record of any such action, on the official *Journal* of that body; and no copy of that Ordinance has been found, notwithstanding the most diligent search and inquiry have been made. Whatever may have been the form and character of the document, it is evident, however, that such an Ordinance was really adopted and promulgated, and that, agreeably to its provisions, on the seventh of November, a meeting was held at the White Plains, for the election of Delegates from the County of Westchester, to the coming Congress.[3] It is not stated in what manner nor by whom the election was made; but it is stated that Colonel Lewis Graham, Stephen Ward, Esq., Colonel Joseph Drake, Robert Graham, Esq., John Thomas, Junior, Esq., William Paulding, Major Ebenezer Lockwood, Colonel Pierre Van Cortlandt, and Colonel Gilbert Drake[4] were elected; and that any three of these should have authority to represent Westchester-county in the coming Provincial Congress—Gouverneur Morris, James Van Cortlandt, Philip Van Cortlandt, James Holmes, and David Dayton, all of whom had been members of the preceding Congress having been dropped, and Major Ebenezer Lockwood and Colonels Pierre Van Cortlandt and Gilbert Drake sent in their stead.

The day appointed for the organization of the new Provincial Congress was the fourteenth of November; but, on that day, there was not even a respectable minority of the Delegates present, which may well be considered as indicative of the coolness with which the Rebellion was regarded by the great body of the Colonists, in New York, even at that early period; and of how little warrant there had been, in fact, for the outrages which had been committed by the preceding Congress and by its Committees, in their name.

Day by day, the handful of punctual Delegates met and adjourned. They amused themselves by dictating letters to the Committees of the faltering Counties, urging the attendance of their several Delegations, "in order that the business of the great cause "we are engaged in may be no longer delayed or "neglected."[5] Threats were made, in some instances, that "the Continental Congress" might "find "it necessary, for the public service and for the want of "a Congress, to put the Colony under a Military "Government, directed by a Major-General and an "Army, and that at the sole expense of this Colony," adding that "many Gentlemen present are apprehen-"sive" that such "would be the consequence if a Con-"gress [*were*] not speedily formed, so as to proceed to "business," etc.[6] On the first of December, the Committee of Orange-county was asked—the second request of the kind—"that you will not delay sending down your "members by next Monday morning, that the public "business may no longer suffer for the want of a repre-"sentation of your County; for such is the perilous "state of America, and this Colony in particular, that

[1] In the *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, of the sixteenth of October, it is said the Report was made "on the eighth of *July* last;" in the *Journal* of that body, of the eighteenth of October, it is said the Report was made "on the eighth of *June* last;" and in a memorandum appended to the *Journal* of that body, of the nineteenth of October, stating that the Report was "wanted," it is said, also, that it was "of the 8th "*June* last." In the *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, of neither of those days, however, does there appear the slightest mention of any such Report or of the subject of it.

[2] *Minutes of Proceedings during the recess of the Provincial Congress, by their Adjournment on the fourth of November*, 1775.

[3] The following document, copied from the original manuscript, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Credentials of Delegates*, xxiv., 24, 67,) illustrates this subject:

"To the Honorable the Provincial Congress of the Colony of "New York.

"We the Committee for the County of Westchester do humbly certify "that at the Election of delegates to represent the said County in the "Next Provincial Congress to be held at New York the 14th instant, "which was this day held at the Court House of the said County, Colonel "*Lewis Graham*, *Stephen Ward*, Esq., Col. *Joseph Drake*, *Robert Graham*, "Esq., *John Thomas*, Junr Esq., Mr. *William Pawling*, Major *Ebenezer* "*Lockwood*, Col. *Pierre Van Cortlandt*, and Col. *Gilbert Drake*, were duly "elected agreeable to the resolves of the Provincial Congress, to repre-"sent this county until the Second Tuesday of May next; and that it "was voted by the people that any three of the said Deputies shall act "for this county. Dated the 7th day of November, 1775.

"By order of the Committee,

"Gilbert H. Drake, *Chairman*.

"A true copy from the minutes taken by

"Micah Townsend, *Clerk of the Committee*."

[4] It will be seen that eight of the nine Delegates thus elected carried titles with their names—the terms "Esq." and "Mr." at that time, having recognized places in the order of rank—and that only one of the nine, William Paulding, was low enough, in the social rank, to be a plain, untitled man.

[5] These words, taken from the letter sent to the Delegates-elect of Kings-county, on the twenty-second of November, represent the substance of those sent to the Committee of Orange-county, on the following day: to the Delegates from Richmond-county in the preceding Congress, on the twenty-fourth of November; and to the Delegates-elect and to the Committees in the several Counties of Tryon, Charlotte, Cumberland, Orange, Kings, and Duchess on the first of December. (*Minutes of the Proceedings during the Recess of the Provincial Congress, by their Adjournment on the fourth of November*, 1775.)

[6] These were sent, on the first of December, to the Committees of Tryon, Charlotte, and Cumberland-counties, respectively.

"a Convention of the Deputies is absolutely necessary, "with the utmost despatch." To these pressing words, the following threat was appended: "But if, after "such repeated applications to your County, to be in "Congress, by their Deputies, if you continue to ne- "glect a measure so necessary for your reputation and "safety, you must not complain if the Congress de- "termine upon matters relative to your County, in "common with others, although yours should, by "your inattention, be unrepresented."[1] Richmond-county was not inclined to send a Delegation;[2] and was, first, coaxed to elect a Delegation, and, finally, threatened.[3] How much more, which was not recorded, that handful of the leaders of the Rebellion, in Colonial New York, said and did, for the intimidation of those who were less zealous, in that cause, is not now known; but the careful reader will not fail to inquire, without obtaining an answer, why the Home Government failed, during that long interval of hesitation and of doubt among the greater number of the Colonists, to strengthen the Colonial Government in the maintenance of order and obedience to the Laws; why those who were not inclined to rebellion were not protected in the quiet possession of their properties and in the peaceful pursuit of their respective vocations; and why the price which would have obtained the marketable leaders of the Rebellion, for the use of the Home Government, was not paid, as the smaller and more effective investment,[4] or, if the heroic treatment of the troubles was preferred, why those leaders were not arrested and punished, as other and less distinguished violators of the peace were wont to be punished, in America and elsewhere.

On the first of December, competent Delegations appeared from the five Counties of New York, Albany, Westchester, Ulster, and Suffolk, with insufficient Delegations from Kings and Duchess, and no portions of such Delegations from Richmond, Queens, Orange, Tryon, Cumberland, Gloucester, and Charlotte-counties; and, consistently with usage and the Rules of the preceding Congress, "the Representa- "tives of a majority of the Counties not being pres- "ent," those who were present "could not proceed to "business, as a Congress."[5] On the sixth of that month, competent Delegations appeared from the five Counties of New York, Albany, Westchester, Duchess, and Suffolk, with insufficient Delegations from Kings, Ulster, and Orange-counties, and no portions, of such Delegations from the Counties of Richmond, Queens, Tryon, Cumberland, Gloucester, or Charlotte; at which time, directly in violation of the rulings, on the first of that month, they declared that "the "Deputies from a majority of the Counties appeared," —a falsehood, which, to have established its true character, needed only a reference to the *Credentials* which were filed, as their several authorizations, by the respective Delegations,—organized a Congress, and proceeded to the discharge of those duties to which they had respectively assigned themselves.[6] There were five Delegations present, on the first of December, when it was declared that "the Represen- "tatives of a majority of the Counties not being pres- "ent," those who were present "could not proceed to "business, as a Congress:" five days afterwards, when no more than five such Delegations appeared, with an elasticity of conscience and of action which was worthy of those who were present, what had been declared, under similar circumstances, at their former meeting, was entirely disregarded; and what, at that former meeting, was said to have been insufficient to have allowed the five Delegations who were then present, "to proceed to business, as a Congress," was declared, in this later meeting, to be sufficient to permit five Delegations—four of the five having been of the former five—to do what the former five "could not" do: with the authorized Delegations of

[1] *Letter to the Committee of Orange-county*, "NEW-YORK, December 1st, "1775."

[2] *Letter from Paul Michaux to Robert Benson*, "RICHMOND-COUNTY, De- "cember 1st, 1775."

[3] "The evil consequences that will attend the not having a Provincial "Congress to determine on the measures necessary to be adopted and "carried into execution, at this unhappy crisis, are more easily con- "ceived than expressed; and rest assured, Gentlemen, that the neigh "bouring Colonies will not remain inactive spectators, if you show a "disposition to depart from the Continental Union. Confusion and dis- "order, with numberless other evils, you must suppose, will attend the "want of a Congress for the government of this Colony, until a recon- "ciliation with the Mother Country can be obtained," (*Letter to the Committee of Richmond-county*, "NEW-YORK, 2d Dec. 1775.")

[4] It is very well known that the Morrises were zealous loyalists, in Europe as well as in America, until the family lost its hold on the Colonial Government, by the removal of the elder Lewis, from the office of Chief Justice of the Colony. The appointment of Thomas Hutchinson to the Bench, to which James Otis, the elder, aspired, transferred the weight and influence of the Otis family from the side of the Government to the leadership of the Opposition, in Massachusetts. Israel Putnam was too highly appraised for the Royal shambles, and so remained in the market, until, on the demand of the Livingstons, he was placed where he could do no further harm. The greater success of Benjamin Pratt, of Boston, and, subsequently, that of Daniel Horsmanden, in the race for the place of Chief Justice of the Colony of New York, when James De Lancey died, added fresh bitterness to the Morrises, in the disappointment of Robert Hunter Morris; and the disappointment of William Smith, on the same occasion, threw the Smiths into the front rank of the malcontents, in New York. Egbert Dumond, of Ulster-county, is said to have become informer of Congre-sional secrets to Governor Tryon, provisionally, with a hankering after the Shrievalty of Ulster-county, as James Duane had communicated the secrets of the Congress of 1774, to Lieutenant-governor Colden, undoubtedly for an equivalent, present or prospective. Who supposes that Captain Gilbert Livingston, of Arnold's American Legion, and Robert G. Livingston, Junior, that Philip John Livingston, the Royal Sheriff of Duchess-county, and his brother, John W. Livingston, Captain in Fanning's King's American Regiment, were not the better exponents of the real opinions of that office-seeking family of Livingstons; and who can doubt, with the roster of subsequent office holding Livingstons before him, that much of additional influence, in favor of the Home Government, might have been secured from that family and its adherents, had that Government been as g-nerous in the disposition of offices to members of that peculiarly office-seeking family, as the revolutionary authorities and the subsequent State Government, in New York, unquestionably were?

[5] *Minutes of the Proceedings during the recess of the Provincial Congress*, "NEW YORK, Friday, Dec. 1st, 1775."

[6] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Wednesday morning, December "6th, 1775."

only five of the fourteen Counties then present, the *Journal of the Provincial Congress* bearing testimony to that fact, it will be seen and understood that the record which stated that "the Deputies from a ma-"jority of the Counties appeared," is a false record; that there was, really, no quorum present, even under the rule and usage of that revolutionary body; and that, tested by that rule and that usage, even from the convenient standpoint of rebellion, the Congress was not properly constituted and was without due revolutionary authority—of course, it possessed no other authority, in the slightest degree.[1]

What was thus called a Provincial Congress, elected Colonel Nathaniel Woodhull, of the County of Suffolk, to be its President; and John McKesson and Robert Benson, the Secretaries of the former Provincial Congress, were elected Secretaries of that.[2] It assembled, day by day, until the twenty-second of December, when it took a recess, leaving a Committee of Safety to discharge some of the duties which it had undertaken to perform.[3] That Committee, of which Colonel Pierre Van Cortlandt, of Westchester-county, was the Chairman, continued in session, until the twelfth of February, 1776, when the Provincial Congress was again assembled;[4] and that Congress continued in session, until the sixteenth of March, in that year, when it took another recess, leaving, as before, a Committee of Safety, to discharge some portions of its self-imposed duties, during its absence.[5] That Committee, of which Joseph Hallett, of the City of New York, was the Chairman, continued in session, until the 8th of May, 1776, when the Provincial Congress was again assembled—it is written that "several matters of the utmost importance, "as well to the United Colonies, in general, as to this "Colony, in particular, rendering it necessary for a "speedy meeting of the Provincial Congress of this "Colony, the Committee of Safety, therefore, or-"dered Circular Letters to be sent to all the mem-"bers, requesting their attendance, in Provincial "Congress, at New York, on the first day of this inst. "May. On that day, and every day, since, many "members attended, but not a sufficient number to "make a Congress,[6] until this afternoon" [*May* 8, 1776,][7] when a quorum was found to be present, and the business was resumed and continued until the afternoon of the thirteenth of that month, when the Congress was dissolved.[8]

During that short period of about six months, the progress of events, in America, was peculiarly remarkable.

* * * * * * * *

The entire Colony, as far as Commerce, Trade, and the Mechanic Arts were concerned, was plunged into the greatest distress:[9] the seamen were idle, in the Ports, because there was an interdiction of Commerce with foreign Ports; and commercial Non-intercourse prevailed:[10] the Mechanics and Working-men in the Cities—some of whom had been the ever-ready and noisy tools of the demagogues of faction, in the earlier days of the disturbances—were suffering, unemployed:[11] to add to

[1] John Leffertse appeared in the Congress, nominally from Kings-county; but he did not pretend to offer a *Credential*, nor any other, even the slightest, evidence that he had been appointed, by any one, to appear as a representative from Kings-county or in any other capacity, in the Provincial Congress or elsewhere.

Peter Clowes was said to have represented "Goshen Precinct in Orange-"county;" but the *Credentials* which were filed from Orange-county declared that *two* Delegates should be required to represent that County; and that only when one such Delegate should appear in the Congress from "the North side of the Mountains" [*the Highlands*] and one from the "South side" of those Highlands—Orange-county, at that time, including what, now, is Rockland-county - should that Delegation be complete and authorized to represent the County. As there was only one, instead of two, Delegates; and because those Towns which were below the Highlands were entirely without a representative, there was no Delegation from Orange-county, in the Congress.

Thomas Palmer and Moses Cantine were the only Delegates, out of the seven who had been elected, and who were present, to represent Ulster-county; but those who had elected them and given to them all the authority which it was said they possessed, had declared that *three* of those seven should be required to constitute a duly authorized Delegation from that County. The two, therefore, left Ulster-county without a competent Delegation.

[2] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Wednesday morning, December "6th, 1775."

[3] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Veneris, 9 ho., A.M., Decem-"ber 22nd, 1775."

[4] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Lunæ, A.M., February 12th, "1776."

[5] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Sabbati, 9 ho., A.M., March "16th, 1776."

[6] That old story of the dilatoriness of the country members, even in the face of the most pressing necessities and of the most urgent calls, certainly confirm the reports that the great body of the Colonists, especially that of the country-people was lukewarm and indifferent, if they were not positively unfriendly, to the Rebellion. If the leaders among the disaffected, and surely no others were sent to the Provincial Congress, were as tardy, in their attendance, even when the most urgent appeals for their attendance were sent, as these were, in the preceding December and in May, 1776, how much more indifferent must those have been, who had other and legitimate demands on their time and attention, and by whom an office was neither looked for nor desired.

[7] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Mercurii, 4 ho., P.M., May "8th, 1776."

[8] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Lunæ, 3 ho., P.M., May 13, "1776."

There is no record of a formal adjournment; and it looks very much as if the end of this Congress was like its beginning, without a quorum.

[9] *The Committee of Safety to General Schuyler*, "In Committee of "Safety, New York, 17th Jany., 1776," and *General Schuyler's reply*, "Albany, January 25, 1776;" *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "4 ho., "P.M., Feb. 10, 1776;" etc.

[10] *The action of the Continental Congress of* 1774, concerning the Commerce of the Colonies, may be seen in the *Association* which it "recom-"mended."

"We beg leave to hint, that in the present declension of Trade, the "seamen of this Port ought to be employed upon this article of service" [*batteaux-men, for the Northern Army,*] "as well as that of building "batteaux," (*Committee of Safety to General Schuyler*, "In Committee of "Safety, New-York, 17th Jany., 1776.")

[11] "We would beg leave to mention it as necessary to employ as many "of the Carpenters of this City, as possible" [*in the construction of batteaux, for the Northern Army*] "to prevent them and their families "from starving by means of the stagnation of business, which is more "severely felt in this City than in any other part of the Province," (*The Committee of Safety to General Schuyler*, "In Committee of "Safety, New-York, 17th Jany., 1776.")

"I can easily conceive that it is very difficult, at New-York, for arti-"ficers to procure a subsistence for their families—the like difficulty "prevails here," (*General Schuyler to the Committee of Safety*, "Albany "January 25, 1776.")

their troubles, the troops from Connecticut, who had been unnecessarily brought to the City of New York —"the movement seemed to have for its end to coerce "rather than to defend New York[1]"—who were unemployed, endeavored to make additions to their military pay, by underbidding the local mechanics, for work to be done, in that City:[2] and the Provincial Congress was compelled to seek employment, for both classes, elsewhere;[3] to establish manufactories for the employment of them;[4] and to supply provisions and firewood, to prevent their families from starving or perishing from the cold.[5] As many as could do so, said to be one-half of the population, abandoned the City of New York, with their families, to find safety and employment and charity, elsewhere;[6] and many, driven by necessity[7] and the neglect of the Government to protect them,[8] as well as for the promised pay in what was circulated as money,[9] were led to enlist in the short-term levies which then constituted the Continental Army, carrying into that service no greater sympathy for the Rebellion than they had previously possessed, and discharging the duties which were thus imposed on them, with perfect unconcern and with no greater animus than was produced by the expectation of receiving the stipulated payment for the services which were promised. Indeed, the extent and character of the sympathy with the Rebellion, as a matter of principle, which prevailed among the Colonists, generally, may be seen, very clearly defined, in their hesitation to take the field in support of it, even where no enemy was and where none was expected,[10] and in their precision of movements, homeward, when the terms of service of those who had been induced to enlist had expired. There appears to have been a foundation in fact for what Governor Tryon wrote to the Home Government, that "was it not from the awe of the inhabit-"ants of the neighboring Colonies and the controul-"ing influence of the Continental Congress I am per-"suaded there would be an immediate End, in this "province, to all Committees and Congresses."[11]

As the period of time which is now under review [*November* 4, 1775, *until May* 14, 1776,] included the later Autumn, the Winter, and the Spring, the farmers of Westchester-county, as far as they were permitted to do so, undoubtedly pursued their usual vocations, with their usual diligence and quietness—they certainly harvested their various agricultural productions, and marketed the surplus of their crops,[12]

See, also, the *Memorial of the Vestry of the City of New York to the Provincial Congress*, "May 30, 1776;" etc.

[1] Bancroft's *History of the United States*, original edition, viii., 278; *the same*, centenary edition, v., 185.

[2] "The Regiment here, from Connecticut, can turn out many Carpen-"ters, who consent to work upon much more reasonable terms than the "artificers of this City. It would, I imagine, be worth while to pro-"vide, if possible, a sufficient number of tools: when the present work "is done, these tools cannot be considered an idle purchase: they will "always be useful," (*General Charles Lee to the Provincial Congress*, "NEW-YORK, February 22, 1776.")

Already provided with quarters, rations, and pay, as soldiers, and without tools, these men could well afford to underbid the local Mechanics, whose houserents, food, and other expences, including their expensive tools, must be provided for, by themselves. But how dreary the times must have been, even in Connecticut, when her Artisans, were compelled to go into the Army, in order to gain their needed shelter and their daily bread.

[3] The *Committee of Safety to General Schuyler*, "IN COMMITTEE, NEW-"YORK, 17th Jan'y., 1776."

[4] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Mercurii, 10 ho., A.M., "Jany. 24, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Sabbati, 3 ho., P.M., Feby. 3, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Veneris, 10 ho., A.M., Feb. 9, 1776;" *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Veneris, 4 ho., P.M., March 8, 1776."

[5] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Sabbati, 3 ho., P.M., Feby. 3, "1776;" *the same*, "Die Veneris, 10 ho., A.M., Feb. 9, 1776;" *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Veneris, 4 ho., P.M., March 8, 1776."

Monies were also "advanced to the distressed wives and friends of sun-"dry soldiers, now in Canada, in the service of the united Colonies," (*Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Veneris, 4 ho., P.M., March 8, 1776.")

[6] "The Inhabitants of this City are much alarmed at various confident "advises of your destination, with a considerable body of forces, for "active service, here. * * * We should not have troubled you with "this application, had it not been to procure such information from you "as may enable us, in a prudent use of it, to allay the fears of our in-"habitants, who, at this inclement season of the year, will continue, as "they have already begun, to remove their women and children, and "which, if continued, may occasion hundreds to perish, for want of "shelter," (*The Committee of Safety to General Charles Lee*, "IN COMMIT-"TEE OF SAFETY, NEW-YORK, 21st Jany, 1776.")

"This City is in Terror and confusion: One half of its inhabitants "have withdrawn with their effects, hundreds without the means to "support their families," (*Governor Tryon to the Earl of Dartmouth*, "SHIP DUTCHESS OF GORDON OFF NEW YORK 8th Febr 1776.")

See, also, the *Order of the Provincial Congress to the male Refugees, to return to the City—Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Veneris, 10 "ho., A.M., May 10, 1776;" *Memorial of the Vestry of the City to the Provincial Congress*, May 30, 1776; etc.

[7] *William Smith, Chairman, to the Committee of Safety*, "SUFFOLK-"COUNTY, Jany 24, 1776;"

[8] *Governor Tryon to the Earl of Dartmouth*, No. 22, "ON BOARD THE "SHIP DUTCHESS OF GORDON NEW YORK HARBOUR, 6th Decr. 1775;" *the same*, No. 25, "ON BOARD THE SHIP DUTCHESS OF GORDON NEW YORK "HARBOUR, 3d Janry 1776;" etc.

[9] "With many, the principal inducement to enlist arises from the "hopes of Cash."—*Abraham Yates, Junior, Chairman, to the Committee of Safety*, "ALBANY COMMITTEE CHAMBER, 11th April, 1776."

[10] In Orange-county, "none but the lower class of mankind will enlist; "and these were conceived not to be the men to be depended on," (*Elihu Marvin, Chairman, to the Provincial Congress*, "IN COUNTY COM-"MITTEE, OXFORD, Feb. 15, 1776.") In Duchess-county, enlistments could be made only on the stipulation that the men thus enlisted should not be required to do service outside of the Colony of New York, (*Zepheniah Platt, Chairman, to the Provincial Congress*, "POUGHKEEPSIE, Feb. 9, "1776.") In Albany-county, the recruiting-officers "found great diffi-"culties for want of money," (*The Albany Committee to the Committee of Safety*, "ALBANY, 2 April, 1776.") The enlistments were so few in number, in Queens-county, that the recruiting-officers abandoned the undertaking, (*Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Mercurii, 10 ho., "A.M., May 8, 1776.") In the City of New York, the success was so small that the recruiting-officers were dismissed, "with great re-"luctance," and their several recruits consolidated, (*Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Jovis, 9 ho., A.M., May 9, 1776.")

[11] *Governor Tryon to the Earl of Dartmouth*, No. 22, "ON BOARD THE "SHIP DUTCHESS OF GORDON NEW YORK HARBOUR, 6th Decr., 1776."

[12] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Jovis, 3 ho., P.M., December "14, 1775;" *the same*, "Die Veneris, 10 ho., A.M., Decr. 15, 1775;" *the same*, "Die Mercurii, 10 ho., A.M., Feb. 21, 1776;" *the same*, "Die "Lunæ, 3 ho., P.M., March 4, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Mercurii, 10 ho., "A.M., March 13, 1776;" *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "4 ho., "P.M., Feb. 10, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Lunæ, 10 ho., A.M.," and "4 "ho., P.M.," "March 18, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Mercurii, 4 ho., P.M., "April 17, 1776;" etc.

The great quantities of Wheat, Flour, fresh and salted Beef and Pork, Hams, smoked Beef, Tallow, Lard, Poultry, and other products of the farms in Westchester-county, which, notwithstanding the disturbances which the farmers sustained, were marketed, exclusively of the supplies sent on the multitude of Market-sloops to the City of New York, during

sometimes in the neighboring City; sometimes for the uses of distant communities, who sent there, for supplies; sometimes for the uses of the Armies, in the field; and, whenever an opportunity was afforded, to the men-of-war, in the harbor. The local Committees, sometimes, consequentially assumed to interrupt their traffic;[1] and the Committee of Safety, in order to prevent "sundry persons from Connecticut" from purchasing, for the evident purpose of forestalling the market, "requested the Committee of the County "of Westchester to take effectual means to prevent "the sale and transportation of any barrelled Beef "or Pork out of Westchester-county, to any person or "persons residing out of this Colony, or for the use of "any person or persons residing out of this Colony, "until the further order of the Provincial Congress "or of the Committee of Safety of this Colony;"[2] but, nevertheless, the fertility of the County and the patient industry of the greater number of those who lived therein were known and utilized, throughout the entire seaboard.

The same local terrorism which had prevailed, throughout the County, under the auspices of the former Provincial Congress, was continued, with the sanction of this;[3] numbers of the inhabitants of the County were seized, only on information secretly conveyed by unseen accusers, and cast into prison, without a hearing;[4] and some of them were severely treated, while they were prisoners.[5] They were plundered of their Arms, again and again, sometimes by Connecticut-men called in by the County Committee[6] or by the brutal General Charles Lee,[7] and sometimes by orders from the Provincial Congress or its Committee of Safety;[8] levies were made on her Militia, for the construction of the defensive works in the City of New York;[9] and two Companies of the new Regiments in the New-York Line of the Continental Army were assigned to be raised in Westchester-county.[10] It is also noteworthy, as a portion of the history of that period, that Westchester-county afforded the first evidence of the alteration of a Provincial Bill of Credit—one of the last emission, for five dollars, having been altered so that it appeared to have been one of ten dollars.[11]

The opening of the new year—the exact date does not appear, if it was ever definitely known—witnessed a transaction by which the lower portion of the County of Westchester, especially the Towns of Mamaroneck, Eastchester, Westchester, and Yonkers, was greatly disturbed; and yet it was an occurrence

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the period now under examination, prove, beyond a question, and apart from every other consideration, how short-sighted the leaders of the Rebellion were, when, through the violence of their lawlessness, they impaired the productiveness of so fruitful a source of supplies, both for the City and for their Armies.

[1] See pages 325, 326, post.

[2] Vide pages 326, 327, post.

[3] William Sutton, Esq., of Mamaroneck, appeared before the Congress, personally, and informed that body that he had been obliged, for fear of injuries, to leave his home; and requested protection to return to his house, and to occupy it. He is understood to have been the tenant occupying what is known as De Lancey's Neck, (*Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Veneris, 10 ho., A.M., Decr. 15, 1775;" *Information received, personally, from Edward F. de Lancey, Esq., one of the present owners of De Lancey's Neck.*)

Thomas Merritt was arrested and taken before the Committee of Safety, in the City of New York, "on information of persons from "Westchester-county, that he had declared he had seen people casting "great quantities of Bullets, to kill the Whigs; and that he knew "where great quantities of those Bullets were"—a trumped-up charge, which was so entirely transparent that, after his accusers and their witnesses had been examined by the Committee of Safety, whose fondness of persecution was known to all, Merritt was promptly discharged.

These may serve as specimens of the whole number.

[4] Benjamin Hunt and —— Oakley, of Eastchester, were arrested because they had taken some Sheep, Pigs, and Poultry, to Brooklyn, said to have been for the *Asia*. William Weyman was arrested for having assisted in taking some produce to the *Asia*. Dr. Azor Betts, of ——— ———, was arrested for violent words of denunciation, when the Congress arbitrarily broke down his business, as an inoculator for the Small-pox, and deprived him of the means of support for his family. Godfrey Haines, Bartholomew Haines, Isaac Gedney, and —— Palmer, all of them of Rye or Mamaroneck, are already known to the reader, in the sad story of the Sloop *Polly and Ann*, (*page* 295, *ante*;) and James and William Lounsberry; Isaac, John, and Joshua Gedney; John Fowler; Isaac and Peter Valentine; Isaac, Joseph, and Joshua Purdy; William Armstrong; William Sutton; John Flood; James, John, Thomas, and William Haines; and Joshua Burrell, besides several others, were arrested in connection with spiking of the Cannon, near Kingsbridge, of which more will be seen, hereafter, (*pages* 323, 324, *post.*)

[5] Doctor Azor Betts, Godfrey Haines, William Lounsberry, Joshua Gedney, Joseph Purdy, Joshua Burrell, and Thomas Haines were among those who were manacled and otherwise treated with great inhumanity.

[6] See pages 288, 289, 290, 299, ante.

[7] *Colonel Samuel Drake to the Provincial Congress*, "New-York, Feby. "16, 1776;" *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Veneris, 3 ho., "P.M., Feb. 16, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Sabbati, 10 ho., A.M., Feb. 17, "1776;" *the same*, "Die Veneris, 10 ho., A.M., Feby. 23, 1776."

Colonel Waterbury, who accompanied General Lee, through Westchester-county, acknowledged his possession of thirty Guns, two pairs of Holsters, nine Cutlasses, and three Pistols—how many more he had seized, and retained or sent back into Connecticut, are now unknown; and no record was taken of the names of those who had been thus plundered. They must have been taken, however, on the line of march of his Regiment, between the Sawpits and Kingsbridge; and there was not the slightest shadow of even revolutionary authority for the seizure, except the law of the stronger and that of thieves.

[8] See pages 288, 297, 298, ante.

[9] "Resolved and Ordered, That Colonel Joseph Drake and Colonel "Thomas Thomas, of Westchester-county, do draft out of their Regiments "two hundred men, in the following proportions, to wit: Two Compa-"nies of sixty-five Privates each, besides the Captains and other inferior "Officers, out of Colonel Joseph Drake's Regiment; and one Company "of sixty-five Privates, with the Captain and other inferior officers, in "Colonel Thomas's Regiment, and as many more men out of those two "Regiments as will turn out, volunteers for that service, to be imme-"diately sent to the City of New York, armed and accoutred in the "best manner possible, and to be joined to Colonel Samuel Drake's "Regiment," [*of Westchester-county Minute men* (pages 284, 285, ante) *which was then in the City*] "and to receive the same pay and provisions as the "other Continental forces in this Colony." (*Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Jovis, 4 ho., P.M., March 14, 1776.")

Colonel Samuel Drake's Regiment, referred to in this Order, was the skeleton Regiment of Westchester-county Minute-men, which was then in the Continental Service, and posted at Hoern's Hook, on the Island of Manhattan, at the mouth of the Harlem-river, and opposite to Hell-gate, where was one of the passes to Long Island.

We have not found any record of the three Companies which were thus drawn from Westchester-county, if they were drawn.

[10] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Solis, 10 ho., A.M., Feb. 18, "1776."

[11] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Veneris, A.M., April 19, "1776;" *The Committee of Safety to the Committee of Westchester-county*, "In Committee of Safety, New-York, April 19, 1776."

which might have been certainly foreseen and easily prevented, had those who were immediately concerned in preventing it possessed the foresight and caution which are usually attributed to intelligent men.

We have already noticed the fact that, at the beginning of the active revolutionary movements which followed the receipt of intelligence that General Gage had unwisely commenced active military operations in the field, many of the Cannon which belonged to private individuals, in the City of New York, were drawn to Kingsbridge;[1] and, subsequently, as the political feeling became more intense, every gun in the City, no matter how useless for any other purpose than for old metal it might have been, was ordered to the same place.[2]

It is not clear what good was expected to be derived from those movements of the guns; but it is very clear that, before the close of the year 1775, between three and four hundred Cannon, of all calibres, grades, and conditions—some of them good and serviceable; others, less valuable and less useful; the greater number, honeycombed and worthless, unless for old iron; and all of them, unmounted and without carriages—were accumulated in three large gatherings, one, of about fifty guns, being at "John Wil-"liams's,"[3] the Williams-bridge of the present day; one, "at or near Kingsbridge;" and the third, or larger, parcel within two hundred and fifty yards of Isaac Valentine's house, the Valentine's-hill of that period, as well as of this.[4] They were entirely unguarded; and it is very evident that they were lying side by side, presenting an apparently formidable array, notwithstanding their actually existing harmlessness.

In view of the seeming importance of that imposing park of artillery and of the entire absence of the slightest care for its safety—in retaliation, also, it may have been, for insults offered and wrongs and injuries inflicted—somebody, early in January, 1776, effectually spiked all the guns and plugged many of them with large stones forced into them, and escaped without having been discovered. The exploit was soon made known, however; and, as may be reasonably supposed, not only Westchester-county, but the Committee of Safety, in the City of New York, the Provincial Congress having taken a recess on the twenty-second of December preceding, was thrown into the greatest excitement.

The local Committee of the County of Westchester, amply endowed, by its own lawless zeal and by the equally lawless grace of the Provincial Congress, with entire authority to arrest anybody and everybody on whom its whims or its animosities might rest, very promptly exercised its ill-founded prerogatives; and a large number of the residents of the three Towns of Westchester, Eastchester, and Mamaroneck, and some of those of Yonkers, was seized, and carried before it, and examined. Many of these were evidently discharged, because nothing was shown to sustain the suspicions or antipathies which had prompted those who had seized them; but there were others, a considerable number, who were filtered out from the great mass of the suspected, because of their seeming or construed connection with the spiking of the guns, and sent down to the City of New York, to be disposed of, by the generally relentless Committee of Safety, agreeably to the dictates of its stern, imperious will. Among those who were thus selected to face the ordeal of that Committee, in which the great professional experience of John Morin Scott was combined with the savage coldness of Alexander McDougal and John Brasher, were John Fowler, Peter Valentine, William Lounsberry, James Lounsberry, Joseph Purdy, William Armstrong, William Sutton, John Flood, Isaac Purdy, John Gedney, John Haines, Joshua Gedney, Josiah Burrell, William Haines, James Haines, Junior, Thomas Haines, Isaac Gedney, Isaac Valentine, William Dicken, Isaac Valentine, Junior, and Cornelius McCartney—the latter a schoolmaster, in Yonkers—and several of these were subjected to great hardships and cruelty, in the confinement to which they were subjected.[5]

On the thirty-first of January, 1776, the Committee of Safety directed Jacamiah Allen to remove those of the guns which were near Kingsbridge, as well as those which were near John Williams's, "to the "larger parcel at Valentine's, so as to have them all "brought together, for the greater convenience of "guarding them and drilling out the spikes;" and, at the same time, the Committee agreed to give Allen twenty shillings apiece for clearing and unspiking the whole of the guns and for removing those at Williams's; but those at Kingsbridge were to be removed at the expense of the Commitee.[6]

[1] Vide pages 251, 274, ante.

[2] "While this immaculate General" [*Charles Lee,*] "had the command "in New York, about 200 pieces of heavy cannon which were mounted "in Fort George and upon the Battery, were forcibly taken away by "his orders, and lodged upon the Common," [*the Park,*] "facing his "Quarters. But, lest upon the arrival of the British Army, they "should be retaken, he ordered them to be carried up to King's Bridge, "about 14 miles from New York. The persons employed in this service "wanting horses, applied to the General to supply the defect. An hon-"est, a virtuous man, and a Christian, will shudder at the answer: "'Chain 20 damned Tories to each gun, and let them draw them out "'and be cursed. It is a proper employment for such villains, and a "'punishment they deserve for their eternal loyalty they so much "'boast of,'" (Jones's *History of New York, during the Revolutionary War*, i., 82, 83.)

"I counted two hundred and eighty pieces of Cannon, from twenty-"four to three pounders, at Kingsbridge, which the Committee had se-"cured for the use of the Colonies," (*Doctor Benjamin Church's treasonable letter, intercepted in July*, 1775.)

[3] *Stephen Ward to the Provincial Congress*, "March 6, 1776."

[4] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Mercurii, 10 ho., A.M., "Jany. 31, 1776."

[5] There are so many entries, in the *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, concerning the spiking of the guns and those who were supposed to have been interested in the transaction, that we cannot pretend to refer to them, separately. The reader is referred to the body of the *Journal*, during January and February, 1776.

See, also, the *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, during March, 1776; etc.

[6] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Mercurii, 10 ho., A.M., "Jany. 31, 1775."

On the twenty-second of January, one of the Independent Companies of the City of New York,[1] probably "THE BROWN BUFFS," commanded by Captain Jonathan Blake,[2] was ordered into the service of the Colony, for the protection of the guns; but a draft was subsequently made from the Minute-men of the County, to discharge that service,[3] a Captain, a Lieutenant, two Sergeants, a Corporal, fourteen privates, a Guardhouse, and all the surroundings of a permanent outpost having been provided for that easy purpose.[4] It might have been expected that that favored party of White Plains Minute-men would very soon excite feelings of envy among those, surrounding its position, who were not enjoying the feast of fat things which it had secured; and it was so—David Barclay, recommended by Stephen Ward, the latter a Tavern-keeper, near where Tuckahoe is, and a deputy in the Provincial Congress,[5] applied for the job of guarding the guns, offering to do so for thirteen pounds per week, which was less than one half the amount which had been expended on the skeleton Company of Minute-men who had previously discharged that duty;[6] and the offer was promptly accepted.[7] Jacamiah Allen, who was drilling the spikes from the guns, appears, however, to have been unwilling that any others should poach on his manor; and, very promptly, he underbid Barclay, offering to do the same guard-duty which Varian and Barclay had successively done, the former at a cost of more than twenty-six pounds and the latter at thirteen, for only six pounds, ten shillings per week; and, of course, Barclay was superseded and the coveted job was given to the last comer.[8] Very reasonably, Barclay complained to the Congress, and made a counter-offer which was more favorable than the offer on which Allen had been employed; and, of course, the latter was ousted, leaving him in possession[9]—an illustration of what material the new-created controlling power, ("the Ring," if the reader pleases,) in Westchester-county, in 1776, was composed; and in what the "patriotism" of that controlling power consisted.

In the latter part of January, 1776, burning with anxiety to be at the head of a separate command, away from General Washington, and availing himself of the rumor that a heavy military force had been sent from Boston, probably to New York,[10] the infamous Charles Lee, who was, then, second in command of the Continental Army and in the zenith of his evanescent fame, induced the Commander-in-chief[11] to despatch him, from Boston, to the latter City, "with "such volunteers as he" [*could*] "quickly assemble, "on his march, in order to put the City of New York "in the best posture of defense the season and circum-"stances will admit of."[12]

In the prosecution of the duties to which General Lee had been thus assigned—in his enlistment of men into the service of the Continent; in his appointment of the ruffian, Isaac Sears, to a high military office; in the barbarities inflicted on the inhabitants of Queens-county, by his authorized representative, Sears; in his haughty disregard of the local authorities, legal or revolutionary, in New York; and in his personal and official intercourse with those authorities and with the inhabitants of the City—the *Instructions* which General Washington had given to him, as well as the superior enactments of the Continental Congress and his own knowledge of the proprieties of intercourse between individuals and of the character of obligations in business relations, were entirely disregarded; and he permitted himself to be controlled, instead, by his own vile and ill-controlled passions and by the promptings of those, as ill-constituted as himself, who were gathered around him and who pandered to his vanity and his malignancy, for the promotion of their own evil purposes. It is not within the purposes of this publication, however, to take more than a passing notice

[1] *The Committee of Safety to Lieutenant-colonel Graham*, "IN COMMITTEE OF SAFETY, NEW-YORK, Janv. 22, 1776."

[2] Compare Captain Jonathan Blake's letter to the Committee of Safety, "HEAD QUARTERS IN WESTCHESTER, Janv. 31, 1776," with the *Roster of Colonel Malcom's Regiment,—Historical Manuscripts relating to the War of the Revolution*, in the Secretary of State's Office, Albany: *Military Returns*, xxvii., 1.

[3] *The Committee of Safety to Lieutenant-colonel Graham*, "IN COMMITTEE OF SAFETY, NEW YORK, Janv. 22, 1776."

"I hereby acquaint you that I have taken an account from Capt. "Varian what the expense of guarding the guns at Valentine's and "Williams' will be, this week, vizt.: 1 Capt., 1 Lieut., 2 Sergeants, 1 "Corporal, and 14 Privates. 6 of the above men board at 10s. per "week, and the others draw provisions from the Commissary, with a "Guard room and firewood, at £3. per week, besides items, making in "the whole about £26., and last week it was considerably more." (*Stephen Ward to the Provincial Congress*, "March 5, 1776.")

It will be remembered that James Varian, the favored commander of the Guard, in this instance, with eighteeen others, had been constituted a full-fledged Company of Westchester-county Minute-men, on the fourteenth of February preceding (*vide pages* 284, 285, *ante*;) and it will be seen, from that letter which has been quoted, how soon and in what manner those nineteen Westchester-county "patriots" reached the sweets to which they had aspired—five held offices of greater or less dignity, while the fourteen who held no offices enjoyed the comforts of drawing their support from the Commissary or from the Treasury of the Provincial Congress, in addition to the pay of soldiers and what, by hook or by crook, they could pick up, in the neighborhood of their quarters.

This was only a moderate specimen of what constituted the greater portion of the "patriotism" of the Westchester-county revolutionists, at that period

[5] *Stephen Ward to the Provincial Congress*, "March 5, 1776."

[6] Ibid

[7] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Mercurii, 4 ho, P.M., March "6, 1776."

[8] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Lunæ, 4 ho., P.M., March "18, 1776;" and *the same*, "Die Martis, 4 ho., P.M., March 19, 1776."

[9] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Sabbati, A.M., March 23, "1776."

[10] *General Washington to the President of Congress*, "CAMBRIDGE, 4 Janu-"ary, 1776;" *the same*, "Cambridge, 11 January, 1776;" *General Washington's Instructions to General Lee*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, CAMBRIDGE, 8 Janu-"uary, 1776."

[11] General Washington's letter to John Adams, "CAMBRIDGE, 7 Janu-"ary, 1776," clearly indicated that General Lee operated on the Commander-in-chief through John Adams, who was, then, in Massachusetts.

[12] *General Washington to the Committee of Safety*, "CAMBRIDGE, Janu-"ary 8, 1776."

See, also, *General Washington's Instructions to General Lee*, "HEAD "QUARTERS, CAMBRIDGE, 8 January, 1776."

of any of these transactions of that early military power, in Queens-county or in the City of New York; but those outrages which were inflicted by his authority, on the farmers of Westchester-county, while he was marching through the County, on his way to New York, may be noticed, in its pages—in his progress over the well-known Post-road, between the Byram-river and Kingsbridge, the same line of march which had been traversed by Sears and his banditti, a few weeks previously, he appears to have regarded himself as the legitimate possessor of despotic powers, while those among whom he was, were considered as only base creatures who were absolutely subject to his unbridled caprices and to the most extravagant exactions of those who surrounded him. Notwithstanding, within the preceding six or seven weeks, the farmers who lived along or near the line of the Post-road had been visited by Sears and his gang of Connecticut banditti, both on their way to the City of New York and on their return, thence, to Connecticut, by whom, on each occasion, they had been ruthlessly plundered,[1] they were again visited, during that march of Connecticut-men, under General Lee, by that new detachment of New England freebooters, and robbed, to the full extent of the hungry desires of their brutal visitors. Indeed, notwithstanding the recent visitation of his ruffianly countrymen to each of these peaceful families and the reckless depredations of those cowardly banditti, Colonel Waterbury, who commanded the Regiment whom General Lee had mustered into the Continental service—himself, as was subsequently seen and heard, in the City of New York, as fine a specimen of the same class as was needed to perpetuate it[2]—under the direct sanction of the General and with his orders, but without the slightest authority, legal or revolutionary, of either the local or the general Committees or of either of the Congresses, forced his way into every house he reached, ransacked them, and carried away, without even a memorandum of the names of those from whom they were taken, everything which bore the semblance of Arms,[3] leaving his victims, as far as he could possibly do so, entirely without the means of defense, easy prey for whomsoever might next appear, on an errand of similar pillage and outrage.

An amusing instance of the consequential airs assumed by the petty local Town-committees, in Westchester-county, in whom had been vested such extraordinary powers over the persons and properties of those who lived within the several Towns in which those Committees were respectively located, was seen in the action of "the Committee of Observation for "the united Town of Bedford and Precinct of Pound-"ridge and Salem, in Westchester," on the tenth of January, 1776, in which that pompous body, "con-"ceiving that bad consequences do arise to this dis-"tressed country from supplying the markets, at New "York, on supposition that the common enemy may, "by that means, be furnished with Provisions," for the purpose of regulating that grave irregularity, as its narrow and bigoted understanding presented the subject to its official censorship, bravely, "RESOLVED, "That from and after the date hereof, the said Com-"mittee do hereby strictly forbid any of the inhabit-"ants of the said Town and Precincts, directly or, "indirectly, to carry or cause to be carried, by land "or water, provision of any kind to the said markets; "and do hereby direct the Minute-men and all others "that are friends to their country, to do their utmost "to stop all drovers of fat Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, Poul-"try, or any other Provisions whatsoever, and from "being drove or carried through either said Town or "Precincts, for the purpose aforesaid, without leave "of the said Committee," on the penalty of being deemed enemies to their country.[4]

In obedience to that local law, it appears that Jonathan Booth, a drover, while on his way to New York with a drove of Cattle, was detained at Bedford, by the Committee of that Town; but, personally, he evidently pushed forward to the City of New York; and, on the twenty-fifth of January, 1776, he laid the subject before the Committee of Safety, which was then in session, and solicited its more powerful interposition. Very promptly, that body took the subject into consideration; and, without much, if any, discussion, the Committee "came to a "Resolution," which was delivered to the anxious drover, for his comfort and relief—the Committee of Safety was not inclined to concur in the questionable theory of "patriotic" economy which was maintained by its subordinate Committee in Bedford; and, after having recited, in a Preamble, the facts and the Resolution which have been already presented, together with the additional declaration that "this "Committee, not doubting the good intentions of the "said Committee met at Poundridge, do nevertheless "conceive that the said *Resolve* has a manifest ten-"dency to distress, in the article of Provisions, the "inhabitants of this City and other friends to Liberty "whose business may call them thither," it therefore "RESOLVED, That it is the opinion of this Commit-"tee, that no Committee of any City, Borough, Town, "or Precinct in this Colony ought to prevent any "such supplies of Provisions to this City as aforesaid, "unless they shall have due proof that such supplies "are intended to be furnished to persons engaged in

[1] Vide pages 305, 308, ante.

[2] The associations and conduct of Colonel Waterbury, while he was in the City of New York, to say nothing of his acknowledged thefts in Westchester-county, afford ample evidence of his ruffianly personal character.

[3] Vide page 322, ante.

See, also, *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Sabbati, 10 ho., "A.M., Feb. 17, 1776;" and *the same*, "Die Veneris, 10 ho., A.M., "Febry. 23, 1776."

[4] Holt's *New-York Journal*, No. 1725, NEW YORK, Thursday, January 25, 1776; *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Jovis, 10 ho., A.M. "Jany. 25, 1776."

"service against the Liberties of America; nor in "such case any longer than until such Committees "respectively shall, in cases where such proof shall "have been made, have duly certified this Committee "or the Provincial Congress thereof, and until order "shall have been made thereon, by this Committee "or the Provincial Congress."[1]

The Committee of Bedford was undoubtedly served with a copy of this enactment by the Committee of Safety; and Jonathan Booth and his drove of fat Cattle were surely permitted to pass through that Town and to New York, without further molestation; but that very zealous Committee did not appear to have become entirely reconciled to the abridgement of its pretensions, made more reasonable by recent action of the Committee of Safety, when, a short time afterwards, it stopped another drove of Cattle, belonging to Joseph Booth, of Newtown, in Connecticut, while, like that which had been previously stopped, by the same Committee, it was on its way to the New York market.

In the latter instance, the obstructed drover returned to Newtown; procured a Certificate from the Committee of that Town, declaring that he "had "lately served his country as a faithful friend and "soldier in the northern Army, under General Schuy-"ler; that he had suffered by the stoppage of his "Cattle, at Bedford, on the way to the New-York "market; that he is the owner of the said Cattle; "and that the said Committee take pleasure in recom-"mending him as a friend of his country;" and, with that Certificate, he proceeded to the City of New York, and presented the case to the Provincial Congress, which was then in session. It is said "the "Congress took the same into consideration, and "came to the following determination, to wit:

"Whereas a large supply of fresh Provisions will "be required for the Continental Army, in and near "the City of New-York:

"RESOLVED AND ORDERED, That no obstruction "whatsoever be given to any person or persons in "passing and re-passing through any of the Counties "in this Colony, with fat Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, or any "kind of Provisions, for the purpose of supplying the "inhabitants of the said City of New-York or the "Continental Army, in and near the said City, unless "such person or persons shall have been adjudged to "be, or held up, as inimical to this country."

In addition to that general action of the Provincial Congress, which controlled or assumed to control every other revolutionary body within the Colony, the Congress also gave to the complaining drover, a copy of the following ORDER: "That the bearer "hereof, Joseph Booth, be permitted to pass, with "his drove of Cattle, to the City of New-York;"[2] and he evidently returned to Bedford, a happier man than when he had left that Town, a few days previously.

In the same connection, it may be proper for us to remind the reader that, about a fortnight before the Committee of Bedford made its second attempt to lay a local embargo on what was intended for the New York market, the Committee of Safety itself had interfered with the disposition of the surplus of the products of the farms in Westchester-county to residents of the neighboring Colony of Connecticut, in which, very probably, Bedford, one of the border-towns of the County, had materially suffered. The facts are thus related in the official records of the Committee of Safety;[3] and the reader may judge therefrom, something concerning the animus of the Committee of Bedford, when, on the second occasion, it interfered with the disposition of the products of Connecticut, within the Colony of New York, while the disposition of the products of farms in Bedford and its vicinity, in Connecticut, was interfered with and stopped, summarily, by a higher authority.

"Col. Gil. Drake informed the Committee that "sundry persons from Connecticut are purchasing "up" [*for speculative purposes?*] "the barrelled Beef "and Pork in Westchester. Thereupon the Commit-"tee came to the following *Resolution*, to wit:

"'WHEREAS the Continental Congress, by their "'*Resolution* of the first day of November last, have "'resolved that no produce of the United Colonies "'be exported, except from Colony to Colony under "'the directions of the Committees of Inspection and "'Observation, and except from one part to the other "'of the same Colony, before the first day of March "'next, without the permission or order of the Con-"'tinental Congress;

"'AND WHEREAS this Committee of Safety for the "'Colony of New York conceives that it is necessary "'to prevent the sale of all the barrelled Beef and "'Pork in the County of Westchester, and to retain "'the same for the Continental service in this Col-"'ony, as such Provisions may be necessary for the "'Continental Army in this Colony:

"'RESOLVED, That the Committee of the County "'of Westchester be requested to take effectual "'means to prevent the sale and transportation of "'any barrelled Beef or Pork out of Westchester-"'county, to any person or persons residing out of "'this Colony, until the further order of the Provin-"'cial Congress or of the Committee of Safety of this "'Colony.'

"A draft of a letter to the Committee of West-"chester-county was read and approved of, and is in "the words following, to wit:

"'GENTLEMEN:

"'We have been informed by a Gentleman "'from your County, that some of the inhabitants of

[1] *Journal of Committee of Safety*, "Die Jovis, 10 ho., A.M., Jany. 25, "1776."

[2] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Jovis, 4 ho., P.M., Feb. 29, "1776."

[3] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Sabbati, 4 ho., P.M., Febru-"ary 10, 1776."

"'your County are disposing of their barrelled Beef "'and Pork, to persons out of the Colony. We ap- "'prehend that such Provisions will be wanted for "'the use of the Continental Army in this Colony, "'and that the service may possibly suffer if all the "'barrelled Provisions are taken out of the Colony. "'We therefore request you to take the most effectual "'measures to carry the enclosed Resolution into exe- "'cution.

"'We are, respectfully, Gentlemen,

"'Your very humble servts.,

"'By order of the Committee of Safety.

"'To the *Committee of the County of Westchester.*'"

It will be seen that the farmers of Westchester-county, at the time of which we write, were prohibited from finding a market for the surplus of their products, beyond the limits of the Colony or, at their own doors, to those who were not of New York, and that, in consequence of that prohibition, they were limited to those local purchasers, forestallers, or speculators, who should incline to purchase, and at prices which were not regulated by competition. At the same time, as has been seen, the surplus products of the farms in Connecticut were brought into the Colony, in open disregard of the provisions of that *Resolution of the Continental Congress* which was used as the warrant for the prohibition of the reciprocal trade of Westchester-county with Connecticut; and the market of New York, for nothing else than the products of the Colony of New York, which the *Resolution* would have guaranteed, if it had been impartially enforced, was recklessly destroyed, in favor of the greed of New England. Need there be any wonder that the Committee of Bedford objected, and embargoed those who had come into the Colony, from Connecticut, in violation of the *Resolution of the Continental Congress* and in derogation of the interests, if not of the Rights, of the farmers of that Town? Need there be any surprise, when doubts are raised against the integrity of those who had thus hampered the farmers of Westchester-county, when the latter had sought a market for their surplus products, compelling them to either accept a purely local market and a depreciated price or to hold, indefinitely, what they had for sale? Can any one say, honestly, that those who made those enactments, purely in the interest of the farmers of Connecticut, at the expense of those of Westchester-county, notwithstanding they were unquestionably "patriotic," were anything else than corrupt legislators and roguish, dishonest men? Will not those who know the character of Gilbert Drake, before and during and after the War, entirely understand that his motive, in moving and securing the embargo on the products of Westchester-county, without imposing a similar embargo on the products of Connecticut, was corrupt and roguish?

In the same connection, and with the same results, a few weeks subsequently, the Committee of the County of Westchester, of which the same Gilbert Drake was the Chairman and the master-spirit, undertook to prevent Abraham Livingston, the Contractor for supplying the Continental Army with Provisions, from taking any Pork from that County, the Committee of the County of Duchess, of which Egbert Benson was the Chairman, having published a similar manifesto, to control the market after a fashion of its own creation, in that County.

The Contractor encountered so much of trouble from these interfering causes, that he was constrained to seek the interposition of the Committee of Safety; and, on the twentieth of March, that Committee, responsive to the Contractor's complaint, ordered "that "the respective Committees of the Counties of West- "chester and Duchess permit Mr. Abraham Living- "ston to export Provisions of any kind whatsoever, "from either of those Counties to New-York, on his "giving, or any other such proper person as is em- "ployed on his behalf giving, such security as the "Committees approve of, to land and store such Pro- "visions in New-York or Kings-county."[1]

The facts that the Contractor for supplying the Continental Army with Provisions was subjected to the hindrances invented by these local Committees, and that the farmers within those Counties were thereby prevented from selling their surplus supply of Provisions, even for the known use of the Continental Army, like those similar prohibitions of trade, by similarly arbitrary authority, already noticed, at once so remarkable and so unaccountable, would have become stumbling-blocks in the way of the careful student of the history of the men of that period and of their doings, had not time and the opening of previously concealed records revealed the explanation of this, among others of the mysteries of the politics of the American Revolution. That explanation of the restrictions of trade, in this instance, will be noticed hereafter.

Early in January, 1776, while the conservatism of the inhabitants of Queens-county was occupying the attention of the leaders of the Rebellion; while the inhabitants of that County, because of their decided and outspoken opposition to the Rebellion and to the various Committees and Congresses which the Rebellion had called into existence, were subjected, by the Provincial Congress, to a sentence of outlawry;[2] and while, in consequence of that savage enactment and the unaccountable negligence of its duty to do something for their protection, by the naval force which then occupied the harbor of New York and commanded all the neighboring waters, that populous and thickly-settled County was overrun and pillaged and the inhabitants subjected to all classes of barbarities, by inroads from Connecticut

[1] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Mercurii, A.M., March 20, "1776."

[2] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Jovis, 3 ho., P.M., Decemr. "21, 1775;" Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 107–110.

and New Jersey, the latter accompanied by amateur banditti from New York City, the leaders of the Rebellion in Westchester-county, also, were anxious to join in the crusade of "patriotism," against their neighbors on the other side of the Sound—they had had practise in such a service as that, in the work of harrying their conservative neighbors, in Westchester-county; they knew that it was a profitable occupation; and they were anxious to participate in a similar service, elsewhere, where even greater profits were promised. To secure that much-desidered employment, on the eighth of January, 1776, the Committee of the County addressed the following note to the Committee of Safety, in the City of New York:

"WHITE PLAINS, 8th Janry, 1776.

"SIR:

The Committee of West Chester County having seen in the public prints that many of the "Inhabitants of Queens County are thrown out of the "Protection of the Provincial Congress; and having "been informed that they are Arming in their De-"fence, are greatly alarmed at their Conduct, and beg "leave to assure your honorable House, that the "Friends of Liberty in this County are willing strenuously to exert themselves to reduce the Enemies to "their Country before they are supported by the "Regular Troops If it shall be thought most advisable by the Committee of Safety, or the Provincial "or Continental Congress. We are Sir Your most "Humble Servants

"By Order of ye Committee

"WM. MILLER, *D. Chairman.*

"To Mr. *Pierre Van Cortlandt*, President of the "Committee of Safety." [1]

As the original letter remained among the papers of the Military Committee of the Provincial Congress and has been preserved, to this day, among the multitude of other inedited and unexplained manuscripts, in the office of the Secretary of State, at Albany, it is very evident that it was duly referred to that Committee; that the unholy desires of the "patriots" of Westchester-county, to join in the spoliation of fellow-colonists, in a neighboring County, without lawful reason, without any process in law, and in time of Peace, were not reciprocated by the members of that Committee; and that the application was filed, without having received any other attention whatever. In short, very appropriately, the Committee of Westchester-county was told, by that inattention, either to attend to its own business, at home, or to play the parts of freebooters, if it should continue to hanker after the spoils to be acquired in such an occupation, on its own responsibility.

In February, 1776, a movement was made by the Committee of Westchester-county, to consolidate the several Troops of Horse which were then within that County, evidently several in number and mere phantoms in weakness, the aggregate of their strength having been less than forty men; and, on the thirteenth of that month, these assembled at Wilsey Dusenberry's, in "Harrison's Precinct," and arranged themselves into a single Troop, electing their Officers, and duly reporting their doings to the Provincial Congress. The following is the official report of the Election of its Officers, made by two members of the County Committee and transmitted to the Provincial Congress:

"On the 13th of February, 1776, The Troops of "Horse in the County of Westchester was Called to-"gether at the House of Willsey Dusinberry in Har-"sons Precinct and There being Present between "Thirty and fourty went into an arrangement for the "Choice of officers under the Inspection of Colnl "Thomas, Samuel Haviland, and William Miller "Three of the Committee where Samuel Tredwell "was Unanimously chose Capt. and Thaddeus Avory "was chose Leut unanimously Likewise Abraham "Hatfield was Chose Corneth by a majority and Uy-"tendall Allair was Chose Quartermaster by a ma-"jority also. Certifyed by us

"THOMAS THOMAS.

"WM. MILLER." [2]

The Return was laid before the Provincial Congress on the twenty-first of February, when the Commissions were issued to the officers-elect; [3] and thus, probably, a beginning was made of that notable Troop of Horse, in Westchester-county, of which so much has been said, in romance, if not in history.

Early in February, 1776, General Lee, then chief in command, in the City of New York, informed the Committee of Safety, then in session, that he was "of opinion that the two Connecticut Regiments "and Lord Stirling's would not be sufficient for the "services he will have to perform; and he desired to "know whether it would be agreeable to the Com-"mittee that he should send to Pennsylvania for a "Regiment from thence." After due consideration, the introduction of troops from other Colonies having been found unsatisfactory, because of outrages inflicted by them on the inhabitants, the Committee of Safety adopted the following Resolution:

"RESOLVED, That if General Lee shall think it "necessary to call in the aid of any other troops than "the two Connecticut Regiments and Lord Stirling's "Regiment, that he be authorized and, in such case, "he is hereby authorized, to call in as many of the "Minute-men of this Colony as he shall, at any time, "think necessary." [4]

In accordance with the authority which was thus delegated to General Lee, on the following day,

[1] *Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Committee*, xxv., 62.

[2] *Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, xxvii., 254.

[3] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Mercurii, P.M., Feb. 21, "1776."

[4] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Veneris, 10 ho., A.M., Feb. "9, 1776."

[*February* 9, 1776] a letter was addressed to Colonel Samuel Drake, ordering the skeleton Regiment of Westchester-county Minute-men into active service. That letter may properly find a place in this narrative: it was in the following words:

"NEW YORK, Feb'y 9th 1776.

"SIR:

"You will see by the enclosed Resolution "that Major General Lee now at New York is author-"ized to call in as many of the Minute Men of this "Colony as he may think necessary.

"I am directed by the General to have some Regi-"ments of Minute Men called here directly.

"Your Regiment is fixed on by the Committee of "Safety of this Colony as proper to be called.

"You are therefore on receipt hereof to march with "your Regiment to New York with all possible dis-"patch. Take care that your men have their knap-"sacks and Blankets with them & provisiens for their "march.—The Quartermaster ought by all means to "come with the Regiment.

"It is not doubted but you will give orders that "your Troops observe the greatest regularity in their "march, and if you order the several Companies to "proceed" [*precede?*] "each other a few miles in their 'march they will be more easily accommodated.

"Suffer no Delay in bringing in your Regiment.

"I am respectfully Sir your very humble serv[t]

"R. YATES, *Ch.*

"P.S.—It is expected that Col[o] Drake will leave a "sufficient Guard of his Regiment at the cannon be-"yond Kings-bridge.—He will be a proper judge how "many may be necessary for that small service." [1]

As Captain Varian and his eighteen companions, facetiously regarded as one of the Companies of Minute-men of which Colonel Drake's Regiment was subsequently composed, were, then, unknown as soldiers,[2] that Regiment could not have possibly mustered more than two Companies commanded, respectively, by Captains Slason and Seely [3]—that commanded by Captain Gray was not organized until six days after the Regiment had been ordered into the service;[4] and no record appears of any attempt having been made to organize the two Companies, in the Cortlandt's Manor, for which blank Commissions had been issued, in advance of any organization, in the preceding October [5]—although it is understood that those Companies which were commanded by Captains Gray and Steinrod subsequently joined it. There is no known *Return* of the actual strength of the Regiment, at any time; but within a few days after it had entered the Continental service, and after its reinforcement had joined it, it numbered not more than a hundred and fifty men;[6] and about two weeks subsequently, little more than a month after it had been mustered in, it was made ridiculous and the propensity to office-holding among "the friends of Liberty," in Westchester-county, was forcibly illustrated by the following paragraph, which appeared in the *General Orders* of the commanding Officer of the Continental Army in New York:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, March 16, 1776.

"As Colonel Drake's Regiment of Minute-men "consists of one hundred and eleven private men, "present, and yet have no less than four Field "Officers, two Captains, and thirteen other Commis-"sioned Officers, and twenty Non-commissioned "Officers, it is unreasonable to put the Continent to "the enormous expense of maintaining so many "Officers for the use of so few men; and it is there-"fore ordered that one Field-officer, two Captains, "four Lieutenants, two Ensigns, the Adjutant, and "Quartermaster, eight Sergeants, eight Corporals, or "Drums or Fifes, and no other Officer do remain with "that small part of the Regiment; the other Officers "are to return to their County, in order to complete "their Corps. Colonel Swartwout [7] and Lieutenant-"colonel Humphreys [8] are to observe the same rule in "proportion to their numbers; and they are all of "them to send into Headquarters, *Returns* of their "respective Corps, present." [9]

The reader will become better acquainted with this portion of the history of Colonel Samuel Drake's Regiment of Westchester-county Minute-men, by-and-by.

The Regiment, when it reached the City of New-York, was employed in the construction of a redoubt, on Hoern's Hook, at the mouth of the Harlem-river, for the defence of the pass of Hell-Gate as well as to command the ferry to Long Island, which, even at that early period, had been established at that place;[10]

[1] *Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Committee*, XXV., 658.

[2] Vide pages 284, ante.

[3] Ibid.

[4] *Returns of an Election of Officers of that Company*, "BEDFORD, 15 Feby, "1776."—*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, XXVII., 196.

[5] *Memorandum by Gilbert Drake, Chairman of Westchester-county Committee*, "WHITE PLAINS, October 24, 1775;" *Journal of Provincial Congress*, "Die Mercurii, 10 ho., A.M., October 25, 1775."

[6] Captain Gray's Company probably marched from Bedford, on the sixteenth of February, agreeably to the promise that it should do so; and on the twenty-ninth of the same month, General Lee said of the Regiment and of a Company detached from another Regiment, together forming the garrison at Hoern's Hook, "Drake's Regiment of Minute-"Men and one more Company, (*in all about two hundred,*) are stationed at "Horn's Hook, which commands Hell-Gate. They are employed in "throwing up a redoubt, to contain three hundred men," (*General Lee to General Washington*, "NEW-YORK, February 29, 1776.")

[7] Jacobus Swartwout was Colonel of one of the Regiments, so called, of Duchess-county Minute-men, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, XXVI., 3.)

[8] Lieutenant-colonel Cornelius Humphreys evidently commanded the Regiment of Duchess-county Minute-men, of which John Van Ness was Colonel and Robert G. Livingston, Junior, one of the Majors. (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, XXVI., 3.)

[9] *General Orders of Lord Stirling, General of the Continental Troops*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, March 16, 1776."

[10] *General Lee to General Washington*, "NEW-YORK, February 29, 1776;" Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, I., 69.

At the period referred to in the text, that was known as "Waldron's "Ferry."

but it was composed of men of notorious poverty and meanness,[1] by no means representative men of the yeomanry of Westchester-county; "many of them" were, "destitute of "arms"[2] and, therefore, useless for soldiers; and it appears that, as such characters were apt to be, they were recklessly destructive of the private property of those who were richer than they, not sparing, even, the property of those who had endeavored to make them more than ordinarily comfortable.[3] The Lieutenant-colonel of the Regiment, who was, also, a Deputy from Westchester-county in the Provincial Congress, complained to that body that the Regiment "lodged in an uncom-"fortable manner for the want of Cribs for its beds;" and he insisted that it was "necessary that a car-"penter be sent to make Cribs for their beds;" and a carpenter was accordingly sent to Hoern's Hook, for the purpose of making "Cribs" for the greater comfort of Westchester-county's "patriotic" Minute-men.[4]

It does not appear how long that particular Regiment remained in the service of the Continent; but it was evidently mustered in for only a short term of service; and that, at the expiration of that brief term, it was discharged and mustered out, disappearing, for ever, from the field of military service.

On the nineteenth of January, 1776, the Continental Congress ordered four Battalions to be raised for the defence of the Colony of New York;[5] and, on the twenty-sixth of the same month, the experiment of starting the work of enlistment, for those four Battalions, by jobbing out the Offices which would be required, among the several Counties, with invitations for estimates of the numbers of men who could "be "speedily raised and armed," in the respective Counties, by that proffered bait of Offices, was the first action which was taken by the revolutionary authorities, in New York, on that important subject.[6]

On the following day, [*January* 27, 1776,] the Committee of Safety issued its *Instructions for the Recruiting Officers* who should be employed in the enlistment of men for the service referred to, in that new Order —the pay of the Privates was to be five dollars per month; each was to receive, as a bounty, a felt hat, a pair of yarn stockings, a pair of shoes, and, if they could be procured, a hunting-shirt and a blanket; and the men were to provide their own Arms. There was no specified term of service; but the Privates—not the Officers—were "liable to be discharged at any "time, on allowing them one month's pay extraordi-"nary."[7]

There appears to have been great backwardness in enlisting, however—those who were expected to step into the ranks and to do the fatigue duty and the fighting, while the more favored ones of the Rebellion had occupied all the offices, in advance, and were predestinated to enjoy all that was comfortable and to issue all the orders and to be implicitly obeyed, were slow in their responses; only those who were extremely poor, and whose actual necessities obliged them, or those whose morals were questionable, and who enlisted either to retire from adverse observation or to secure a wider field for their unholy practices, appearing to have been willing to support "the Liber-"ties of America," in the field, even where there was no enemy and where none was really expected.[8] Indeed, so discouraging were the reports from those who had been entrusted with the Warrants for recruiting, that, on the fifteenth of February, the Provincial Congress, on the recommendation of a Committee who had been appointed to consider the subject, determined to apportion a specified quota of Officers and Privates to each of the Counties in the Colony, in order that the organization of the required Battalions might be effected in the shortest possible period.[9] Three days subsequently, [*February* 18, 1776,] another Committee who had been appointed to apportion the different quota of Officers and Privates to be raised in the several Counties, made a Report, which was adopted, two Companies, as we have already stated, being apportioned to Westchester-county;[10] and, on the afternoon of the same day, a Circular Letter was sent by the Provincial Congress to each of the County-committees throughout the Colony, informing it of the arrangement and urging its attention to the matter of the enlistments. As that Circular Letter is peculiarly interesting, in its details of the terms of enlistment into the Continental Army of 1776, a place may properly be found for it, in these pages. It was in the following words:

"In Provincial Congress,
"New-York, Feb. 18, 1776.

"Sir:

"The Congress having determined that your Coun-"ty shall have the opportunity of raising [*two*] Com-"panies in the four Regiments to be raised by order

[1] *Colonel Samuel Drake to the Provincial Congress*, "New-York, Feby. "16, 1776," compared with the letter of Dirck Lefferts, *post*.

[2] *Colonel Samuel Drake to the Provincial Congress*, "New-York, Feby. "16, 1776."

[3] *Dirck Lefferts to the Deputies of the several Counties*, etc., "May 1, "1776."

[4] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Martis, 3 ho., P.M., March "12, 1776."

[5] *Journal of the Continental Congress*, "Friday, January 19, 1776."

[6] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Veneris, 3 ho., P.M., Jany. "26, 1776," and the Circular Letter, containing the proposed system, which was ordered to be sent to each of the several County Committees, on the same day.

[7] *Instructions to the Colonels and other Officers for Enlistment*, etc., "Committee of Safety, New-York, Jany. 27, 1776."

[8] *Elihu Marvin, Chairman, to the Committee of Safety*, "In County "Committee, Oxford, Feb. 15, 1776;" *Zepheniah Platt, Chairman, to the Provincial Congress*, "Poughkeepsie, Feb. 9, 1776;" *Captain William Barker to the Provincial Congress*, "Amenia, March 1, 1776"; *William Smith, Chairman*, "Suffolk County, Jany. 24, 1776;" *The Committee of Albany County to the Committee of Safety*, "Albany, April 2, 1775"; etc.

[9] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Jovis, P.M., Feb. 15, 1776."

[10] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Solis, 10 ho., A.M., Feb. 18, "1776."

"of the Continental Congress, for the defence of this "Colony, have resolved that blank Warrants for the "Officers of the same shall be sent to your Com- "mittee.

"You will observe by the enclosed Resolves that "you are restrained in the appointments to give the "preference to such persons as have served their Coun- "try in the last Campaign; but it is not, by any "means, the design of Congress that men who have "misbehaved themselves should be any further em- "ployed.

"It is expected that the people will readily enlist "in these Regiments, as they are raised for the ex- "press purpose of defending this Colony; and unless "we raise them from among ourselves, in all proba- "bility they will be sent from other Colonies, which "will be to our everlasting disgrace.

"We have great confidence in your zeal for the "common cause, and trust you will exert yourselves "that these levies be completed with all possible de- "spatch.

"We are, Sir, your very hble. servants,
"By order,
"NATHANIEL WOODHULL, Pres't."

"It is expected that each man furnishes himself "with a good gun and bayonet, tomahawk, knapsack "or haversack, and two bills. But those who are not "able to furnish themselves with these arms and ac- "coutrements will be supplied at the public expense, "for the payment of which small stoppages will be "made out of their monthly pay, till the whole are "paid for; then they are to remain the property of "the men."[1]

Notwithstanding all the inducements which the Provincial Congress and its various office-seeking recruiting agents could offer, however, the staid and conservative farmers of Westchester-county were slow to enlist into the Continental service—there had been much discontentment among those who were in the service, under Colonel Holmes, in the preceding year;[2] and on the return of those malcontents, they had undoubtedly told the story of their respective grievances to their surprised and sympathetic neighbors; besides which hindrance, the conservatism of the County had been too barbarously treated by those who were in rebellion, to permit it to extend to that "common cause" the slightest favor, while the wounds, which it had thus received were yet bleeding. It was, indeed, true that Warrants had been sent with the Circular Letter, in February; and it is undoubtedly true, also, that the favored ones, throughout the County, Warrants in hand and Offices in prospective, had employed all their powers of conciliation and persuasion to ensure a successful enlistment of the quota and the consequent reward to themselves; but Westchester-county would not be conciliated far enough to send her well-to-do sons into the Army; and the Warrants were returned to the Congress and the proffered Offices were not secured by those who had hankered for them. The prospect for the four Battalions, as far as Westchester-county was concerned in it, was not promising; and the Committee of Safety was already entertaining the proposal to call back the Warrants which had been sent into the County, more than two months previously, when a letter was received by that body, from Gilbert Drake, the Chairman of the Committee of the County, stating that one, Ezekiel Hyatt, or Haight, with his associates, had enlisted seventy men in Westchester-county, for a Connecticut Regiment; but was inclined to take them, as a portion of the quota of that County, into a New York Regiment, if Commissions could be assured to those who were designated as their Officers.[3]

Subsequently, it was seen that the men whom Ezekial Hyatt, or Haight, or Hait—for by each of these several names that "patriotic" gentleman was known, at different times—had enlisted into his Company had been entrapped, by false representations;[4] and the revelations of unopened records of that period, more recently opened, reveal the fact that Commissions had already been issued, by the Continental Congress, to Ezekiel Hait, Esquire, as Captain,[5] to Caleb Hobby, Gentleman, as First Lieutenant,[6] to Joseph De Groet, Gentleman, as Second Lieutenant,[7] and to Isaac Poineair, Gentleman, as Ensign,[8] all dated on the eighth of April, more than a fortnight before Gilbert Drake wrote to the Committee of Safety, asking Commissions for the same Officers from the Provincial Congress of New York; and that each of those Commissions had specifically described the Company to which the holder of the Commission was attached, not as belonging to a Connecticut Regiment, but as "the Company of the First "Regiment of New York Forces." But, whatever schemes may have been laid to carry the Company into the Connecticut Line of the Continental Army, and notwithstanding the men enlisted into the Company had been fraudulently entrapped into a service which they did not intend to enter,[9] Captain Hyatt

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Solis, P.M., Feb. 18, "1776."

[2] Vide pages 276, 277, ante.

[3] *Gilbert Drake to "Mr. Morris Scott,"* "April the 24th, 1776;" *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Jovis, 10 ho., A.M., April 25, 1776."

[4] *List of the Officers' names in New York Troops, etc.*: *Col. McDougal's Regiment.* 155.—*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Commission*, xxv., 188.

[5] *Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, xxvii., 88.

[6] *Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, xxvii., 96.

[7] *Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, xxvii., 92.

[8] *Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, xxvii., 104.

[9] "There are good reasons for believing that that Company, like the similar Company commanded by Cornelius Steenrod, of which mention will be made, hereafter, had been really enlisted for Colonel Samuel Drake's Regiment of Minute-men, then at Hoern's Hook, as already stated; and that a system of schemes had followed, first with Alexander McDougal, of the first New-York Regiment; then with some Connectic

and his command were accepted by the Committee of Safety, as one of the two Companies required from Westchester-county;[1] and it subsequently constituted the Fifth Company of the First Regiment of the New York Line, commanded by Colonel Alexander McDougal.[2] It was said of the Company, afterwards, that the Captain "has deceived the Convention" [*the Provincial Congress?*] "in Enlisting the men "for 6 & 12 months instead of doing it for the "war;"[3] that the men, who had, also, been deceived by their Captain, deserted in large numbers;[4] that the Regiment was greatly reduced by the desertions, of which those from this Company were part;[5] and the Company was thereby disgraced, through all time. Of Captain Hyatt, it was stated that he was "unfit" to be retained in the service,[6] as "he wants authority "to make a good Officer:"[7] of the three Subalterns, the same record stated, "These three wish to de-"cline the service; they will be no loss to it."[8]

Two days after Ezekiel Hyatt, through the Chairman of the Committee of Westchester-county, had secured a place for himself and his command, in the New York Line of the Continental Army, [*April* 27, 1776,] Cornelius Steenrod appeared, personally, before the Committee of Safety, in the City of New York, and informed that Committee "that he can enlist a "complete Company of men for the Continental ser-"vice, in fourteen days;" and the Committee, after due consideration of the proposal, adopted a Resolution giving to him "full assurance that he and his "Subalterns, with the said Company, will be em-"ployed as part of the troops raising for the defence "of this Colony," provided a full and complete Company of able bodied men should be enlisted and made ready to join a Regiment, within the designated period of fourteen days.[9]

That Cornelius Steenrod was a Miller, on the Cortlandt's Manor; evidently a man of some property;[10] and an intimate friend and *confidante* of Stephen De Lancey, a son of the late distinguished Chief-justice De Lancey, who was also one of the Proprietors and a resident of that Manor,[11] there can be no doubt. He was peculiarly anxious to obtain an office, no matter what, nor on what terms;[12] he was particularly zealous in his desire that he might administer test-oaths to his neighbors;[13] and it is more than probable that he was, in fact, a "friend of the Government," in disguise, notwithstanding all his official disclaimers.[14] He had been in command of one of the skeleton Companies of Minute-men of which the skeleton Regiment of Colonel Samuel Drake had been nominally composed[15]—it is more than probable that one of those two blank Commissions, for Captains of Companies, which had been issued in advance of the formation of those Companies,[16] was held by him; and it is far from impossible that the men whom he and his Subalterns had evidently on hand, when he applied to the Committee of Safety for admittance into the service of the Continent, in a different Regiment, had been really enlisted for the re-inforcement of the former Regiment, then at Hoern's Hook.

He evidently completed his Company, in season to take a place, as the second Company of the apportionment to Westchester-county, in the First Regiment of the New York Line, in the Continental Army of 1776, commanded by Colonel Alexander McDougal, of which it was the Sixth Company, Isaac Titus having been his First Lieutenant, Isaac Ruyckman, Junior, his Second Lieutenant, and Benjamin Jones his Ensign.[17] But, like Captain Hyatt, Captain Steenrod had deceived his men and the Congress, in his enlistment of his command for six and twelve months instead of for the entire period of

parties; and finally with the Committee of Westchester-county—each scheme having been an improvement on those which had preceded it—for the disposition of the Company, just as schemes were formed for the promotion of personal interests of Officers, and just as Enlisted Men were trucked and bartered into Regiments which were foreign to them, for the promotion of those schemes, in another service, within the memory of living men.

[1] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Jovis, 4 ho., P.M., April 25, "1776."

[2] *List of Officers' names of New York Troops, viz.: Colonel McDougal's Regiment,—Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Committee*, xxv., 488.

[3] Ibid.

[4] *General Alexander McDougal to Robert Yates*, "Yonkers, 21 October, "1776."

[5] Ibid.

[6] *General McDougal's Recommendation of Lieutenant-Colonel Van Cortlandt —Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Committee*, xxv., 845.

[7] *List of Officers' names of New York Troops*, viz.: *Colonel McDougal's Regiment.—Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Committee*, xxv., 488.

[8] Ibid.

[9] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Sabbati, 10 ho., A.M., April "27, 1776."

[10] Cornelius Steenrod was the owner of three fulling-mills, if not of some others; and he addressed "the Convention," without date, requesting protection for his millers.—*Cornelius Steenrod to "the Convention,"* without place or date—*Journals of the Provincial Congress*, ii., 147.

[11] *Cornelius Steenrod to the Committee of Safety*, "January 31, 1777;" *the Commissioners of Sequestration to the Council of Safety*, "Peeks Kill, July "24, 1777;" *Stephen De Lancey to Cornelius Steenrod*, "May 3, 1777;" *Testimony of Cornelius Steenrod before the Committee of Westchester-county*, June 13, 1777; *Cornelius Steenrod to the Convention of the State*, "West-"chester County, Cortlandt Manor, June 28, 1777," and the several enclosures therein; etc.

[12] He was anxious, by turns, to command a Troop of Horse, to command a Company of Minute-men, and to raise and command a Company in the Continental Line; and, in neither of these, does he appear to have paid much respect to the proprieties of the undertaking.

[13] *Cornelius Steenrod to "the Convention,"* without place or date—*Journals of the Provincial Congress*, ii., 147.

[14] In June, 1776, Isaac Youngs testified before the Committee on Conspiracies, of the Provincial Congress, that Thomas Vernon, that prisoner who made so much trouble, had informed him that one of the Captains in McDougal's Regiment of Continentals, was a loyalist, in correspondence with Governor Tryon, and acting under the orders of the Governor. (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxiv., 401.)

Cornelius Steenrod had only recently joined that Regiment, at the head of a Company, when that statement was made.

[15] *General Lord Stirling's General Orders*, "New York, March 16, "1776."

[16] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Mercurii, 10 ho., A.M., Oc-"tober 25, 1776."

[17] *List of Officers' names of New York Troops, viz.: Colonel McDougal's Regiment—Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Committee*, xxv., 488.

the War;[1] his command reciprocating, like that of Captain Hyatt, by deserting, in great numbers, and, thereby, seriously crippling the Regiment;[2] and, also like Captain Hyatt, personally, he was reported as "unfit" for his command.[3] The similarity of that Company and its Officers and that commanded by Captain Hyatt and its Officers is singularly continued in the fact that the Second Lieutenant who was with Captain Steenrod when the Company was mustered into the Continental Service, was subsequently cashiered,[4] assuredly for conduct which was more than ordinarily bad; and in the Report, concerning First Lieutenant Titus and Ensign Jones, that "These two are unfit for the service."[5]

Captain Ambrose Horton, who commanded one of the Companies from Westchester-county, in the Campaign of 1775, appears to have returned to the service, probably from another County, in 1776;[6] but nothing more than a mere mention of his name was made, without the slightest additional information. Neither Captain Daniel Mills nor Captain Jonathan Platt, each of whom had commanded a Company from Westchester-county, in the Campaign of 1775, appears to have returned to the service, in 1776.

It will be seen, from the respective records of the fraudulent practices of Ezekiel Hyatt and Cornelius Steenrod and their respective associates, in their enlistment of men for their respective commands; from the records of the questionable manner in which their respective Companies were carried, without their consent, into a line of the Continental Service for which they were not enlisted; from the records of the personal unfitness for their respective offices of the several Officers of both these Companies; and from those of the consequent disaffection and desertions of the enlisted men, that Westchester-county's quota, in the Continental levy of 1776, was of questionable usefulness to the country or the cause in which it was nominally engaged. Whatever may have been the character and conduct of the Non-commissioned Officers and Privates of which those Companies were respectively composed—and it is due to the memory of those unknown men that it should be said of them that no record of bad conduct, on their parts, has come down among the *debris* of that period, since it cannot be regarded as a crime that some of them, unbidden, in that era of disregard of law, helped themselves to the freedom, belonging to themselves, of which their Officers had fraudulently deprived them—it cannot be consistently pretended, by any one, that the Officers of those Companies were reasonably representative men of the great body of the farmers of Colonial Westchester-county, of that or of any other period: whether or not they may be regarded as representative men of that other and smaller class of the inhabitants of that County, in 1775–76, of those whose "patriotism" was only ill-concealed selfishness, of those whose devotion to "the common cause" was graduated with nothing else than with the promised profits of the investment, of those whose zeal was tempered with nothing as effective as with an Office of some sort, the reader can determine for himself, from the evidence which has been already adduced, illustrative of the character and conduct of the revolutionary faction, within that County, during that later Colonial Period.

Among the multitude of requirements, made by General Lee, either on his own motion or at the prompting of those who pandered to his baser inclinations, and which were obsequiously obeyed by the Provincial Congress, was one, made early in March, 1776, for "a Magazine of Provisions and Military "Stores, to be established in Westchester-county," the requisition being supplemented with a recommendation that "the Deputies of Westchester-county "purchase and deposit, in different stores in that "County, twelve hundred barrels of good salted Pork, "wherever it is to be bought; and that the said "salted Pork be repacked and pickled by a sworn "Packer of New York; and that the Deputies of "Albany-county purchase eighteen hundred and fifty "bushels of good Peas, and send them to the Depu-"ties of Westchester-county, to be by them stored in "the same manner."[7]

The proposed test of the quality of the Pork to be purchased was, however, not satisfactory to those who were manipulating the Congress, in the interest of the job; and, on the ninth of March, when that body resumed the consideration of the proposition, it was led to suppose that the Resolution which had been adopted, approving the same, was "imperfect, "inadequate to the end, and that the method thereby "proposed will create unnecessary expense." It also appointed a Committee of three Deputies, two of whom were John Thomas, Junior, and Colonel Joseph Drake, both of them Deputies from Westchester-county, "to reconsider the method of establishing a "Magazine of Provisions, and to report thereon."[8]

[1] Ibid.

[2] *General Alexander McDougal to Robert Yates*, "YONKERS, 21 October, "1776."

[3] *General McDougal's Recommendation of Lieutenant-colonel Cortlandt.—Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Committee*, XXV., 845.

[4] *Captain Steenrod to the Provincial Congress*, "CAMP AT NEW YORK, "20 June, 1776."

[5] *List of Officers' Names of New-York Troops, viz., Colonel McDougal's Regiment.—Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Committee*, XXV., 488.

[6] Recruiting Warrants were issued to him, on the tenth of March, 1776, and to Thomas Le Foy, on the twenty-eighth of the same month, for the Ninth Company of the First Regiment of the New York Line of the Continental Army of 1776; but the record says, also, "Captain Horton "and Officers' commissions not made out," (*Recruiting Warrants issued by the Convention to the First New York Continentals—Historical Manuscripts*, etc., *Military Committee*, XXV., 165, 676;) and it is probable that they were among those whose blandishments were unsuccessful in obtaining recruits, as has been stated in the text, (*page* 321, *ante*.)

[7] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Lunæ, 3 ho., P.M., March "4, 1776."

[8] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Sabbati, 10 ho., A.M., March "9, 1776."

The whole subject had evidently been considered, informally, before it was laid before the Congress—in the expressive phrase of practical men, it had been "cut and dried"—and the Committee "speedily re-"turned and reported" a substitute for the original Resolution, which was more "perfect," more "ade-"quate to the end," and less expensive, although it was, also, less favorable to the Congress—it did no more than to omit the provision for the employment of a Packer from New York, by whom, also, the quality of the Pork could have been accurately ascertained, leaving every other portion of the original Resolution, in the form in which it had been adopted, five days previously. The evidently pre-arranged Report and Resolution were promptly approved, without a dissenting voice;[1] and the scheme was, so far, a complete success.

There does not appear to have been a doubt concerning the entire safety of such a Magazine, nor of such a series of Magazines, notwithstanding the known hostility of by far the greater number of the inhabitants of Westchester-county, within which they were to be established, against all which pertained to the Rebellion—an hostility, too, which had become intensified by reason of the repeated and ruinous outrages to which the Conservatives among them, and few were not Conservatives, had been subjected; and if anything were wanted to establish the fact of the quiet, law-observing, and upright personal character of those much abused and much persecuted farmers of Colonial Westchester-county, it may be found in that voluntary tribute to their integrity, thus unwittingly, but freely, paid by their most virulent enemies. A Military Magazine established in the midst of a community who was hostile to those who gathered and established it, without ample provision for its protection, and depending, largely, if not entirely, for its safety, on the forbearance of those among whom it was placed, was an anomaly in Military Science; but the farmers of Westchester-county were not inclined to retaliate; and those who were leaders in the Rebellion could, therefrom, have learned something which would have been useful to themselves and to their "common cause," had not they been besotted in their greed for Office and its emoluments and for the authority and the opportunities for personal aggrandizement which office-bearing, in a revolutionary era, always affords to those who are the greater zealots.

The Deputies from Westchester-county were not slow in their movements, homeward, as soon as that Report and that Resolution had been adopted, leaving the Deputation in the Congress without the requisite quorum, in their eager pursuit of the advantages, to themselves, which were offered in their purchases of barrelled Pork. The reason for the embargo which had closed the foreign markets against the producers and which had monopolized the trade in favor of the local buyers and at their own prices, was then made manifest to all observers; and the favored Deputies, who were the official buyers, and their personal friends were provided with an outlet, at favorable prices, not only for the surplus of their own products, but for those additional stocks which the rigidly enforced embargo and their more accurate knowledge of what the future was to develope, had placed within their control; and that without any limitations concerning prices to be paid, and without any danger, concerning the quality of the article to be sold, from the adverse reports of a sworn Packer and Inspector, from the City of New York.

On the thirteenth of March, a letter was received from General Washington, expressing to "the Com-"manding Officer of the American Forces, New "York,"[2] the suspicions of the Commander-in-chief that the Royal Army which was then enclosed in Boston would soon be transferred to New York, and appealing to the Provincial Congress for its best efforts "to "prevent their forming a lodgment before" [*he, General Washington,*] "can come or send to your assist-"ance."

The intelligence thus communicated to the Provincial Congress, for General Lord Stirling immediately submitted the letter to that body, led to another revision of the Resolution authorizing the establishment of a Military Magazine in Westchester-county, already referred to, which resulted in the adoption of the following Resolution, not necessarily as a substitute for the other, nor probably regarded as such a substitute, in practise:

"ORDERED, That Colonel Gilbert Drake repair "immediately to Westchester-county and purchase "twelve hundred barrels of the best Pork, and "have the same safely stored, agreeable to the "Resolves of this Congress, of the ninth day of "March instant; that he take with him, from New-"York, a sworn Inspector and Repacker of Pork, to "inspect and re-pack the same; and that he purchase "and store, at the cheapest rate in his power, Flour "sufficient for the use of five thousand men for a "month."[3]

Notwithstanding the adroitness of Colonel Gilbert Drake, in concentrating within his own person the sole authority to purchase all the Pork and all the Flour which were considered necessary, when the last-named Resolution was adopted by the Provincial Congress, his associates in the Deputation from Westchester-county were already in the field, bargaining for barrelled Pork, under the provisions of the former Resolution; entering into competition

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress,* "Die Sabbati, 10 ho., A.M., March "9, 1776."

[2] *Stephen Moylan, A.D.C., to the Commanding Officer of the American Forces in New York,* "CAMBRIDGE, 9th March, 1776."

[3] *Journal of the Provincial Congress,* "Die Mercurii, 10 ho., A.M., March "13, 1776."

with him, among the sellers of Pork, who were not slow to take advantage of that circumstance, in advancing the prices of the goods; and, to a corresponding extent, intercepting, advantageously to themselves, the profits of those particular transactions which, but for their interference, would have fallen into his basket.

The Provincial Congress had adjourned, leaving its Committee of Safety to discharge its ordinary duties;[1] and William Paulding was the only Deputy from Westchester-county who remained in the City of New York. But, on the afternoon of the first day of the existence of that Committee, [*March* 18, 1776,] Mr. Paulding, whose hand was evidently clean while those of all his fellow Deputies were seriously smirched, "informed the Committee that several of the "members from Westchester-county, conceiving that "they were directed to purchase Pork for a Magazine, "were purchasing quantities for that purpose; that "Colonel Gilbert Drake, by a late *Order* of the "Congress, was also purchasing the whole quantity "directed to be stored in that County, whereby there "is danger that the said article of Provisions may "be purchased at an exorbitant price."[2]

After due consideration of the subject, the Committee of Safety determined to limit the price to be paid for the Pork, leaving the rival buyers undisturbed, which was undoubtedly done for political reasons—it would not have been prudent to have arrested the Deputation of a County, while it was so eagerly engaged in a still-hunt for some of the pickings which had been placed within its reach, by the revolutionary leaders. The enactment of the Committee of Safety was in these words:

"Whereas different appointments have been made "by the Provincial Congress, for the purchase of "barreled Pork, in Westchester-county; it is there-"fore

"ORDERED, That no person employed in that ser-"vice pay more for that article of Provision than four "pounds per barrel, subject to the expense of the "sellers for cartage to the place of delivery in the "County."[3]

On the first of April, 1776—ample time having elapsed, since the two *Orders* were made, to enable all which could be done in the way of purchases and sales of Pork and Flour, to have been done, satisfactorily to those who were originally in the secret—the Committee of Safety discovered what it regarded as a fact, that such a Military Magazine as General Lee had called for and which the Provincial Congress had deliberately established, would "not be absolutely necessary;" and it accordingly "ORDERED, That Colonel "Gilbert Drake and the other members of West-"chester-County do not purchase any more Pro-"visions, until farther order; and that they return "with all convenient speed to this Committee, an ac-"count of all the Provisions they have purchased, and "in what stores they are placed."[4]

It required eight days for the Committee's letter and *Order* to reach the busy Deputies and to arrest their eager searches for Pork and Flour; but on the eighth day, [*April* 9, 1776,] Colonel Drake reported that he, and John Thomas, Junior, and Major Lockwood, three of the migratory Deputies, had bought about one thousand barrels of the former and six hundred barrels of the latter;[5] from which one may learn something of the productiveness of Colonial Westchester-county, in 1775, notwithstanding the disturbances, already referred to, to which its inhabitants had been so frequently and so seriously subjected—the usual Autumn and Winter sales of these two staple articles had been undoubtedly made; extraordinary sales had been made for the Northern Army and for distant places, many of them having been made matters of official record; the home-consumption had been supplied, freely, during the Autumn, the Winter, and the early Spring; and the necessary supplies, also for the home-consumption, until the following Autumn, had been undoubtedly reserved; but the supply was not exhausted; and a thousand barrels of salted Pork and six hundred barrels of Flour had been found and purchased, on the account of the Provincial Congress, within the limited period of three weeks, and within the limits of that single County. The Westchester-county farmers of our own period, with their greater numbers and greater area of tillable ground, with their modern appliances of artificial manures and improved implements—none of them, at that time, even hoped for—and with all the improved facilities of transit and of transportation which they now possess, may reasonably hang their heads, in humiliation, on a comparison of the results of their labors with the results of the labors of those industrious, prudent, and thrifty men who preceded them, with smaller numbers and none of the advantages which are now accessible to every one.

Reference has been made to the action of the Provincial Congress encouraging the establishment of Powder-mills, and offering loans for that purpose, without interest, to proper persons, in specified Counties, of which Westchester was one. Although no mention was subsequently made of the establishment of such a Mill within the limits of Westchester-county, the fact that such an offer was made affords another testimony to what has been already adduced concerning the peaceful disposition of the farmers, throughout that County, even in the face of the greatest

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Sabbati, 9 ho., A.M., March "16, 1776."

[2] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Lunæ, 4 ho., P.M., March "18, 1776."

[3] Ibid.

[4] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Lunæ, 9 ho., A.M., April 1, "1776."

[5] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Mercurii, 4 ho., P.M., April "17, 1776."

aggravations, since the want of the Arms of which they had been robbed would not have been a hindrance to any one who had desired to destroy a Powder-mill; and it shows, also, how unwise that revolutionary policy had been, which had tended not only to impair the industrial usefulness of such a community, at a time when the results of its agricultural and other industrial labors were most needed, but to make that element, in the Colony, permanently antagonistic, which, under a peaceful and conciliatory policy, might have been made passive and useful, if not friendly and co-operative.

After the autocratic General Lee was ordered to the South, in March, 1776, the military command of the Continental forces in the City of New York was vested in General Lord Stirling; and, on the thirteenth of that month, that commanding General requested the Provincial Congress to appoint a Committee, to confer with him on various subjects connected with the defense of the City and Colony.[1]

On the following day, [*March* 14, 1776,] for the purpose of putting the City into a proper condition to sustain an attack, "all the male inhabitants, capable "of fatigue," were ordered to "be immediately em- "ployed on the fortifications of the City, and as well "all the negro men in the City and County of New "York" were similarly ordered; and, at the same time, the inhabitants of Kings-county were ordered to be similarly employed on the defences of that County; while levies were made on the southern part of Orange, or what now constitutes Rockland, County, and on the County of Westchester, for detachments from the Militia of those Counties, respectively, for the support and assistance of the working parties in the City of New York.[2]

That portion of the *Regulations*, thus agreed to between General Lord Stirling and the Committee of the Provincial Congress, which related particularly to Westchester-county, is in the following words:

"*7thly.* Resolved and Ordered, That Colonel "Joseph Drake and Colonel Thomas Thomas, of "Westchester-county, do draft out of their Regiments "two hundred men, in the following proportions, to "wit; Two Companies of sixty-five Privates each, "besides the Captains and other inferior Officers, out "of Colonel Joseph Drake's Regiment, and one Com- "pany of sixty-five Privates, with the Captain and "other inferior Officers, of Colonel Thomas's Regiment, "and as many more men out of those two Regiments "as will turn out, Volunteers for that service, to be im- "mediately sent to the City of New York, armed and "accoutred in the best manner possible, and to be "joined to Colonel Samuel Drake's Regiment, and to "receive the same pay and provisions as the other "Continental forces in this Colony."

As what was called the Regiment of Westchester-county Minute-men, commanded by Colonel Samuel Drake,[3] was then at Hoern's Hook, opposite Hell-gate, it will be seen that Westchester-county was largely depended on; but no record has been found which indicates which of the Companies of the Militia of that County were thus drafted and sent to throw up the defensive works within the City of New York, nor is it now known who, if any, of the farmers of that County, volunteered their services, for that laborious duty.

As has been already stated, early attention was paid by the Provincial Congress to the subject of the election of Deputies to a new Congress and to that of its own dissolution. To that end, on the sixteenth of December, 1775, the Congress adopted the following Resolution:

"Resolved, That the Committee of Safety be and "hereby are fully empowered to issue orders to the "respective Counties in this Colony, to elect Deputies "for a Provincial Congress of this Colony, to meet "on the second Tuesday in May next. The said "Committee, by their Order, appointing the day of "Election, in each County, to be at least twenty-one "days before the said second Tuesday in May next."[4]

Notwithstanding that *Resolution*, there appears to have been some other "plan for the election of Depu- "ties to form a Provincial Congress to meet when the "present Provincial Congress will expire." It is not now known what that other "plan" embraced nor by whom it was introduced or supported; but it was evidently intended to limit the right of voting for Deputies to the new Congress, to those who had signed the *Association*, and to have the vote taken by ballot. It appears, also, to have been resolutely and successfully opposed, at least as far as the limitation of the right of suffrage was included in its provisions; and its evidently radical supporters, after their defeat on that portion of the "plan," abandoned the project for an election by ballot.[5] The entire subject was then referred to a Committee, for further consideration; and, on the afternoon of the same day, after the said "plan" had been "read, and again read, "paragraph by paragraph, amended, and corrected," it is said to have been "approved," subject, however, to a further consideration, on the following morning.[6]

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Mercurii, 10 ho., A.M., "March 13, 1776."

[2] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Jovis, 4 ho., P.M., March 14, "1776."

[3] Vide pages 328, 329, ante.

[4] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Sabbati, 10 ho., A.M., Decr. "16, 1775."

[5] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Lunæ, 10 ho., A.M., March "11, 1776."

[6] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Lunæ, 4 ho., P.M., March 11, "1776.".

The obscurity of the *Journals* of the second Provincial Congress, on the subject under consideration, is relieved, to some extent by the *Journals* of the third of those Congresses in an occasional reference to the subject.

Besides that almost unintelligible entry in the *Journals of the Provincial Congress*, no mention appears to have been made on the subject, if any thing further was done with it. It is probable, however, that an Election was ordered to be made for Deputies, on the third Tuesday, which was the sixteenth day, of April;[1] and that the fourteenth day of May was designated for the meeting of the new Provincial Congress.[2]

The Provincial Congress itself appears to have been disbanded, informally—its *Journal* makes no mention of a formal adjournment—on the afternoon of Monday, the thirteenth of May, 1776;[3] and, thus the second Provincial Congress of the Colony of New York and its doings, for evil or for good, became subjects for the pens of those who should thenceforth assume the grave and responsible duties of historians.

We mentioned, in another part of this narrative,[4] the election of "a Committee for the County of West-"chester," on the eighth of May, 1775, and the appointment of Gilbert Drake for its Chairman, and Micah Townsend for its Clerk. It appears that, either by pre-determined limitation or otherwise, the term of service of that County Committee expired in May, 1776; and, in order that the succession of that body might be continued, notice to that effect having been given, on the sixteenth of April, 1776, "a Number "of the Freeholders and Inhabitants of Westchester-"county appeared at the Court House," and "chose "the Persons hereafter named to serve as a Committee "for the said County from the 2nd Monday in May, "1776, to the 2nd Monday in May, 1777—any twenty "whereof to be a Quorum, vizt:

"*For Morrissania.*
"LEWIS MORRIS, JUNr. —1.

"*For Westchester.*
"THOMAS HUNT,
"ABRAHAM LEGGETT,
"ISRAEL HONEYWELL,
"JOHN OAKLEY,
"GILBERT OAKLEY,
"DANIEL WHITE,
"JOHN SMITH—7.

"*For Yonkers.*
"WILLIAM HADLEY,
"WILLIAM BETTS,
"THOMAS EMMONS,
"JOHN CRAWFORD,
"FRED. V. CORTLANDT —5.

For Eastchester.
STEPHEN SNEDEN,
EDWARD BRIGGS,
DANIEL SEBRING—3.

For New Rochelle and Pelham.
MYERS,
GUION,
WILLIS,
[*The original MS. burned, here.*]
LIP WELL, JUNr.—4.

For Mamaroneck.
GIL BUDD HORTON—1.

"*For Philipsburg.*
"ISRAEL HONEYWELL, JUNr.
"ABRAHAM STORM,
"PETER VAN TASSELL,
"GLODE REQUEAU,
"ABRm LEDEW,
"JAMES HAMMOND,
"JOSEPH YOUNGS,
"GERSHOM SHERWOOD,
"JAMES REQUEAU,
"THOMAS CHAMPENOIS, —10.

"*For W. Plains.*
"BENJAMIN LYON,
"JOSHUA HATFIELD—2.

"*For Scarsdale.*
"SAMUEL CRAWFORD—1.

"*For H. Precinct.*
"THOMAS THOMAS,
"Wm. MILLER,
"ISAIAH MAYNARD—3.

"*For North Castle.*
"MICHAEL HAYS,
"PETER LYON,
"JACOB PURDY,
"ANDREW SNIFFIN,
"GILBERT PALMER,
"CALEB MERRITT, JUNr.
"CALEB CARPENTER—7.

For Rye.
SAMUEL TOWNSEND,
ISRAEL SEAMAN,
FRED. SAY,
SAMUEL LYON,
GILBERT LYON,
JOHN THOMAS, JUNr—6.

For Bedford.
ELIJAH HUNTER,
JOHN WOOLSEY,
TITUS MILLER,
ISRAEL LYON—4.

For Poundridge.
JOSH LOCKWOOD—1

For Salem.
ABIJAH GILBERT—1.

For Cortlandts Manor.
JOSEPH TRAVIS,
DANIEL BIRDSALL,
SAMUEL DRAKE,
ABRAHAM PURDY,
NATHANIEL HYATT,
JOSEPH LEE,
EBENEZER PURDY,
ISAAC NORTON,
HALSEY WOOD—9.

For Rycks Patent.
HERCULES LENT, 1 —
Total 66."[5]

Of this second County Committee, John Thomas, Junior, of Rye, was made the Chairman, and Edward Thomas was appointed its Clerk.

The day after the dissolution of the second Provincial Congress, [*May* 14, 1776,] was the day which had been appointed for the organization of the third of that series of Congresses.[6] There was, however, on that day and on the four succeeding days, an insufficient number of members of the several Deputations to form a quorum of the Counties; but, on the fifth day, [*May* 18, 1776,] the Counties of New York, Richmond, Suffolk, Westchester, Kings, Charlotte, and Tryon—those of Albany, Queens, Ulster, Gloucester, Cumberland, Duchess, and Orange were either entirely unrepresented or were without the requisite numbers to make their several Deputations complete—assumed the consistent, counter-revolutionary responsibility of organizing the Congress and of proceeding to transact business.[7] It continued in session, without tak-

[1] The elections in the Counties of New York, Westchester, Duchess, Kings, Queens, Tryon, Ulster, and Orange were held on that day; while Albany-county appears to have elected her Deputies on the 25th; Suffolk, on the 18th; Richmond-county, on the 23rd; and Charlotte-county, on the 1st May.

[2] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Martis, 10 ho., A.M., May "14, 1776."

[3] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Lunæ, 3 ho., P.M., May 13 "1776."

[4] Vide pages 258, 259, 267, ante.

[5] *Members of a Committee for Westchester-county—Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxviii., 309.

[6] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Martis, 10 ho., A.M., May "14, 1776."

[7] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Sabbati, 10 ho., A.M., May "18, 1776."

Ulster, Gloucester, and Cumberland-counties were entirely unrepresented; instead of the requisite *three*, only Messrs. Cuyler and Glenn appeared from Albany-county; instead of the requisite *three*, only Messrs. Blackwell and Lawrence appeared from Queens-county; instead

ing any recess, until the thirtieth of June, when, because of supposed danger, in the City of New York, it adjourned to meet at the White Plains, on the following Tuesday, [*July* 2, 1776]; [1] but the *Journals* very clearly indicate that no such adjourned meeting was attempted—the Deputies had more important business requiring their personal attention; and the third Congress was permitted to pass away, without further ceremony.

The third Provincial Congress was distinguished by the entrance into it, among the Deputies from the City and County of New York, of John Jay, James Duane, John Alsop, Philip Livingston, and Francis Lewis, notwithstanding all of them were, also, Delegates from the Colony to the Continental Congress, then in session, in Philadelphia; and because three of those five are now known to have resisted the earlier movements toward Independence, in that Congress,[2] and to have, also, resisted the later movements in that direction, in the Provincial Congress, it is a reasonable conclusion that the hegira of those three, if not that of the whole number, had been made for the purpose of obstructing the adoption of that increasingly popular measure, as well as that of the establishment of a new form of government, through the Provincial Congress of New York, at least long enough to enable the Royal Commissioners for effecting a reconciliation with the Colonies, who were then approaching New York, to exhibit their powers and their inclinations, in that better desired measure. How successfully the scheme was carried out, in the latter body, will be seen, hereafter.

* * * * *

The deputation from Westchester-county to that third Provincial Congress, said to have been "duly "elected to represent the said County in Provincial "Congress for twelve months, with such powers and "authority as was recommended in the Resolutions "of the late Provincial Congress to be given them, "any three of whom to be a quorum," were Colonel Pierre Van Cortlandt, Colonel Lewis Graham, Colonel Gilbert Drake, Major Ebenezer Lockwood, Gouverneur Morris, William Paulding, Jonathan G. Tompkins, Samuel Haviland, and Peter Fleming.[3]

During the less than two months which intervened between the organization and the untimely dissolution of that third Provincial Congress, [*May* 18 *to June* 30, 1776,] the Northern Army was effectually driven from Canada; and all which had been promised and hoped for, in that very well planned, but premature and expensive, expedition, produced nothing else than disappointment and disaster, the latter as serious to those of the resident Canadians who had favored the invading Colonists, as it was to the latter. In South Carolina, the superior bravery of Colonel Moultrie and his handful of Carolinians, even when hampered by the superior authority but inferior practical knowledge of General Lee, had secured lasting honor to himself and to his gallant command and renewed safety to his own country; and "though not "of much magnitude, in itself, it was, like many "other successes attending the American Arms, in "the commencement of the War, of great importance "in its consequences: by impressing on the Colonists "a conviction of their ability to maintain the con-"test, it increased the number of those who resolved "to resist British authority and assisted in paving "the way to a declaration of Independence." The Continental Congress had yielded to the teachings of its experience, and directed enlistments to be made for three years, instead of for six months; but "that "zeal for the service which was manifested in the "first moments of the War, had long begun to abate; "and though the determination to resist became more "general, that enthusiasm which prompts individuals, "voluntarily, to expose themselves to more than "equal shares of the danger and hardships to be en-"countered for the attainment of a common good, "was sensibly declining"—in other words, there were more of those who were willing that somebody

of the requisite *three*, only Mr. Schenck appeared from Duchess-county; and of the requisite *two* from Orange-county, only Mr. Little appeared.

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Sunday morning, June 30, "1776."

Mr. Bolton, (*History of Westchester-county*, original edition, ii., 359; *the same*, second edition, ii., 564,) said of the imaginary journey of the Deputies, from the City of New York to the White Plains, between the adjournment of the Congress and the day on which it was to be re-assembled, "The journey between New York and the Plains was per-"formed by the members on horseback, Pierre van Cortlandt, the Presi-"dent, riding at their head. As expresses overtook them from General "Washington, the House was called to order, on horseback, and several "Resolutions passed."

As has been already stated, there was not the slightest attempt made to keep up the organization of the Congress, after its hurried and informal dissolution, on that eventful Sunday; that there was, therefore, no such funereal procession as Mr. Bolton has described, nor any such official acts, on horseback or on foot, as he has imagined; and that there was no such meeting of the Provincial Congress, at the White Plains, on Tuesday, the second of July, as he has left his readers to suppose.

As Mr. Bolton has not named any authority for his statement, although he was not the first to print it, he must be regarded as authorially responsible for it; and, therefore, it may be proper to say, further, that Pierre Van Cortlandt was not the President of the Congress, nor had he been such, at any time, General Woodhull having been elected its President, and John Haring, of Orange-county, occupied the Chair, as President *pro tem.*, on the last day of its session. In the same connection, it may be said that, although Colonel Pierre Van Cortlandt was elected as one of the Deputies from Westchester-county to the third Provincial Congress, that under notice, he never occupied a seat in it, even for a single day.

[2] The Resolution of July 2, 1776, separating the Colonies from the Mother Country, was not the earliest declaration of Independence, in the Colonies, by any means. The correspondence of John Adams is well filled with evidence of his correct judgment of the real character of the earlier enactments of the Continental Congress; but the Resolution which was introduced into that Congress, early in May, 1776, and adopted on the tenth of that month, and the Preamble to that Resolution, which was adopted on the fifteenth, recommending the adoption of new forms of Government, in the several Colonies, was, assuredly, nothing else than a Resolution of Independence, thinly disguised by the prefix of another name.

[3] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Sabbati, 10 ho., A.M., May "18, 1776."

else than themselves should do whatever fighting might become necessary; but, on the other hand, those who were expected to do the fatigue duty and to hazard their lives, had begun to see that the offices and the benefits to be derived from their expected labor and exposure were to be converted mainly to the benefit of others; and their enthusiasm for "the "Rights of Man and of Englishmen," which was formerly proclaimed by multitudes of earnest men, with scarcely one holding back, was, also, "sensibly "declining," as Marshall has aptly said—indeed, enlistments were made only among those who were desperately poor or among those whose moral characters were not unstained; and even these had to be bribed by bounties, that certain indication that something else than simple, unadulterated patriotism inspired the act. General Washington was at New York, with the main body of the Continental Army, strengthening the defences and seeking means to prevent the passage of ships of war up the Hudson-river or, through the East-river, into the Sound; urging the increase of his Army on those who did no more than call on others, as unwilling as themselves, to enter the ranks; and begging for Arms and munitions of War, of which he was almost destitute, from those who had neither Arms nor munitions of War to bestow on him nor on any other. A large body of Militia, as will be seen, hereafter, was ordered into the field, for the support of the Army, to be mustered in until the close of the year; a "Flying Camp," so called, was ordered to be composed of ten thousand men from Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland; and, on every hand, were seen the active preparations, by an unwilling and bounty-bought or poverty-driven Army, to settle the dispute in which it possessed no direct, if any, interest, by the arbitrament of Arms.

During that brief period, also, the movements of some of those who had assumed to be the leaders of the masses, throughout the several Colonies, were more frequent and more decided in their tone, in favor of Independence—movements, however, both within and without the Congress of the Continent, and more especially from the Delegations from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, which encountered the most determined and vigilant opposition. It were useless to pretend, with any respect for the truth, that the great body of the inhabitants of the Colonies was favorably inclined to or particularly interested in, a change in those who ruled them or in the manner of that rule, since it was perfectly evident that they would not be permitted to exercise any greater political authority nor to have their labors lessened nor their wants better supplied, under one than under the other form of Government; or, in New York, under the administration of the Livingston *régime* instead of that of the De Lancey, under the last of which they had hitherto lived; but the leaders of the Rebellion, elsewhere than in New York, seeing before them a semblance of greater consequence to themselves, in the proposition for Independence, were rapidly concentrating their efforts to accomplish that end. The desire for such a change was, also, sometimes promoted by the consciousness, among those whose consciences had not become charred by their hankering for offices, of that evident hypocrisy in pretending to an earnest loyalty toward a monarch against whom they were waging an open and recognized public War, with which the Committees and the Congresses of the Rebellion had continued to affront the common sense and the morality of Christendom; and that moral inclination to Independence, and those other inclinations, in the same direction, which were prompted by less holy influences, were all strengthened by the alarm which was produced by information that the Colonies had been formally declared to be in rebellion; that mercenaries had been employed to assist in reducing them to subjection, in which all classes would be subjected to a common ruin—a repetition, on a larger scale, but on the other side, of what had been done, already, by the leaders of the Rebellion, in New York, against the peaceful, agricultural inhabitants of Westchester and Duchess and Queens and Richmond-counties; that the Indians were to be employed by the Home-Government, for the purpose of harassing the frontiers and threatening the inland settlements and villages; and that the Slaves were to be withdrawn from their masters, as far as possible, and armed in the service of the King. All these influences had culminated in the submission to the Continental Congress of a Resolution, "That "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, "free and independent States, that they are absolved "from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that "all political connection between them and the State "of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dis-"solved. That it is expedient forthwith to take the "most effectual measures for forming foreign Al-"liances. That a plan of Confederation be prepared "and transmitted to the respective Colonies for their "consideration and approbation." It encountered, however, the most serious opposition, among which the Livingstons and their supporters, Delegates from New York, were peculiarly conspicuous; and, when the third Provincial Congress came to its untimely end, it was still pending, that Delegation, as far as the paucity of its numbers went, appearing conspicuously among those who were not its supporters.

While these various important matters were occupying the attention of the Colonists, General Howe came into the harbor of New York, and occupied Staten-island with his entire command; and the inhabitants of Richmond-county, as that beautiful island was then called, politically, and as it is still called, as might have been reasonably expected, since they were still smarting under the sen-

tence of outlawry and the consequent outrages to which they had been recently subjected by the Provincial Congress and its Committee of Safety, received the new-comers, it is said, "with great de-"monstrations of joy, took the Oaths of Allegiance to "the British Crown; and embodied themselves, under "the authority of the" [*Colonial*] "Governor, Tryon, "for the defense of the Island. Strong assurances were "also received from Long Island and the neighboring "parts of New Jersey, of the favorable disposition of "the people to the Royal Cause," it was said; and those who had been harried from their homes, and who had sought refuge in the swamps and thickets of the country, victims of the rapine and outrages of lawless and ruthless "patriots," their own countrymen, quite reasonably, hastened to seek the protection of those by whom, under a more judicious policy, they would be enabled to occupy their own homes and to pursue the ordinary routine of their peaceful lives, in quietude and safety. A large and well-provided force, for the reinforcement of General Howe's command, was known to be on the ocean and not distant, convoyed by a strong naval force, under the command of Admiral Howe—the latter a brother of the General and, with him, a half brother of the King—and it was already known that, thenceforth, New York would be the base of all the military and naval operations, on the Atlantic seaboard, in the next campaign.

On the day after the King's forces came into the harbor, [*June* 30, 1776,] after it had provided for the removal "of all and singular the public papers and "money" which were then in the possession of its Secretary and its Treasurer, to the White Plains, the Provincial Congress was hastily adjourned to that place, as has been already stated, in order that it might escape from the possibly sudden attack on the City, by the Royal forces—an attack by them, on the seat of the local Government of the Rebellion in the Colony of New York, and that at an early day, having evidently been a feature in the pre-constructed plans of General Howe. The anxious Provincial Congress resolved, however, that it would re-assemble at the Court-house, at the White Plains, on the following Tuesday, the second of July, to resume its official business, which was thus interrupted by the appearance, in the distance, of danger; and it resolved, also, that the next Provincial Congress should meet at the same place, on the succeeding Monday, the eighth of July.

In the brief Session which was thus interrupted, and which was not continued, at the White Plains or elsewhere, the third Provincial Congress continued the injudicious and unjust, to say nothing of the barbarous, outrages inflicted on those who were not inclined to accede to every measure of the Congresses and Committees, no matter how passive those Colonial Non-jurors of America might have been; and those pains and penalties were inflicted, directly, by its own authority;[1] and indirectly, by the several local Committees;[2] the Congress, meanwhile, acquiescing in, if not approving, the most barbarous treatment of its prisoners;[3] winking at the barbarities practised by mobs, on those whom it had proscribed;[4]

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Martis, P.M., May 28, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Jovis, 9 ho., A.M., May 30, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Martis, "9 ho., A.M., June 4, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Jovis, 9 ho., A.M., June "6, 1776;" etc.

[2] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Lunæ, 4 ho., P.M., June 3, "1776;" *the same*, "Die Jovis, 9 ho., A.M., June 6, 1776;" *the same*, "Thursday morning, June 20, 1776;" *the same*, "Friday afternoon, "June 21, 1776;" etc.

[3] Henry Dawkins, accused of counterfeiting, was ironed so heavily, *within the prison*, that he was reported to have been "injured by his irons "so that his legs swell;" and Henry Youngs, accused of the same offense, also confined in the Jail, was so much injured by the irons with which he was additionally secured, that it became necessary to remove them. (*Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Friday morning, 9 ho., A.M., "June, 1776;" *the same*, "Tuesday morning, New York, June 11, "1776.")

[4] About the middle of June, 1776, mobs were raised by John Lasher, John and Joshua Hett Smith, Peter Van Zandt, and other leaders of the extreme revolutionary faction, in the City of New York, by whom several citizens who were of the Opposition, but not of the Rebellion, were seized by these revolutionary "patriots," who placed them on "sharp "rails," and carried them on men's shoulders, around the City, amidst the huzzas of the mob. The progress of one of these parties was said to have been stopped by General Putnam; but not until the victim had sustained serious injuries, (Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 101–103; de Lancey's *Notes* on Jones's *History*, i., 596–598.)

Peter Elting, a brother-in-law of Richard Varick, wrote of these transactions, "We had some Grand Toory Rides in this City this week & in par-"ticular yesterday. Several of them were handeld verry Roughly Being "Caried trugh the streets on Rails, there Clooths tore from there backs "and there Bodies pritty well mingled with the dust. Amongst them "were C——, Capt. Hardenbrook, Mr. Rapllje, Mr. Queen the Poticary, "and Lessly the barber. There is hardly a toory face to be seen this "morning." (*Peter Elting to Captain Richard Varick*, "New York, 13th "June, 1776.")

On the twelfth of June, in the afternoon, Generals Putnam and Mifflin, who had evidently witnessed the outrages to which Elting alluded, "complained to the Provincial Congress of the riotous and disorderly "conduct of numbers of the inhabitants of this City, which had led this "day to acts of violence towards some disaffected persons;" but what had shocked Israel Putnam, by reason of its barbarism, even while the "complaint" of those two Officers urged the Congress to condemn the offenders, one of whom was then occupying a seat in the Congress, that body winked at, and, at the same time, it screened the offenders, and qualified the offense—its words were these: "Resolved; That this Con-"gress by no means approve of the riots that have happened this day; "they flatter themselves, however, that they have proceeded from a real "regard to Liberty and a detestation of those persons who, by their "language and conduct, have discovered themselves to be inimical to "the cause of America. To urge the warm friends of Liberty to de-"cency and good order, this Congress assures the public that effectual "measures shall be taken to secure the enemies of American Liberty in "this Colony, and do require the good people of this City and Colony to "desist from all Riots, and leave the offenders against so good a cause to be "dealt with by the constitutional representatives of the Colony"—the subsequently infamous "Committee to detect Conspiracies," then in embryo, having been, undoubtedly, the "constitutional" agency referred to, (*Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Wednesday afternoon, June 12, "1776.")

It has been said, apologetically, that the Congress was intimidated; and that the mob was the controlling power; but the overwhelming military force which was then in the City, with General Washington at its head, indicated no such state of affairs; and it is undoubtedly true that that series of Mobs, directed by leaders of the Rebellion—one of whom, if no more, was a member of the Provincial Congress—against those of the Colonists who were not of the Rebellion, was intended to give to the new-formed "Committee to detect Conspiracies," subsequently so obnoxious to every honorable man, a good set-off in its work of persecution and outrage.

and compelling the latter to seek safety in flight.[1] It assumed judicial functions, in putting some of its victims on "trial," before itself or a Committee of its members;[2] sometimes it graciously absolved those whom it had seized on mere "informations;"[3] and, occasionally, it honored a victim of a local Committee, by listening to an Appeal from the decision of that inferior tribunal,[4] although it was not always exempt from an appearance, at least, of partiality to the Respondent in the Case.[5] In the same connection, it called into existence and inaugurated the "Committee to detect Conspiracies," that powerful inquisitorial agency of the Rebellion, in New York, whose doings will be noticed more fully, hereafter.

* * * * * * * *

Those who had been hoist with their own petard, in becoming the speculative holders of Dutch Tea, which they had smuggled into the Colony, and which they could not, now, dispose of, unless on terms and at prices which would have been disastrous to them, pestered the Provincial Congress with appeals for relief from the enactments of their own friends; and some of them—one of them a member of the preceding Provincial Congresses, and another a Delegate of the Colony in the Continental Congress—were charged with violating those enactments, in their efforts to "work off" some portions of their stocks of the article; but, of course, in such instances as Isaac Sears and John Alsop, the offenders sustained no evil consequences from the exposure of their commercial peccadillos.[6]

There were other subjects, of greater general interest than these, which received the hurried attention of that very busy body of men; and to some of these, places in this narrative may properly be given.

The first of these is that "Committee to detect "Conspiracies," already alluded to, which originated in that much talked-of "Hickey Plot,"—the latter, a partisan bugbear which, before long, will descend to the low level of "the Negro Plot," in the same City of New York, in which the conspiracy against the helpless victims was greater than any which had possibly existed among them, against others; or to the lower level of that "Witchcraft" excitement, in Salem, led by clerical narrowness and bigotry, which had brought so much shame on the Mathers and on Colonial Massachusetts.

Sometime between Monday morning and Tuesday afternoon, [*May* 20, 21, 1776,]—as no entry of its appointment was made on the *Journals of the Provincial Congress*, nothing is known concerning the time nor the circumstances of the appointment, unless from inference[7]—that body appointed a Committee "to consider of the ways and means to prevent the dangers "to which this Colony is exposed by its intestine "enemies." Beyond the single fact that John Alsop, one of the most determined enemies of Independence and subsequently a recognized Loyalist,[8] was a member, if not the Chairman, of that Committee, there is no record of the names of those who constituted it; and, beyond the information which was contained in its title, there is quite as much obscurity surrounding the purposes for which it was created.

On Tuesday afternoon, [*May* 21, 1776.] as we have said, Mr. Alsop submitted the Report of the Committee;[9] and it was duly debated, with several motions for amendments, until the following Friday, [*May*

[1] The Continental Congress having authorized the employment of Continental troops for such a purpose, a Regiment was sent to Hempstead, for the purpose of seizing those who were disaffected to the Rebellion. The proposed victims having been disarmed, by order of the Provincial Congress, during the Winter of 1775–'6, they had no means for their defense, and, therefore, they fled and hid themselves in swamps, in woods, in barns, in hollow trees, in corn-fields, and in the marshes. Numbers took refuge in the pine barrens of Suffolk-county; others, in small boats, kept sailing about the Sound, landing in the night and sleeping in the woods, and taking to the water again in the morning. They were pursued like wolves and bears, from swamp to swamp, from one hill to another, from dale to dale, and from one copse of wood to another. Numbers were taken; some were wounded; and a few were killed—all that, too, on a peaceful, unarmed, passive community; unable to defend itself, because it had been stripped of its arms; in advance of any adverse movement; and only to promote the individual purposes of a handful of ambitious and reckless men: all that, too, in the name of "Liberty" and the "Rights of Man." (*Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Sunday afternoon, June 30, 1776;" *General Washington to the President of Congress*, "New York, June 28, 1776;" "Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 108, 109.)

[2] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Lunæ, 9 ho., A.M., May 27, "1776;" *the same*, "Tuesday morning, New York, June 11, 1776;" *etc.*

[3] *The Provincial Congress to the Committee of Queens-county*, "In Provincial Congress, New-York, A.M., June 11, 1776;" *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Thursday morning, June 27, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., June 5, 1776."

[4] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Saturday. P.M., June 1, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Martis, 9 ho., A.M., June 4, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A. M., June 5, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Jovis, 9 ho., A M., "June 6, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Lunæ, 9 ho., A.M., June 10, 1776."

[5] In the Appeal of Thomas Harriot from the decision of the General Committee of the City and County of New York, *the latter of whom was, also, very evidently the Complainant in the original Case*, on the sixth of June, the Provincial Congress, without any application from either party, voluntarily offered to give its aid to the Respondent, "for the attendance of "their witnesses," leaving the Appellant without any such favor. As might have been foreseen, in such an instance of pre-entertained partiality in the Appellate body, the decision which the General Committee had made in its own Case, was sustained by the Provincial Congress; and the Appeal therefrom, of Thomas Harriot, was promptly dismissed.

[6] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., May "29, 1776;" *the same*, "Friday Afternoon, June 14, 1776."

See, also, *the Provincial Congress to the Delegates in the Continental Congress*, "In Provincial Congress, New York, July 28, 1775," and the "really anxious" *reply of James Duane, John Alsop, John Jay, Robert R. Livingston, Junior, and Francis Lewis*, "Philadelphia, 20th Sept. 1776;" *General Washington to the Provincial Congress*, "New-York, 13 May, 1776," enclosing a letter from Isaac Sears, concerning those who were underselling their teas; and what shall be, hereafter, said on the subject.

[7] John Alsop did not take his seat in the Provincial Congress until Monday morning, May 20th; but on Tuesday afternoon, May 21st, he presented the Report of the Committee to the Congress. The Committee, of which he was evidently the Chairman, must have been created during that brief interval.

[8] See his letter, resigning his seat in the Continental Congress, because of the Declaration of Independence. "Philadelphia, 16 July, "1776," and Jones's *History of New York during the American Revolution*, i., 35.

[9] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Martis, 4 ho., P.M., May 21, "1776."

24, 1776,] when it was approved, not, however, without several very important omissions, if the record of the approved Report may be relied on.[1] In its amended form, the Report was in the following words:

"Your Committee do report: That there is great "reason to believe that the enemies of American Liberty have a general communication with each other "through this and part of the neighbouring Colonies, "by reason whereof the influence of the British Government is much extended and the minds of the "people poisoned by false reports and suggestions.

"That many ill-disposed people have lately resorted "unto, and a great number dwell in, the southern and "eastern parts of Queens-county; that there are also "several ill-disposed persons in the City and County "of New York, and in Kings County, and in sundry "other parts of this Colony, many of whom will most "probably take up arms on the part of our foes, when-"ever they shall see a prospect of success.

"That from the various reports and the best intel-"ligence which can be obtained from Europe, as also "from the positive assertions of the disaffected through-"out this and the neighbouring Colonies, and from "such of their measures as have come to the knowl-"edge of your Committee, there is no room to doubt "that a large hostile armament will soon arrive in "this Colony.

"That the greater part of those who now hold Of-"fices and Commissions under the Crown, and many "others who are generally reputed inimical to Amer-"ican Liberty, will be liable to suffer injuries from "the resentment of the people,[2] and the Colony in "general exposed to great danger from the active ex-"ertions of those among us who are determined to "assist in the subjection of America.

"Your Committee are, therefore, of opinion that, "as well out of regard to the safety of individuals as "for the general welfare of America, it is highly and "indispensably necessary to take speedy and effectual "measures to prevent the hostile intentions of our "foes, to stop the channels of intelligence and com-"munication among the disaffected, and to quell the "spirit of opposition which hath hitherto prevailed.

"Your Committee do propose that, for these pur-"poses, the following persons be apprehended by the "assistance of the Continental troops, now stationed "in and near this City, to wit,

[*The names were not entered on the Journals.*]

"That a Committee be appointed to confer with the "Commander-in-chief, now here, upon the subject of "apprehending the persons above-named, and to su-"perintend the taking of them. That upon and after "the apprehension of the said persons, such of them as "shall give good and sufficient security, on oath, and "otherwise, as the said Committee shall think proper, "that they will not be concerned in any measures "taken or to be taken against the United American "Colonies, or any or either of them, and that they "will discover all measures taken or to be taken "against the said Colonies, or any or either of them, "as far as the same shall come to their knowledge, re-"spectively be permitted to go at large; and that as "to such persons as shall refuse such security, it shall "be in the discretion of the said Committee to admit "on their parol of honour, to be given to the said "Committee or to the Continental Congress, as many "of the said persons as may, in the judgment of the "said Committee, safely be trusted on their said "parol, to reside in some part of one of the neigh-"bouring Colonies, such as shall be chosen by the "said respective persons, and approved by the said "Committee; and that all such persons as, in the "opinion of the said Committee, cannot safely be "trusted on their said parol, or if to be trusted shall "refuse to give such parol, shall be reported to this "Congress, to be severally dealt with, as this Congress "shall think proper.

"That it be recommended to all the General County "Committees, in the several Counties in this Colony, "to apprehend all persons holding Military Commis-"sions under the King of Great Britain, and also all "such persons holding Civil Offices under the said "King, or, being possessed of influence in their re-"spective Counties, as are suspected of holding prin-"ciples inimical to the said United Colonies; and "after they shall have apprehended, to deal with them "in such manner as is prescribed for the conduct of "the Committee above named.

"All which is, nevertheless, most humbly sub-"mitted.

"JOHN ALSOP, *Chairman*."[3]

When that Report was presented, read, and approved, there were, throughout Westchester-county, the entire body of officers of the Colonial Militia, including some of the members of the Van Cortlandt and other leading families; the entire number of the King's Justices of the Peace; the entire bodies of the Court of Sessions and Court of Common Pleas, at the

[1] On Tuesday afternoon, on motion of Mr. Sands, Richmond-county was ordered to be named as one which was especially proscribed; and on motion of John Morin Scott, an oath of some kind was ordered to "be "extended to all such as refused to sign the *Association*," to which only Gouverneur Morris, to his honor be it said, objected. On Wednesday morning, an attempt to authorize the seizure and detention of residents of Queens-county, as hostages, to secure the submission of those who were left within that County, was rejected, only Westchester and Tryon-counties having supported the proposition. "Sundry other amendments "having been made therein," an attempt to commit the mutilated paper to its parent Committee, to re-model it, was rejected. It is evident, from the final entry on the subject, that other important changes had been made during a session of the Congress, on Thursday evening; but the *Journal* of that Session makes no mention of any action on that subject; and on Friday morning, the amended Report, from which many peculiarly obnoxious features had been removed, was adopted.

[2] The connection of the Mobs, in the City of New-York, already referred to, with the purposes of the authors of this enactment, is distinctly seen, in these words.

[3] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Veneris, 9 ho., A.M. May 24, "1776."

head of the last-named of which was John Thomas, who is already known to the reader as, also, one of the members of the former General Assembly and as the head of that prolific family of office-holders bearing that Welsh surname; and the entire body of County Officers, including those of the Prerogative Court, the Sheriff, the County Clerk, etc. All these, together with those who were especially obnoxious and all those whose social standing did not warrant the admission of them into the first class, were to be apprehended—the more prominent by detachments of the Continental Army, the less prominent by the County Committee—and "dealt with," after a "manner" which was "prescribed for the conduct" of those under whose directions the several "apprehensions" should be made. No overt act was charged against any one: it was sufficient that "suspicions" were entertained by some one in revolutionary authority, that one of the inhabitants of the County, no matter whom, was "holding principles inimical to the "said United Colonies," whatever those "principles" might have been; and the unfortunate victim, for nothing else than his opinions' sake, was liable to be exiled or subjected to any other penalty, personal or pecuniary or both, as his captors, unrestrained by any Statute or any enactment of the revolutionary authorities, should incline to impose on him. It is not stated in the annals of that period, however, that either Major Philip Van Cortlandt or Judge John Thomas or any other of those officeholders under the Crown who were also officeholders or supporters of the Revolutionary party, sustained any injury from the provisions of that enactment.

Although there is no entry on the *Journal of the Provincial Congress* which makes mention of the creation of such a Committee, it is very evident the Committee was appointed, with instructions "to report a "Law or 'set of Resolutions of this Congress, to "'prevent the dangers to which this Colony is ex-"'posed by its internal enemies,'" since, on the twenty-eighth of May, such a Committee made a Report to the Congress, through John Morin Scott, who was probably its Chairman. It is not shown what that Report provided for; but Richmond-county voted against it,[1] which may afford some evidence of the character of the paper, since that County and Queens-county were always the especial objects of the resentment of those who were in rebellion, a feeling, as far as Richmond-county was concerned, which was amply reciprocated within the succeeding six weeks.

The work of proscription did not cease with the action of the Congress which has been already referred to. On the fifth of June, in the unexplained words of the *Journal* of that body, "the Congress proceeded to "hear the Resolutions relative to persons dangerous "and disaffected to the American cause and to per-"sons of equivocal character." There is not the slightest allusion to the origin of the Resolutions; but it is very probable they proceeded from the Committee of which John Morin Scott was the mouthpiece, to whom allusion has been made in the preceding paragraph; and, possibly, they may be the Report therein referred to. Notwithstanding the great length of these Resolutions, the notice which was taken of Westchester-county and of Westchester-county interests, in their several provisions, render it necessary that they shall find a place in this narrative. They were in these words:

"WHEREAS the Continental Congress, by their Re-"solve of the sixth day of October last, did recom-"mend to the several Provincial Assemblies, and "Conventions, and Councils or Committees of Safety, "to arrest and secure every person in their respective "Colonies, whose going at large might, in their opin-"ion, endanger the safety of the Colony or the lib-"erties of America:

"AND WHEREAS, from sundry informations and "evidences exhibited to this Congress, it appears "that the enemies of American Liberty, in this and "the neighbouring Colonies, have a general com-"munication with each other, by reason whereof "the influence of the British Ministry, however "feeble, is, in some measure, sustained, and the "minds of the people frequently alarmed and poi-"soned by false reports and misrepresentations, pur-"posely framed and propagated with design to pro-"mote the views and machinations of the enemies of "America.

"AND WHEREAS certain persons in Queens-county, "Kings-county, the City and County of New York, "Richmond-county, and Westchester-county have "been represented to this Congress as disaffected to "the American cause, and, together with others in "various parts of this Colony who, having little or no "property in it, or regard for its Rights, may be in-"fluenced, by the hope of plunder and confiscation, "to take an active part with our enemies, whenever "it may, in their opinions, be done with success:

"AND WHEREAS, from various reports and the best "intelligence which could be obtained from Europe, "as well as from the positive assertions of the dis-"affected throughout this and the neighbouring Col-"onies, there is great reason to expect that an hostile "armament will soon arrive in this Colony, whereby "it hath become highly expedient and necessary to "provide that the inhabitants of this Colony, while "employed in repelling a foreign invasion, be not "injured or annoyed by domestic enemies:

"RESOLVED, THEREFORE, That the following per-"sons in Queens-county, the City and County of New "York, and Richmond-county, whose conduct has "been represented to this Congress as inimical to the "Cause and Rights of America, and who, if sum-

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Martis, 9 ho., A.M., May 28, "1776."

" moned, would probably not appear, but secrete " themselves, be arrested and brought before a Com- " mittee of this Congress, hereinafter nominated and " appointed, to wit:

" *In Queens-county.* — Richd. Hulett, Thos. Cor- " nell, Stephen Hulet, Jos. Beagle, of Rockaway; " John Kendall, at Danl. Thomas's, Flushing; John " Bodin, —— Chase, of Jamaica; John Hulet, of " Oyster Bay; and Isaac Denton, of near Rockaway.

" *In the City and County of New-York.*—Peter Mc- " Lean, Saml. Galsworthy, Francis De La Roach.[1]

" *In Richmond-county.*—Isaac Decker, Abm. Harris, " Ephm. Taylor, and Minne Burger.

" And that the following persons, in the Counties " aforesaid, and in the County of Westchester and " Kings-county, whose conduct has been represented " to this Congress as equally inimical with that of " the former, but who would probably appear on be- " ing summoned, be summoned by the said Committee " to appear before them, at such time and place as " they may appoint; and, in default of appearance, " on proof of the service of the summons, that they " be arrested in like manner as the former, to wit:

[*In the City and County of New-York,*] " Wm. " Newton, Linus King, John B. Dash, Henry Law, " Theop. Hardenbrook, Saml. Burling, John Woods, " Benjn. Williams, Christopher Benson, Wm. Bayard, " Fredk. Rhinelander, Jas. Coggeshall, John Mil- " liner, and Theot. Bache.

" *In Kings-county.* —Theo. Bache and Benjamin " James.

" *In Queens-county.* —Chas. Arden, John Moore, " Senr., and David Beatty, of Hempstead.

" *In Westchester-county.* — Fredk. Phillips, Caleb " Morgan, Nath. Underhill, Saml. Merrit, Peter Corne, " Peter Huggeford, James Horton, Junr., Wm. Sutton, " Wm. Barker, Joshua Purdy, and Absalom Gidney.

" Which said Committee are hereby authorized and " required impartially to inquire and determine " whether any, and which, of the said persons have " afforded aid or sustenance to the British Fleets or " Armies, contrary to the Resolutions of the Conti- " nental Congress or of the Provincial Congress or " Committee of Safety of this Colony, or been active " in dissuading any of the inhabitants of this Colony " from associating for the defence of the United Col- " onies, against the unjust claims and hostile attacks " of the British Parliament; decried the value of the " Continental money, and endeavoured to prevent its " currency, contrary to the Resolutions of the Conti- " nental Congress or Provincial Congress or Com- " mittee of Safety of this Colony; or been concerned " or actually engaged in any schemes to defeat, retard, " or oppose the measures now pursuing by the United " Colonies, for their defence against the tyrannical " and cruel attacks of the British Ministry or their " allies, adherents, or agents.

" That all such of the said persons as shall be " found by the said Committee to be innocent of the " said offences be immediately discharged; and that a " Certificate of such acquittal and of the true light " in which they may respectively appear to the said " Committee, under the hands of the said Committee, " be given to them, the said several persons so acquit- " ted; and that they also report to this Congress, the " names of the persons so acquitted, that the same " may be entered on their Journals and published, to " the end that the reputation of such innocent persons " may not suffer or be injured by their having been so " arrested. PROVIDED, NEVERTHELESS, that if the " said persons so to be acquitted should appear in a " suspicious light to the said Committee, that the said " Committee proceed against them, in the manner " hereinafter prescribed for their conduct against " persons of a suspicious and equivocal character.

" And with respect to all such of the said persons " as the Committee shall find guilty of all or any of " the said offences, the said Committee are hereby " authorized and required to commit to safe custody, " all such of them whose going at large would, in " their opinion, endanger the safety of the Colony or " the Liberties of America; and that they discharge " the remainder of them, on their giving Bond, with " good security, to the President of the Provincial " Congress, for the time being, by name, to cease and " forbear all opposition to the Resolutions and meas- " ures of the Continental Congress or Provincial Con- " gress or Committee of Safety of this Colony, for the " defence of the United Colonies against the unjust " claims and hostile operations of the British Minis- " try to enforce them.

" And in case it should appear to the said Commit- " tee, inexpedient that any of the said persons should " continue to dwell at his usual place of residence, " that, then, they do assign to such person or persons " another place of residence, in this or one of the " neighbouring Colonies, and take his or their parole, " or word of honour, or, if they should not be deemed " sufficient, other security, to abide there and not " leave it, without license from this or a future Con- " gress; and, in case of refusal to give such parole and " security, to commit him or them to safe custody.

" AND WHEREAS it may happen that the said " Committee may be informed of other dangerous " persons, not herein named, whom it would be ex- " pedient and necessary to summon or apprehend:

" RESOLVED, That the said Committee be and they

[1] As an illustration of the *manner* in which people were *secretly* put into danger, at that time, the following instance, relating to these three men is presented:

"An information, signed by Aaron Stockholm, Samuel Prince, John " Bogert, and Thomas Gardner, referred to this Congress by the General " Committee of the City of New-York, charging Peter McClean, Samuel " Galsworthy, Francis Delaroach, and a young man, in military cloth- " ing, of their acquaintance, with uttering sentiments highly inimical " and dangerous to the cause of America, was read and filed.

"ORDERED, That the names be added to the list of dangerous, disaf- "fected persons, to be apprehended," (*Journal of the Provincial Congress,* " Die Jovis, 9 ho.. A.M., May 30, 1776.")

"hereby are authorized and required to cause such "persons to be summoned or apprehended, as they "may think proper, and to proceed against them, in "the same manner as is herein before directed, with "respect to the persons herein particularly mentioned.

"AND WHEREAS employing detachments of the "Militia of this Colony, in arresting the said persons, "will not only be expensive, but the assembling of "them may alarm the suspicions of the said persons "and their adherents, and, thereby, tend to defeat "the design of these Resolutions; and as the Con-"tinental troops quartered in and near the said three "Counties of New-York, Queens, and Richmond, may "be employed in the said business, with little trouble "to themselves and with greater prospect of success:

"RESOLVED, THEREFORE, That the said Committee "be and they hereby are authorized to confer with "the Commander-in-Chief of the said troops, and to "request of him such detachments of them as may be "necessary for the purpose aforesaid; and that he "give orders that the said detachments, while so em-"ployed, be under the direction of the said Committee "or of discreet persons to be by them appointed.

"PROVIDED, NEVERTHELESS, That the said Com-"mittee are hereby empowered to employ such de-"tachments of the Militia as they may think exped-"ient for the purpose aforesaid.

"AND WHEREAS there may be, and doubtless are, "in other Counties of this Colony, divers dangerous "persons at present unknown to this Congress:

"RESOLVED, That it be recommended to the Com-"mittees of all Counties in this Colony, to be vigilant, "and to use their utmost endeavours, from time to "time, to discover and summon or apprehend them, "in like manner as herein before described with "respect to the persons hereby ordered to be arrested, "and to report their proceedings therein to the Con-"gress of this Colony for the time being.

"AND WHEREAS it may often happen that the "Committees of Towns and other districts in a County "may discover many dangerous persons whom it would "be proper, immediately, to secure, in which case an "application to the County Committee would not only "be attended with great delay, but would also afford "such dangerous persons an opportunity to escape:

"RESOLVED, THEREFORE, That the said Commit-"tees of the different Towns and Districts in the "several Counties in this Colony be and they hereby "are authorized and required to cause all persons "whom they may esteem dangerous and disaffected to "appear before them, either by arrest or summons, as "the said Committees, in their discretion, may think "proper, and take from the said persons respectively, "good and sufficient security to appear before the "General Committee of the County, at such time and "place as they shall order him to attend, and, then "and there, to answer such matters as shall, before "the said General Committee, be alleged against him; "and, on refusal to give such security, to commit to "safe custody the said person or persons so refusing, "until the next meeting of the said General Com-"mittee, with whom the accusation against the said "dangerous and disaffected person or persons ought, "forthwith, to be lodged by the Committee of the "Town or District by whom they may be apprehended, "summoned, or committed, as aforesaid.

"AND WHEREAS there is, in this Colony, divers "persons who, by reason of their holding Offices from "the King of Great Britain, from their having neg-"lected or refused to associate with their fellow citi-"zens, for the defence of their common Rights, from "their having never manifested, by their conduct, a "zeal for and attachment to the American cause, or "from their having maintained an equivocal neutral-"ity, have been considered by their countrymen in a "suspicious light, whereby it hath become necessary, "as well for the safety as for the satisfaction of the "people, who, in times so dangerous and critical, are "naturally led to consider those as their enemies who "withhold from them their aid and influence:

"RESOLVED, That the following persons, who are "generally supposed to come under the above descrip-"tion, to wit:

"*In the City and County of New-York.*—Oliver De "Lancey, Chas. W. Apthorpe, William Smith, John "Harris Cruger, Jas. Jauncey, Junr., Wm. Axtell, "Goldsbrow Banyar, Geo. Brewerton, Chas. Nicoll, "Gerard Walton, Donald McLean, Chas. McEvers, "Benjn. Hugget, Wm. McAdam, John Cruger, Ja-"cob Walton, Robert Bayard, Peter Graham, Peter "Van Schaack, Andrew Elliot, David Mathews, John "Watts, Junr., and Thomas Jones.

"*In Kings-county.*—Augustus Van Cortlandt and "John Rapalje.

"*In Richmond-county.*—Benjamin Seaman and "Christopher Billop.

"*In Queens-county.*—Gabriel Ludlow, Saml. Mar-"tin, Thos. Jones,[1] Archd. Hamilton, David Colden, "Richd. Colden, Geo. D. Ludlow, Whitehead Hicks, "Saml. Clowes, Geo. Folliot, Saml. Doughty, Danl. "Kissam, Gilbt. Van Wyck, John Willett, David "Brooks, Charles Hicks, John Townsend, John Pol-"hemus, Benjn. Whitehead, Thomas Smith, John "Shoals, Nathl. Moore, Saml. Hallett, Wm. Wey-"man, Thos. Hicks, at Rockaway, Benjamin Lester.

"*In Westchester-county.*[2]—Solomon Fowler[3] and "Richard Morris.[4]

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[1] Thomas Jones, one of the Associate Judges of the Supreme Court of the Colony, was the author of that exceedingly valuable *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, to which so many references are made, in this narrative. His wife, Anne, was the third daughter of Chief-justice and Lieutenant-governor James De Lancey, which was largely the ground of his offence before the leaders of the Rebellion.

[2] The smallness of the list of the proscribed in Westchester-county may, probably, be accounted for by the fact that Judge Thomas, and Major Van Cortlandt, and the greater number of the Colonial Office-holders, in that County, were masquerading, locally, with the revolutionary party.

[3] Solomon Fowler appears to have been of Eastchester.

[4] Richard Morris was the Judge of the Colonial Court of Admiralty

"And also all such other persons of the like char-
" acter as the said Committee may think proper to be
" summoned by the said Committee, to appear before
" them, at such time and place as they shall appoint,
" then and there to show cause, if any they have,
" why they should be considered as friends to the
" American cause, and as of the number of those who
" are ready to risk their lives and fortunes in defence
" of the Rights and Liberties of America, against the
" usurpation, unjust claims, and cruel oppressions of
" the British Parliament, which Rights and Liberties
" and which unjust claims and cruel oppressions are
" specified and stated in divers *Addresses*, *Petitions*,
" and *Resolutions* of the present and late Continental
" Congress, and, in default of appearance, the said
" Committee, on proof made of the service of the
" said Summons, are authorized and directed to cause
" them to be arrested and brought before them, by
" Warrant, under their hands, directed to any Militia
" Officer in this Colony, who is hereby directed to ex-
" ecute the same.

"And if, on the appearance and examination of
" the said persons, it shall appear to the satisfaction
" of the said Committee that they or any of them are
" friends to the American cause, that such of them
" whom they shall so adjudge to be friends, be forth-
" with discharged, and a Certificate thereof, under
" the hands of the said Committee, given them, and
" their names forthwith reported to this Congress,
" to the end that the same may be entered on their
" *Journals*, and published, and justice thereby done
" to their characters and reputations. And it is fur-
" ther

"RESOLVED, That all such of the said persons as
" the said Committee shall not adjudge and deter-
" mine to be friends to the American cause, the said
" Committee be and they hereby are required to treat
" and dispose of in the following manner, to wit:

"That such of them as may be men of influence in
" the neighbourhood of the place of their present resi-
" dence, be removed to such place, in this or a neigh-
" bouring Colony, as will deprive them of an oppor-
" tunity of exerting that influence to the prejudice of
" the American cause, and respectively bound by
" their parole or word of honour or other security, at
" the discretion of the said Committee, neither di-
" rectly or indirectly to oppose or contravene the
" measures of the Continental Congress or the Con-
" gress of this Colony, and to abide in the place and
" within the limits so to be assigned them, till the
" further order of the present or future Provincial
" Congress or Continental Congress; and in case they
" shall refuse to give such parole or other security, to
" commit them to safe custody.

"And as to such of the said persons whose removal,
" in the judgment of the said Committee, shall not
" appear necessary, that the said Committee do cause
" them to be respectively bound with such security,
" by parole or otherwise, as the said Committee shall
" deem necessary, neither directly or indirectly to
" oppose or contravene the measures of the Conti-
" nental Congress of this Colony. PROVIDED, NEVER-
" THELESS, that the said Committee shall be and they
" are hereby authorized, in case they shall, on
" inquiry, find any or either of the said persons to be
" so dangerous as that they ought not to be admitted
" to go at large, to order such of them to be kept in
" safe custody.

"RESOLVED, That the said Committee and the
" County Committees keep a just record of all their
" proceedings, in pursuance of these Resolutions,
" and report the same, with the substance of the
" evidence offered to them, for and against the several
" persons who shall be by them apprehended, sum-
" moned, tried, and examined by virtue of the afore-
" going Resolutions; and that they have power to
" send for witnesses and papers.

"RESOLVED, That the said Committee consist of
" the following gentlemen, to wit: Mr. Morris, Col.
" Remsen, Mr. John Ten Broeck, Mr. Haring, Mr.
" Tredwell, Col. Lewis Graham, and Mr. Hallett;[1]
" and that any five of them be a quorum; and that
" before they enter on the business herein before
" assigned them, they and also all such of the County
" Committees as may be engaged in carrying these

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the jurisdiction of which extended over Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey. His father had occupied the place, before him; he had occupied it since August 2, 1762; and he was, also, Clerk of the Courts of Nisi Prius and General Jail Delivery. He was a brother of Lewis Morris, the Delegate in the Continental Congress, and of Staats Long Morris, an officer in the Royal Army, and husband of the Dowager Duchess of Gordon; and Gouverneur Morris was his half-brother. He was, also, the grandfather of Lewis G. Morris, of Fordham Heights.

Although he was classed, in these Resolutions, among those who occupied "an equivocal neutrality"—he preferred to retain his hold on the Royal Treasury as long as possible; and the studied denunciation of him, in these Resolutions, was admirably adapted to secure the steady payment of his Salary and Fees, and to secure the family estates, in case the Rebellion should be suppressed—just eight weeks after the presentation of this Report, he was appointed, by the same Provincial Congress who had received and adopted this formidable series of Resolutions, to the Bench of the new-formed revolutionary Court of Admiralty; and, three years subsequently, when John Jay ceased to be Chief-justice of the new State, this Richard Morris was appointed to succeed him, in that honorable and influential position. He held the latter office until September, 1790.

The controlling power among the revolutionary elements, in the Colony as well as in the new-formed State, was not slow to reward the Morris family with offices and emoluments; and the latter was equally watchful of its own interests, in accepting whatever was offered.

[1] Of these, Gouverneur Morris and Lewis Graham were from Westchester-county; Henry Remsen and Joseph Hallett were from the City and County of New York; John Ten Broeck was from Albany-county; John Haring was from Orange-county; and Thomas Tredwell was from Suffolk. Subsequently, as will be seen hereafter, Henry Remsen was excused from serving on the Committee; and John Jay, of the City and County of New York, and John Sloss Hobart, of Suffolk, were added to it. At a still later date, Philip Livingston, of the City and County of New York, was also added; and Leonard Gansevoort, of Albany-county, was substituted for John Ten Broeck. After the Committee had become organized, John Haring retired from it, Thomas Randall, of New York, taking his place. A few days before the Congress was disbanded, Joseph Hallett left the Committee.

"Resolutions into execution severally take an oath, "diligently, impartially, without fear, favour, affec- "tion, or hope of reward, to execute and discharge "the duties imposed on them, by the aforegoing "Resolutions.

"RESOLVED, That the said Committee appoint "such persons as they may think proper, to repair to "the said Counties [1] to inquire for and procure the "witnesses against the persons herein directed to be "arrested or summoned to appear, and give evidence "against the said persons, before the said Committee; "and that the said persons be paid for their trouble at "the rate of fifteen shillings for each day they shall "respectively be employed on that service; and that "the witnesses they may direct to attend, as afore- "said, be paid their reasonable expenses for travelling "charges and subsistence, to be certified and allowed "by the said Committee; which Certificate shall be "a Warrant to the Treasurer of this Congress, to pay "the persons in whose favour such Certificate shall "be given, the sum or sums therein allowed, as afore- "said." [2]

On the fourteenth [3] and fifteenth of June,[4] those who were members of the Committee, took the oath required of them; on the last-named day, John McKesson, who was one, the principal one, of the Secretaries of the Provincial Congress, was made the Secretary of the Committee, also; [5] and, with a full retinue of Assistant-secretaries, Messengers, Door-keepers, and other Officers,[6] on the same day, Philip Livingston, Joseph Hallett, John Jay, Thomas Tredwell, Gouverneur Morris, Lewis Graham, and Leonard Gansevoort—Livingston, Jay, and Gansevoort having been meanwhile added to the Committee—being present, the Committee proceeded to the discharge of the duties which had been laid on it.[7]

This secretly acting, inquisitorial body, of which John Jay was made the Chairman, held secret sessions on the fifteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, twenty-first, twenty-second, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-ninth of June,[8] beyond which period we do not propose, at this time, to follow it; and on the following day, when the Provincial Congress itself was disbanded and fled, every member of this mighty Committee, with the single exception of Gouverneur Morris, had, also, left the City.[9] Besides receiving an anonymous information that William Sutton, of Mamaroneck, had been heard to say "that, in case "Independency was declared by the Continental Con- "gress, there were three Colonels in the Service who "would join the Ministerial Party;" [10] and the issue of Summonses to Frederic Philipse, of Yonkers, Richard Morris, of Scarsdale, and Samuel Merritt, of the Manor of Cortlandt, to appear and answer before the Committee, on the third of July; the issue of similar Summonses to Solomon Fowler, of Eastchester, Nathaniel Underhill, of Westchester, and James Horton, Junior, and William Sutton, both of Mamaroneck, to appear and answer, on the fourth of July; the issue of similar Summonses to Peter Corne and Doctor Peter Huggeford, both of Westchester-county, to appear and answer, on the fifth of July; and the issue of similar Summonses to William Barker, Joshua Purdy, and Absalom Gedney, all of Westchester-county, to appear and answer, on the sixth of July,[11] the Committee appears to have done nothing which particularly concerned Westchester-county, during the period now under consideration; and, for the present, its doings are dismissed.[12] It may not be

[1] It appears from the words in the text, that Richmond, Kings, Queens, New York, and Westchester-counties were all which were to be favored with the attention of that revolutionary Inquisition; and, as far as the proceedings of that infamous body have been permitted to be exposed to the scrutiny of honest and earnest inquirers, no evidence appears that residents of other Counties were subjected to its despotic practices.

[2] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., June "5, 1776."

There are internal evidences, in the two papers, that the Resolutions which the Provincial Congress had adopted, on the twenty-fourth of May (*page 342, ante*) and those which are now under consideration, were written by the same hand; and there is evidence which cannot be misunderstood, that that hand was not John Jay's, as some have supposed, but Gouverneur Morris's. It is true that Doctor Sparks made no mention of the subject, in his *Life of Gouverneur Morris*—it was not his purpose to expose the weaknesses and the wrong doings of his aristocratic and pretentious subject, but to magnify the man and his doings, and to eulogize them—and all those who have preceded us in narrating the events of that period, have, also, preferred to know nothing of this infamous enactment and of its consequences; but it was really enacted, in New York, for the promotion of the purposes of intended confiscations of individual and family properties; and, unquestionably, Gouverneur Morris was the author of it, and one of the master-spirits in the execution of its provisions.

[3] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Friday Afternoon, June 14, "1776."

[4] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Sabbati, A.M., June 15, "1776."

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] *Minutes of the Committee to Detect Conspiracies*, "Die Sabbati, 12 ho., "June 15, 1776."

[8] *The Minutes of the Committee*, during the brief period which elapsed between the date of its organization and that of the dissolution of the Provincial Congress—which, also, by all parliamentary and statutory law, dissolved the Committee which was only its agent—are scattered, in various places, and generally in manuscript, and unprinted. Of the Minutes of the Meetings referred to in the text—and, in this place, we do not propose to refer to any of subsequent dates—carefully made copies, from the scattered originals, have been examined, in every instance.

[9] Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, ii., 296.

On that day, Judge Jones, who had been summoned before the Committee and had come to the City of New York, to answer the Summons, found only Gouverneur Morris; and by the latter, he was paroled and permitted to return to his home, in Queens-county.

[10] An anonymous Information, forwarded by John Thomas, Junior, Chairman, "IN COMMITTEE OF SAFETY, WHITE PLAINS, June 23, 1776," among the papers of the Committee, of the same day.

[11] *Minutes of the Committee to Detect Conspiracies*, "Thursday, A.M., "June 27, 1776."

[12] Those who are interested in the methods of this Committee, the subsequently much eulogized Chief-justice of the State of New York and Chief-justice of the United States being the presiding officer, may see the forms of its *Summons* and its *Parole*, in Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, ii., 295, 296; the forms of its *Warrants*, in its *Minutes* of June 19, 22, and 24, 1776; and those of its various *Bonds*, in its *Minutes* of June 24, 25, 26, and 27, 1776.

The future eulogists of John Jay and Gouverneur Morris may advan-

improper for us to state, however, that, thirteen days after its sessions were interrupted, in the general panic which was produced by General Howe's arrival, there remained twenty-seven prisoners, confined in the cells in the City Hall, and forty-three, including the Mayor of the City, in those of the new Jail.[1]

It would appear incredible that such a relentless spirit of partisan bitterness could have been entertained, at such a time, in such a body as the Provincial Congress of New York; but the records of the Congress which clearly avowed such bitterness, and those of the Committee which it created for the purpose of executing its malignant enactments, to say nothing of the unwritten and other informal testimony of the terrorism which was at once revived, and the renewed activity, in persecution, of every petty Precinct, District, and Town Committee, all bear ample testimony to the fact that personal animosities and partisan malignity had so entirely overwhelmed the reason and the judgment and the humanity of the aristocratic leaders of the Rebellion, in their haughty demands for uniformity of opinion as well as of practice, in religion as well as in politics,[2] that not even the near approach of an avowed and powerful enemy nor the severely pressing necessity of preparing to receive and to successfully oppose that not distant enemy could check their headlong and reckless work of arousing those, among themselves, victims of their former oppression and plunder and outrage—many of whom, nevertheless, would have remained passive spectators of the struggle—and of forcing them, in retaliation and self-defence, to become earnest and active, if not desperate, belligerents, on the side and in support of the Crown.

As portions of the general subject of proscription, mention may be properly made, in this place, of two or three instances which occurred in Westchester-county.

It appears that it had become the practise of several of the local Committees—those in Westchester-county, in some instances, having been of the number—of sending those who were offensive to them, without the slightest authority, revolutionary or conservative, to the Forts in the Highlands, which were then garrisoned with Continental troops, "with orders "to the commanding Officers to keep them at hard "labor, until further orders," no matter what the disability of the victims to sustain such hardships may have been—a process concerning the propriety of which even General Putnam, who was then the Officer in command of the Army, in the absence of General Washington, entertained some very reasonable and very clearly expressed doubts;[3] and the Provincial Congress, in consequence of those doubts and of other considerations, was constrained to countermand those portions of the commitments to those Forts, which had imposed hard labor on the prisoners.[4]

Another instance of that spirit of persecution was seen in the movement of Egbert Benson, one of those who were controlled more by their haughty and ill-controlled wills than by any enactment of Committee or Congress or by any requirement of personal or political integrity, for the employment of a local force, in the service and pay of the Colony, for the purpose of "keeping the peace and order and to suppress the "disaffected in Duchess-county."[5] The "requisi-"tion," for by that expressive word the call of Benson was then known, was duly referred to the Deputations from Duchess, Westchester, and Ulster-counties, for consideration and report—Gouverneur Morris, Samuel Haviland, Jonathan G. Tompkins, and Lewis Graham, representing Westchester-county;[6] and, on the following day, that Committee recommended the employment of one hundred men in Duchess-county and fifty men in Westchester-county, "the said men "to be raised in the said Counties respectively, and "confined to the service of those Counties, and to "continue in pay until the first day of November "next, unless sooner discharged by this or a future "Congress."[7]

There appears to have been a serious opposition to the adoption of the Report, New York City and County leading in the opposition, but it was, nevertheless, adopted;[8] and, two days afterwards, [*June* 22, 1776,]

tageously read, from these *Minutes*, what those distinguished lawyers were capable of doing, judicially, when they were within closed and closely guarded doors; what they, then, regarded as offences before the law; the methods which they adopted, in their inquisitorial process; and what their judgments were and what penalties they inflicted..

With these instances of the capabilities of those two men before us, we have been enabled to understand, more clearly than ever before, some of actions of the Chief Justice and of the Ambassador which, previously, had needed additional explanation.

[1] *List of Prisoners in the City Hall, New York*, July 12, 1776, and *List of Prisoners in the New Goal*, among the papers of the Committee—*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, XXXIV., 490.

[2] It will be remembered that the *opinions* of its victims, on questions of Law, of Legislation, and of Political Economy, were regarded as matters of offence, even where no *act* which was obnoxious had been charged against them; and that, for those *opinions*, only, in many instances, those victims were subjected to punishment. It will be remembered, also, that the leaders of the Rebellion assumed the right of determining when and in what manner religious services should be conducted by the Churches, in the Colonies, and those for whom Churches and individuals should and should not offer their prayers to Almighty God. In Connecticut, every Episcopalian Church, except one, was closed, because the Clergy would not submit to the requirements concerning their prayers to God; and in that single exception, the courageous preacher maintained his relations with his Master, notwithstanding the opposition; and the cowards did not seriously disturb him.

[3] *General Putnam to the Provincial Congress*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, NEW-"YORK, June 3, 1776."

[4] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Lunæ, 4 ho., P.M., June 3, "1776."

[5] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Wednesday morning, June 19, "1776;" and *the same*, "Wednesday afternoon, June 19, 1776."

[6] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Wednesday afternoon, June 19, "1776."

[7] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Thursday morning, June 20, "1776."

[8] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Thursday morning, June 20, "1776."

after various manipulations, in a second Committee,[1] by "one of the Secretaries,"[2] and by the Congress itself,[3] the subject was disposed of, in a series of Resolutions, which, it is said, "were unanimously ap-'proved of."

As that entire subject relates to the local history of Westchester-county, at that period, and to the establishment of a military police force, in that County, evidently for the more effectual prosecution of the proposed operations of the recently created "Committee to detect Conspiracies" among the peaceable conservative residents of that County—as no complaint had been made, by any one, of the slightest breach of the peace, in that County, and as its local County Committee had made no application for the establishment of such a military police force, for any purpose, there can be no doubt that, as far as the Company in Westchester-county was concerned, the project was a creation of the Deputation from that County, and for no other purpose than that of assisting the "Committee to Detect Conspiracies," of which Committee two members of that Delegation were also members, in harrying the conservative farmers of the County, in the interest of "the cause of America" and that of the leaders of the Rebellion, in New York—for these reasons, the Resolutions may properly find a place in this narrative. They were in these words:

"WHEREAS, there are sundry disaffected and dan-"gerous persons, in the Counties of Dutchess and "Westchester, who do now greatly disturb the peace "of the said Counties, and will most probably take up "arms, whensoever the enemy shall make a descent "upon this Colony, to the great annoyance of the said "Counties, in particular, and of others the good peo-"ple of this Colony:

"AND WHEREAS, by reason of the several drafts "which have been made in the said Counties, accord-"ing to the late recommendation of the Continental "Congress, the Militia thereof are rendered incapable "of keeping peace and order in the said Counties, "without great inconvenience to themselves and much "injury to and neglect of their private property; and, "inasmuch as the interest of this Colony may be ma-"terially affected by any dissentions which may pre-"vail in the said Counties, while the Continental "troops are engaged in the defence of those Counties "more immediately exposed to the inroads of the "enemy: therefore

"RESOLVED, That one hundred men, Officers in-"cluded, be raised in Dutchess-county, and that fifty "men, Officers included, be raised in Westchester-"county, and taken into the pay and service of this "Congress, and confined to the service of those Coun-"ties, and to continue in pay until the first day of "November next, unless sooner discharged by this or "a future Congress of this Colony:

"That the one hundred men to be raised in Dutch-"ess-county be divided into two Companies, each "Company to consist of one Captain, one Lieutenant, "three Sergeants, three Corporals, one Fifer, one "Drummer, and forty Privates; and that the fifty "men to be raised in Westchester-county consist of "one Captain, one Lieutenant, three Sergeants, three "Corporals, one Fifer, one Drummer, and forty Pri-"vates; that the pay of those three Companies be "the same as the pay of the Continental troops; that "the Captains be allowed eighteen shillings each, "per week; the Lieutenants be allowed twelve shil-"lings each, per week; and the Sergeants, Corporals, "Fifers, Drummers, and Privates, eight shillings "each, per week, in lieu of all rations and subsistence:

"That Melancton Smith be appointed Captain of "one of the said Companies to be raised in Dutchess-"county; and that John Durlin be appointed Cap-"tain of the other; and that Micah Townsend be "appointed Captain of the said Company to be raised "in Westchester-county:

"That the General Committees of the said Coun-"ties be authorized to nominate and appoint the "Subaltern Officers to the said Companies, in their "Counties, respectively:

"That the said three Companies be deemed one "Corps; and that Melancton Smith be Captain Com-"mandant; that Micah Townsend be the second "Captain in rank; and that John Durlin be the "third Captain in rank, in the said Corps:

"That the General Committees of the said Coun-"ties be authorized and requested to appoint a Mus-"ter-master in their respective Counties, to muster "the said Companies; and that they transmit the "names of such Muster-masters to the Committee "appointed to audit the accounts of this Congress, "without delay:

"That the said three Companies be subject to the "order and direction of the General Committee of "their respective Counties or such other person or "persons as this or a future Congress of this Colony "shall direct.

"ORDERED, That a certified copy of the aforesaid "Resolutions be transmitted to the General Commit-"tees of Dutchess and Westchester-counties. And

"ORDERED, That Commissions be immediately "issued to the Captains, and that blank Commissions "be sent to the said Committees, to be by them issued "to the Lieutenants."

It will be seen that no provisions were made by the Provincial Congress for either the recruiting, or the equipment, or the quarters, or the transportation of these men; and there will be some among the readers of this narrative who will say that if fifty unarmed, scattered men, on foot, could surely ensure the peace of so large and so widely extended a community as Colonial Westchester-county—and if those men

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Friday afternoon, June 21, 1776."
[2] Ibid.
[3] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Saturday morning, June 22, "1776."

could not surely preserve that peace, their appointment were useless—the inhabitants of that County could not have been as "dangerous" and its peace could not have been as "greatly disturbed" as the authors and promoters of these Resolutions had falsely pretended, among the recitals of their Preamble: others will suspect, not without reason, that the entire movement was a purely political job, gotten up for the purpose of affording political sop, at the expense of the Colony, for hungry adherents of the Bensons and the Morrise—suspicions which would be well-founded, since neither of the Duchess-county Companies were subsequently known in history, exceptthrough the requisition on the Treasurer of the Colony, for their Pay and Subsistence;[1] while the Westchester-county Company, without having become known to history, in its capacity of an armed police, is known, in the military annals of the State,[2] for having done nothing else than changed its Lieutenant,[3] for asking for greater Pay,[4] and for drawing the Pay which was legitimately due to it.[5]

Another instance of the spirit of partisan bitterness which prevailed, at that time, in Westchester-county, and of the unholy zeal with which the Town Committees urged forward the work of persecution and plunder, among their conservative neighbors, may be seen in the following note which was addressed by the Chairman of the Committee of the Town of Salem, in that County—that Committee which, a short time previously, had laid an embargo on Cattle intended for the supply of the inhabitants of the City of New York[6]—to the Provincial Congress:

"To the Honble. the Provincial Congress,
"New York:

"The Committee of Salem, in Westchester-county, "have the unhappiness of having a large number of "the inhabitants very much opposed to the measures "of the United Colonies, and numbers of them are "determined not to comply nor adopt the doings of "the Congress, which makes a great deal of trouble "for said Committee. Said Committee has adver-"tised some, obliged others to give bonds, some of "one or two hundred pounds, some of which have "forfeited their bonds and run off, and have made "considerable costs, one in particular, in sending "after him. We desire to know what shall be done "with the forfeitures, and likewise how to proceed in "taking of it, and how to turn it into money if taken "in stock or whatever else, or whether or no the Con-"gress wont take the forfeitures and pay the cost; "we desire you would give us some rules and direc-"tions how to proceed. And likewise, those men "that still behave inimical, and put the Committees "to so much trouble, whether or no we might not "take cost of them to pay us what is reasonable for

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Veneris, Novr. 1, 1776, 4 "o'clock, P.M."

[2] The only allusion to military duty discharged by this Company, which we have found, is that *Order* of the Provincial Congress, on the twenty-fifth of July, "that Captain Townsend of Westchester-county "return to duty, with his Company, at the mouth of Croton-river and "such places adjacent as the Officer or Officers commanding the Ameri "can troops or Militia, there, shall direct," (*Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Thursday morning, July 25, 1776;") which was certainly beyond the line of duties for which it had been specifically raised.

[3] The County Committee, agreeably to the Resolutions of the Provincial Congress, presented in the text, appointed Samuel Townsend to the Lieutenantcy of this Company. Subsequently, Lieutenant Townsend was promoted to the command of another Company; and, on the sixteenth of August, Zephania Miller was appointed to the vacant Lieutenantcy, (*The General Committee of Westchester-county to the Convention of the State*, "August 16, 1776;" *Journal of the Provincial Convention*, "Die Veneris, "9 ho., A.M., August 16, 1776.")

[4] The following, copied from the original manuscript, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Petitions*, xxxiii., 103, 104,) will be interesting to our readers, in this connection:

"To the Honorable the Convention of the State of New-York.

"The Petition of the Lieutenant non-commissioned officers & Privates "belonging to Captn Micah Townsend's company raised to be under the "Direction of the Committee of Westchester County, Humbly Sheweth,

"That the Honorable the Provincial Congress of this Colony when "they gave Instructions for raising Captn Townsend's Company allowed "the Lieutenant 12s. per week, and the non commissioned officers and "privates 8s. per week in lieu of Rations and Subsistance.

"That at and near the White Plains (which is the head Quarters of "the Company) the allowance for their subsistance does not amount to "near enough to support them, they being unable to get victuals for "less than 1s. per Meal, or to hire their Board at any tolerable rate but "by the week; that your Petitioners entered the Company & Did duty "in the most busy season of the year before & during Harvest time & "have had a harder share of duty than the Troops who were allowed by "your honorable House 20 Dollars Bounty & who have generally "received near 40 Dollars.

"Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray that your honorable House "will be pleased to increase the Pay for their Subsistance so far as to "enable them when they live with Frugality to support themselves by it "in the part of the County where they may reside, or be ordered. And "your Petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray, &c.

"Zephaniah Miller, Lieutenant,	William Fredenborough,
"Jacob Travis, Serjent,	Jonathan Ferris,
"William Martin,* Serjent,	Robert Bloomer, Junr,
"Joshua Mead, Serjent,	Samuel Howell,
"Reuben Bloomer, Corpl,	Uriah Travis, Ju.,
"Thomas Brooks, Corpl,	Jonathan Finch,
"James Strobdy, Corpl,	John Travis,
"Anthony Miller, Fifar,	James Miller, Junr,
"James Carpenter,	Zecheas Dible,
"William Williamson,	Absolim Hutchins,
"Elven Hyot,	Daniel Dean,
"William Sniffon,	Jeremiah Rozelle,
"Moses Higons,	John Mills,
"John Beaks,	Jerediah Owen,
"William Seaman,	Benjamin fretenborough,
"Elijah Millor, Junr,	Thomas Ramond,
"Nathan Holmes,	John Broadstreet,
"Samuel Lyon, Junr,	Samuel Miller,
"Stephen Munday,	Robert Merritt.
"Frederick Datin,	

"In Committee of Safety for the County of Westchester "at the White Plains, Septr 2nd 1776.

"Resolved, that this Committee recommend to the honble the Con-"vention of this State the reasonableness of increasing the Subsistance "Money for Captn Townsend's Company as they are of opinion that 8s "per week per Man is not a sufficient provision for them.

"By order of the Committee,
"John Thomas, Junr, *Chairman.*"

*The Deposition of John Martine, "of the Manor of Philipsburg near "the White Plains," (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.; *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxv., 273,) shows that this was William Martine, his son.

[5] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "4 ho., P.M., Decr. 7, 1776."

[6] Vide pages 149, 150, ante.

"our time, for we grow weary of being called together "to deal with tories. That has been our whole busi- "ness ever since we have been formed as a Commit- "tee; it has cost me, in particular, not less than six "hundred miles riding, and I believe, at a moderate "guess, twenty or thirty dollars in cash, and I never "yet expected pay; but I find I cant live so, and if "the tories make all the trouble, why ought they not "to pay all the cost. Gentlemen, we only want or- "ders from you to take it. We have sent Mr. Ben. "Chapman to you, praying of you to send us some di- "rections on this important affair, one of the mem- "bers of this Committee.

"By order of the Committee,

"EZEKIEL HAWLEY,[1] *Chairman.*

"June 5th, 1776."

That letter was laid before the Provincial Congress, on Saturday evening, the eighth of June; and the *Journal* of that body states that it was "read and "filed,"[2] the Congress itself, as will be seen in its subsequent proceedings in the matter, hesitating, in view of its atrocious propositions, to give the authority which its writer had so unblushingly solicited.

With the fact before him, that the "large number "of the inhabitants" of the Town of Salem which was referred to, in that letter, was composed of farmers, neighbors of the writer of it, and peacefully and industriously pursuing their usual vocations; and, with the additional fact before him, that none of these were even pretended to have committed any other offense, against either the King or the Congress, than the entertainment of political opinions which were different from those entertained by Ezekiel Hawley and his handful of "patriotic" confederates, thereader will be enabled to judge, with some degree of accuracy, concerning the really diabolical character of the letter and that of him who had written it.

The number of those who were thus proscribed and whose properties were so eagerly hankered for, was said to have been "large;" the proposed victims were "inhabitants" of Salem, and neighbors of Hawley and his confederates; they were quietly pursuing their usual rural occupations, doing no harm to any one, and violating no law, although their opinions, on partisan political questions, were not in accord with those which the latter professed to hold; both, at the same time, concurring, however, in the recognition of the King of Great Britain as their legitimate Sovereign; both professing to be equally and entirely good and loyal subjects of that reigning Monarch; both owing obedience to the Laws of the Land; and both, alike, recognizing the duty of that obedience,[3] although only one of the two discharged that duty, in its every day practice. Against those unoffending farmers—as their accusers have shown, they were nothing else—with a malignant zeal which betrayed its selfish, puritanic origin, the writer of that letter prayed that they should be arrested; that their properties, real and personal, should be seized, and escheated, and confiscated; that "costs" should be paid, therefrom, into the willing hands of those who should have thus invaded their individual Rights—Rights which had been guaranteed to each of them, by the Constitution and the Laws of the land—that their homes should be violated and destroyed; that their families should be made beggars, and be cast penniless on the world; and that, except among those who thus sought warrants to become local despots, nothing else than individual and domestic misery and general devastation and ruin should be aimed at and obtained. Can anything more atrocious be conceived? Can those who could calmly and deliberately devise such outrages, to be inflicted on a peaceful community, and that community their own immediate neighbors and townsmen, be regarded as anything else than monstrosities, in human form, in which only the baser and most brutal passions had found places? But, after all, these—the letter and the passions which had inspired it and the hand which had written it—were only the legitimate outcome of the barbarous propositions which John Jay and Gouverneur Morris and their partisan associates, taking advantage of a short period of peculiar anxiety and of labors of more than usual variety and importance, had led the jaded and almost exhausted Provincial Congress, it may

[1] Mr. Bolton said this Hawley was a grandson of Rev. Thomas Hawley, Paster of the Congregational-church at Ridgefield, Connecticut; that he was one of the proprietors of the Oblong; that he held a Commission in the Continental Army; and that he was taken off by death, suddenly, in 1788. (*History of Westchester-county*, original edition, i., 474; *the same*, second edition, i., 738.)

The "Continental" Commission referred to, by Mr. Bolton, was nothing else than that of First Lieutenant in Captain Truesdale's Company of Colonial Militia, "for the North End of Salem"—a local Company of notoriously very little account, (*Returns of Election of Officers*, December 18, 1775, in the *Historical Manuscripts*, etc: *Military Returns*, xxvii., 245.)

[2] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Sabbati, 6 ho., P.M., June 8, "1776."

[3] "To do justice even to rebels, let it here be mentioned that * * * Nay, "so far were they from interfering with the law, that the Magistrates "continued in full possession of the Civil powers and the Courts of Jus- "tice were open in the usual manner until the Declaration of Indepen- "dence. In April Term, 1776, several rebel soldiers were indicted for "some Petty Larcenies, tried, convicted, and punished by order of the "Court without any interference of the Military; their Officers at- "tended the trials, heard the evidence, and upon their conviction de- "clared that ample justice was done them, and thanked the Judge for "his candor and impartiality, during the course of the trials."—Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 137.

Judge Jones, the writer of the above paragraph, was, at that time, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the Colony, and personally acquainted with the facts stated. His practice was, in matters in which he was personally concerned, to mention no name; and the context certainly seems to indicate that the Trial was in the City of New York; but the learned Editor of that remarkable work, has stated, in the *Index*, (ii., 691.) undoubtedly on competent authority, that the Court referred to was held at the White Plains, in Westchester-county; and that the presiding Judge of that Court was Thomas Jones, the writer of the work from which this paragraph was taken.

have been unwittingly, to establish as the formal enactments of that revolutionary body.[1]

As we have said, the letter which Ezekiel Hawley, in behalf of the Committee of the Town of Salem, wrote to the Provincial Congress, was laid before that body, on Saturday evening, the eighth of June; when it was read and filed.[2] On the following morning, [*Sunday, June* 9, 1775,] the Congress directed the following answer to be made to that remarkable letter:

"IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS,
"NEW-YORK, June 9, 1776.

"SIR:

"Your letter by Mr. Chapman, of the 5th inst., was "laid before the Congress, who are of opinion that "the contents require the most serious consideration, "and have directed me to acquaint you that whenever "several matters of importance for the general defense "and preservation of the Colony, now under consider- "ation, are despatched, the Committee of Salem may "be assured a proper attention will be made on their "application, the Congress not doubting that Commit- "tee will still persevere, with zeal in the cause of "their country.

"By order,
"NATHANIEL WOODHULL, *President.*

"To EZEKIEL HAWLEY, ESQR., *Chairman*
"*of the Committee of Salem, Westchester.*"[3]

Had Gouverneur Morris or John Jay been present, when the Provincial Congress received or when it answered that letter, the answer would probably have been of a different tenor; but John Morin Scott, who was present on both occasions, and whose master mind probably controlled, wisely halted, and evidently induced the Congress to halt, in the work of proposed persecution and devastation and ruin. The Committee of Salem was coldly dismissed, without even a word of sympathy; and the Provincial Congress paid no further attention to the subject.

With a persistency which was worthy of a better purpose, notwithstanding the rebuke which the Provincial Congress had thus administered, the Committee at Salem was not disposed to be thus relegated to the obscurity of a rural Town; and, subsequently, two other letters, relating to the same general subject of "the disaffected persons who were under bonds to "that Committee," were addressed by it, to the Congress. The first of these letters is in these words:

"GENTLEMEN:

"As our civil and religious privileges all lie at "stake, we that are friends thereto desire to lend a "lifting hand in trying to preserve them; and as the "tories grow more and more disaffected, and are daily "going off on to Long island—four men last week "from my neighborhood, several more from other "parts, Capt. Theal and his son John Lobdin, and "Stephen Delance" [*De Lancey ?*] "some of them "laid under £500. bonds and also the solemnity of an "oath—but they regard not any thing the Commit- "tee does with them, so long as they have their lib- "erty. It is supposed numbers are concealed on "Long island. Please to take it into your wise con- "sideration, whether or no it will not be best to send "and purge Long island; and as I wrote to you a "little back by Mr. Chapman, one of the members of "Salem Committee, to know what we should do with "those that forfeit their bonds, and how we should "get pay for the last, as there is since many more, we "should be glad of an answer.

"By order of the Committee,
"EZEKIEL HAWLEY, *Chairman.*

"SALEM, June 22d, 1776.

"To THE HONOURABLE THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS "OF NEW-YORK."[4]

Two days after that letter was written, [*June* 24, 1776,] the Sub-committees of Cortlandt and Salem united in the following letter, also addressed to the Provincial Congress; and in order to expedite the consideration of the subject to which it was devoted, by that body, Ezekiel Hawley was formally directed to forward it, "with all convenient speed."

"SALEM, 24th of June, 1776.

"GENTLEMEN:

"Whereas sundry persons of note have lately ab- "sconded from our part of the country, and we have "reason to think, from several circumstances, are "(with numbers of others) assembling together on

[1] The question of the extent to which the several Provincial Congresses, uninfluenced by the outside pressure of homemade partisan demonstrations or by the inside domination of those who assumed to social or intellectual superiority, would have given their authority for the enactment and execution of such violent measures, against those of their fellow Colonists who did not concur in all which was done by the Continental Congress of 1774, as we have noticed, is worthy of the examination which it will some day receive at the hands of an intelligent, industrious, and fearless student.

If we do not mistake, and we incline to the belief that we do not, when that examination shall have been made, very much of the responsibility for the multitude of atrocious acts which were done in behalf of "the cause of America" and of "the Liberties of America," will be shifted from the shoulders of sensible, but modest and less energetic, men, where it now rests, to those of men who are now represented as having been incapable of such enormities.

History tells of more than one instance in which a mere handful of enthusiasts, more or less honest in their professions, has fastened itself on a great political party which entertained none of those enthusiastic dogmas which the others assumed to believe and maintain, and which, having thus fastened itself on the larger body, taking advantage of favorable opportunities, artfully adapting itself to existing tempers and circumstances, and persistently—sometimes, impudently—thrusting itself into every seat of influence and authority to which it could possibly gain access, has succeeded in re-moulding the policy of the party which it has invaded; and made it appear to be what, originally, it was not; to maintain opinions which, originally, it disclaimed and opposed; and to do, or permit to be done, in its name, what, originally, it would have honestly shrunk from, as improper and unjust. Such an instance, if we do not mistake, occurred in this Colony, in 1775 and 1776: we were personally acquainted with a similar instance, vastly more important in its consequences than the other, which occurred within the United States, at a comparatively recent date.

[2] Vide page 351, ante.

[3] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Sunday morning, June 9, 1776."

[4] *Journal of the Provincial Congress: Correspondence*, ii., 196, 197.

"Long island, with a view to join the Ministerial "Army, we beg the Congress would take the matter "under consideration, and adopt such measures as to "you shall appear most proper for the removal of such "dangerous assemblages, who we fear are forming "a combination to aid and assist the Ministerial Army "when an opportunity shall permit.

"ORDERED, That the same be forwarded with all "convenient speed by Mr. Ezekiel Halley.

"By the joint order of the Sub-committees of the "manor of Cortlandt and Salem.

"EZEKIEL HALLEY,
"JOSEPH BENEDICT,
"*Chairmen.*

"TO THE HONOURABLE THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS."[1]

These two letters were presented to the Provincial Congress, on the afternoon of the twenty-fourth of June; read before that body; and ordered "to remain "for further consideration;"[2] and there, as far as we have knowledge, they have remained, from that day until this—the Provincial Congress certainly paid no further attention to them.

Closely connected with it, if it was not really the basis of that policy of proscription and persecution and devastation which peculiarly distinguished the entire series of Provincial Congresses and Committees of Safety of the Colony of New York, as well as the early Conventions and Legislatures of the State, after the Colony had ceased to exist, was the series of Tests, known as *Associations*, which were enacted, first, by the Continental Congress of 1774 and, subsequently, in various forms, by the Provincial Congresses of New York, by the latter of whom and by their several Committees of Safety they were, also, rigidly enforced, as we have seen, in other portions of this narrative.

One of these Tests, or *Associations*, adopted by a Provincial Committee of Safety, was proved to have been so entirely subversive of the personal Rights of those to whom it was offered, that numbers who had previously favored or acquiesced in the Rebellion, peremptorily declined to sign it, preferring rather to be considered as disaffected and to be disarmed, as such,[3] and to suffer all the other pains and penalties and insults to which those who were known as "disaffected" were continually subjected.

The disaffection referred to must have been quite extended, seriously impairing the prospects of a political uniformity throughout the Colony, to which the leaders of the Rebellion had constantly aspired, or the Provincial Congress would not have turned aside from its daily routine to have noticed it. As it had reached those proportions which entitled it to respect, however, on the eighteenth of June, three days after the organization of "the Committee to detect Conspiracies," the Provincial Congress adopted the following Resolution, on the subject:

"WHEREAS doubts have arisen respecting the true "construction of a certain *Association* ordered by the "late Committee of Safety of this Colony, to be presented for subscription to the inhabitants thereof:

"RESOLVED, That all doubts respecting the true "construction of the said *Association* ought to be removed; and that a Committee be appointed to "prepare and report a Resolution for that purpose."[4]

On the twentieth of June, the Committee which had been appointed to consider the subject—a Committee composed of Thomas Tredwell and John Sloss Hobart, of Suffolk, and John Jay, of the City of New York, all of whom were distinguished for their rigid and intense partisan feelings—submitted its Report, evidently the work of John Jay, by whom it was presented. As it was intended to be submitted to the inhabitants of Westchester-county, and to be employed as the basis of fresh outrages against their persons and properties, it may properly find a place in this narrative:

"IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS,
"NEW-YORK, June 20, 1776.

"WHEREAS, the Continental Congress, on the "fourteenth day of March last, did recommend to the "several Assemblies, Conventions, and Councils or "Committees of Safety of the United Colonies, immediately to cause all persons to be disarmed within "their respective Colonies, who were notoriously disaffected to the cause of America, or had not associated, and refused to associate to defend, by arms, "these United Colonies, against the hostile attempts "of the British Fleets and Armies:

"AND, WHEREAS, the late Committee of Safety of "this Colony did, thereupon, on the twenty-seventh "day of March aforesaid, recommend it to the Committees of the several Cities, Counties, Manors, "Townships, Precincts, and Districts in this Colony, "forthwith, to cause to be disarmed, all persons "within their respective districts, who were known "to be disaffected to the cause of America, and also "all such persons as should refuse to sign the following *Association*, viz.:

"'We, the subscribers, inhabitants of . . . . ,
"'in the County of . . . . . , and Colony
"'of New York, do voluntarily and solemnly engage,
"'under all the ties held sacred among mankind, at
"'the risk of our lives and fortunes, to defend, by
"'arms, the United American Colonies, against the
"'hostile attempts of the British Fleets and Armies,
"'until the present unhappy controversy between
"'the two Countries shall be settled.'

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress: Correspondence*, ii., 197.

[2] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Monday afternoon, June 24, "1776."

[3] *Recital* in the Preamble of the new *Association*, adopted by the Provincial Congress, on the twentieth of June, 1776.

[4] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Tuesday morning, June 18, 1776."

"AND WHEREAS it hath been objected to the said "form of an *Association*, that, by obliging the sub- "scribers or associators, in such general and express "terms, to defend the United Colonies, by arms, "against the hostile attempts of the British Fleets "and Armies, it deprived them of the Rights reserved "by the *Militia Regulations*, and imposed on them the "necessity of marching to the most distant of the "Colonies, whenever called upon, which construction "of the said *Association*, however nice and casuistical, "is inconsistent and fallacious, it being manifest that "the *Militia Regulations* could, by no rules of construc- "tion, be supposed to be repealed and abrogated by "any subtle implications drawn from the said *Associ- "tion*. But, as some of the friends to the American "cause have been influenced, by this objection, to "refuse signing the said *Association*, and, in conse- "quence thereof, been disarmed, it hath become ex- "pedient that the said *Association* should be so ex- "plained as to render it free from specious as well as "solid objections; and, therefore,

"RESOLVED, UNANIMOUSLY, That nothing in the "said *Association* contained, shall extend or be con- "strued to extend to deprive those who have sub- "scribed it of any Rights reserved to them, in and by "the said *Militia Regulations;* and to the end that all "the Freemen of this Colony may associate for the "preservation of American liberty, in a form entirely "unexceptionable;

"RESOLVED, UNANIMOUSLY, That the following "form of an *Association* be and it is hereby recom- "mended to them, viz.:

"'We, the subscribers, inhabitants of . . . . , "'in the County of . . . . , and Colony of New "'York, do most solemnly declare that the claims of "'the British Parliament to bind, at their discretion, "'the people of the United Colonies in America, in "'all cases whatsoever, are, in our opinions, absurd, "'unjust, and tyrannical; and that the hostile at- "'tempts of their Fleets and Armies to enforce sub- "'mission to those wicked and ridiculous claims "'ought to be resisted by arms.

"'And, therefore, we do engage and associate, "'under all the ties which we respectively hold "'sacred, to defend, by arms, these United Colonies, "'against the said hostile attempts, agreeable to such "'Laws and Regulations as our Representatives in "'the Congresses or future General Assemblies of "'this Colony have or shall, for that purpose, make "'and establish.'

"And that all persons who have been disarmed for "refusing to associate with their countrymen, for the "defense of the United Colonies, in the form pre- "scribed by the late Committee of Safety, as afore- "said, may have no pretence to complain of injus- "tice, and that they may have a fair opportunity of "convincing the public that their refusal to sign the "said *Association* did not arise from a disinclination "to defend the Rights of America, but merely from "objections to sign to the form of the said *Association*, "and thereby be restored to the privilege of bearing "arms in support of a cause so important and so "glorious;

"RESOLVED, UNANIMOUSLY, That all persons, "other than those whom the Committees of the sev- "eral Counties shall adjudge to be notoriously disaf- "fected to the American cause, who have not asso- "ciated in the form prescribed by the late Committee "of Safety, as aforesaid, be called upon, by persons "to be appointed by the said Committees of the sev- "eral Counties, and requested to subscribe the *Asso- "ciation* contained and recommended in and by these "Resolutions. And

"RESOLVED, FURTHER, That all such of the said "persons as shall subscribe the same, other than "notoriously disaffected persons, as aforesaid, ought "to be considered and treated as friends to their "country; and that all arms taken from them and "not disposed of to the Continental troops, be re- "stored to them; and that care be taken that they "respectively be paid the full price allowed, for such "of their arms as may have been delivered to the "Continental troops, as aforesaid.

"AND FURTHER, that all such of the said persons "as shall refuse to subscribe to the same, together "with all notorious disaffected persons, be forthwith, "if not already done, disarmed, and required on oath "to declare and discover whether the arms so to be "taken from them be all the arms they respectively "have or had, and if not, where the residue thereof, "to the best of their knowledge and belief, are depos- "ited and may be found; and that such of them as "shall refuse to take such oath, be committed to safe "custody till they will consent to take it.

"RESOLVED, UNANIMOUSLY, That it be and it is "hereby recommended to the Committees of the sev- "eral Counties in this Colony, to carry the aforesaid "Resolutions into execution, with diligence and "punctuality."[1]

It is said that the Report and Resolutions were unanimously adopted by the Provincial Congress, evidently without the slightest consideration of their characters and probable result, and certainly during the latter portion of an afternoon session of the Congress, in which, both before and after the presentation of them, that body was crowded with other and very important matters of business; and it is said to have ordered, at that time, that the Resolutions should be printed in all the newspapers which were then published in the City of New York and in handbills; and "that the Resolutions be read to every "person to whom the *Association* thereby recom- "mended shall be offered for subscription."[2]

Whatever the real motives of those who had de-

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Thursday Afternoon, June 20, "1776."

[2] Ibid.

clined to sign the *Association* which the Committee of Safety had prescribed, had been, they were such as had led the Provincial Congress to notice them, respectfully, and to lead that body to move for the removal of the objections which had been thus reasonably raised against that *Association*, by those whom the Provincial Congress's Committee was constrained to recognize as "friends to the American cause;" and it ill became John Jay, therefore, to display so many of the idiosyncrasies of his generally unamiable character, in the contemptuous and singularly insulting words which he applied to those of his fellow "friends of the American cause" who had presumed to take their knowledge of the legal obligations contained in that objectionable *Association* from some one else than from himself and his Congressional confrerie; and an impartial examination of the two forms of *Association*, and a careful comparison of that revised form, which he induced the Provincial Congress to substitute for that against which the objections had been raised, with the latter, will clearly indicate to the reader that the writer of that revised form had permitted his evil passions to get the better of his personal integrity, when he belittled himself by reporting an *Association* which was even more objectionable in its provisions than that which had been objected to, dressed and decorated with a meaningless Preamble, evidently intended for the beguilement of the unwary, but without containing a single word of provision, either in the Preamble or in the *Association* itself, that the signers of that revised instrument, by that act, would not deprive themselves of their Rights as Militia, and subject themselves to be taken beyond the limits of the Colony, even to the extent of the most distant of the confederated Colonies, whenever some body, over whom they could exercise no control, should incline to order them thither. Indeed, instead of relieving the *Association* which the Committee of Safety had recommended, from the uncertainties of its provisions, the only duty which had been assigned to John Jay and his two rustic associates, these astute partisans, in the bitterness of their animosities, did nothing else, in the way of the duty which had devolved on them, than to indulge in contemptuous sneers and inuendoes against those who had objected to the terms of the Committee of Safety's *Association*, without including, in their revised form, the provisions of safety which the Provincial Congress had evidently intended to have inserted; and, by the addition of words which were not in the former, they actually made the signers of the revised *Association*, more than before, the helpless subjects of two absolutely despotic bodies, over neither of whom could they bring any, even the slightest, restraining influence, no matter how objectionable and oppressive the Orders and enactments of either or both of those bodies might be.

As a man thinketh in his heart, so he is; and it will be difficult, in the light of such actions as this, to convince any honest man that, whatever he may have been after he had reached that place in the office-bearing ranks of his countrymen which he so greatly coveted and of which he was so exceeding fond, while John Jay was still struggling for place, it mattered little under what master, he was neither more nor less upright, in what he said and did for the advancement of his individual or his party's purposes, than are office-seekers of our own day, with whom the end in view is generally made to justify the means.

On the twenty-sixth of June, the Provincial Congress received a letter from the President of the Continental Congress, dated on the preceding day, and enclosing a Resolution of that body,[1] the latter of which, because of its remarkable character, is entitled to a passing notice, in this place. The Resolution referred to was in these words:

"In Congress, June 24, 1776.

"Resolved, That all persons abiding within any "of the United Colonies and deriving protection from "the Laws of the same, owe allegiance to the said "Laws and are members of such Colony; and that all "persons passing through, visiting, or making a tem-"porary stay in any of the said Colonies, being en-"titled to the protection of the Laws during the time "of such passage, visitation, or temporary stay, owe, "during the same time, allegiance thereto.

"That all persons, members of or owing allegiance "to any of the United Colonies, as before described, "who shall levy war against any of the said Colonies, "within the same, or be adherent to the King of Great "Britain or others, the enemies of the said Colonies, or "any of them, within the same, giving to him or them "aid or comfort, are guilty of treason against such "Colony.

"That it be recommended to the Legislatures of "the several United Colonies to pass Laws for punish-"ing, in such manner as to them shall seem fit, such "persons, as before described, as shall be proveably "attainted of open deed, by people of their condi-"tions, of any of the treasons before described.

"That it be recommended to the Legislatures of "the several United Colonies, to pass Laws for pun-"ishing, in such manner as they shall think fit, per-"sons who shall counterfeit, or aid or abet in coun-"terfeiting, the Continental Bills of Credit, or who "shall pass any such Bill, in payment, knowing the "same to be counterfeit.

"By order of Congress,

"John Hancock, *President*."[2]

The *Journal of the Continental Congress* tells us that this remarkable paper formed a part of the Report of the Committee on Spies, to that body; and that Com-

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Wednesday morning, June 26, "1776."

[2] *Journal of the Provincial Congress: Correspondence*, ii., 196.

See, also, *Journal of the Continental Congress*, "Monday, June 24, "1776."

mittee appears to have been composed of John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Edward Rutledge, James Wilson, and Robert R. Livingston;[1] but the character of those who framed the Resolution only increases our surprise, and, more clearly than before, indicates the desperate straits into which, even at that early date, the Continental Congress had been crowded, unless the "spies" against whom the Committee fulminated its Report were those Commissioners whom the Ministry had authorized to treat for Reconcilation and Peace,[2] and who were, at that time, nearing and not distant from New York; and unless, also, the Continental Congress, by these Resolutions, proposed to naturalize Admiral Howe, and General Howe, and the forces which were respectively under their command; and to transform all these, on their arrival within the harbor of New York, into "members of "the Colony" of New York, "owing allegiance to "the Laws of the United Colonies," and subject to be tried on a charge of "Treason against such Colony" of New York, should they become prisoners of war.

Whatever the purposes of the Continental Congress may have been, in the adoption and promulgation of these Resolutions, no one can attribute to the learned lawyers who reported them the slightest sincerity, since none knew better than they, that "allegiance," under any possible circumstances, was not and could not become due to what was nothing else than a mere "Law," and that the "Law" of a mere "Colony," which might be enacted on one day and be repealed on the next; that "allegiance" was, then, and would always be, due to nothing else than to the Sovereign of whom the person was or should become, legitimately, a subject; that an avowed sojourner, "pass-"ing through" a Colony or merely "visiting" it or "making a temporary stay" within it, at the same time owing "allegiance" to the Sovereign of another country, while he would certainly owe obedience to the local Law, during the entire period of his journey through or of his visit to or of his temporary stay within that Colony, by no Law nor by any possible interpretation of a Law which would have been entitled to the slightest respect, only by reason of that journey or visit or temporary stay, could have been said to have surrendered his "allegiance" due only to his own Sovereign, and, instead, only for the same reason, to have become a subject of, owing "alle-"giance" to, the authority which controlled the place of his journey or visit or temporary stay, and especially so while that place was or should continue to be only an acknowledged dependency of a foreign Prince, to whom it was or should be, itself, avowedly subject, and by whom no such enactment or order had been made; that no mere Colony, dependent on another and superior political power, could possibly have been said, sincerely, by such a Committee, to have possessed a political Sovereignty, nor that, in the absence of such a Sovereignty, there could possibly have been a respectable and competent charge of Treason against it, in any instance whatever; and, more than all, that such a pretense and threat of charges of Treason against a Colony, made by the Committee, in its Resolutions, was simply a harmless thunderbolt, before the Law, since the King of Great Britain, against whom and against whose authority the Resolutions were specifically directed, was, at the time of the adoption and promulgation of those Resolutions, actually the Sovereign of all those Colonies and of all those who were thus denouncing him, openly and generally recognized, throughout the former, as the source of all their legitimate political authority and as their King; and, by the members of that Committee and the authors of those Resolutions, themselves, specifically recognized as the Sovereign to whom each and every of them was himself proud to owe allegiance.[3]

"Allegiance" and "Treason" presupposed Sovereignty existing in the Colonies, without which Sovereignty there could not have possibly been any "Allegiance" due to either of them nor "Treason" committed against them or either of them; but it would require a bold man, possessed of a very vivid imagination, to maintain, seriously and honestly, that any such Sovereignty existed in the Colonies, or in any or either of them, on the twenty-fourth of June, 1776, when the Continental Congress adopted these Resolutions, whatever there might have been or not have been, in the several States, a fortnight afterwards.

What the result of this action of the Continental Congress was, will be seen, hereafter.

Another very important subject which was introduced to the notice of the third Provincial Congress, during its very brief existence, was that of supplanting the existing Colonial Government by the establishment of a new form of Government which would more nearly represent the current spirit of those who were leaders in the Rebellion, and which, more than anything else, would indicate a determination to sever the political connection of the Colony with the Mother Country.

On the tenth of May, 1776, the Continental Congress, after a very severe and very protracted consideration of the subject, had adopted a Resolution;[4] and on the fifteenth of the same month, it had pre-

[1] *Journal of the Continental Congress*, "Wednesday, June 5, 1776."

[2] "According to the noble Lord's explanation, Lord Howe and his "brother are to be sent as Spies, not as Commissioners; that if they can-"not go on shore, they are to sound upon the coast."—(*Speech of Charles James Fox, on the Motion for Lord Howe's Instructions*, "HOUSE OF COM-"MONS, Wednesday, May 22, 1776.")

[3] See, in the *Address to the King*, by the same Continental Congress and signed by each of its members, individually, (*Journal of the Continental Congress*, "Saturday, July 8, 1775,") what, at the date of these Resolutions, contained, unaltered, all which had been said, formally, of the disposition, *toward the King*, of either the Congress or of its individual members.

[4] *Journal of the Continental Congress*, "Friday, May 10, 1776."

fixed to that Resolution, a Preamble,[1] which, together, were in these words:

"WHEREAS his Britannic Majesty, in conjunction "with the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, has, "by a late Act of Parliament, excluded the inhabi- "tants of these United Colonies from the protection "of his Crown;

"AND WHEREAS no answer whatever to the humble "*Petition of the Colonies*, for redress of grievances and "reconciliation with Great Britain, has been or is "likely to be given, but the whole force of that King- "dom, aided by foreign mercenaries, is to be exerted "for the destruction of the good people of these Col- "onies;

"AND WHEREAS it appears absolutely irreconcilable "to reason and good conscience for the people of these "Colonies, now, to take the Oaths and Affirmations "necessary for the support of any Government under "the Crown of Great Britain, and it is necessary that "the exercise of every kind of authority under the "said Crown should be totally suppressed, and all the "powers of Government exerted under the authority "of the people of the Colonies, for the preservation of "internal peace, virtue, and good order, as well as for "the defence of their lives, liberties, and properties, "against the hostile invasions and cruel depredations "of their enemies, therefore

"RESOLVED, That it be recommended to the re- "spective Assemblies and Conventions of the United "Colonies, where no Government sufficient to the "exigencies of their affairs hath been hitherto estab- "lished, to adopt such Government as shall, in the "opinion of the representatives of the people, best "conduce to the happiness and safety of their constit- "uents, in particular, and America, in general.'

The careful reader of that Preamble and Resolution will not fail to see, in every portion of them, only Independence very thinly disguised;[2] and he will not be surprised to learn that those, within the Continental Congress, who were most desirous of effecting a Reconciliation with the Mother Country, were most resolute in opposing the adoption of them;[3] nor that, after they had been adopted, those of the Delegation from the Colony of New York who had been among those who had opposed that favorable action, very soon retired from their seats in the Continental Congress and occupied seats in the Provincial Congress of New York,[4] where, by means of a similar line of action, adverse to the adoption of a new form of local Government and to the evidently approaching question of Independence, both those radical measures might be successfully opposed, at least until the Royal Commissioners whom the Home Government had sent to effect a Reconciliation, should have arrived and presented their proposals, and until those who were anxious to figure, in New York and at London, as diplomatists and as peace-makers, rather than as friends or promoters of Independence, should have had an opportunity to dispense with Independence; to restore the old order of the Colonial Government, with here and there a revision which would be favorable to themselves or to their faction; and to establish for themselves, at least, such a substantial claim on the gratitude of the Crown and of the Nation, as would ensure to them the control of the restored Colonial Governments, at home, if not something more acceptable, abroad.[5]

[1] *Journal of the Continental Congress*, "Wednesday, May 15, 1776."

[2] "Great Britain has at last driven America to the last step: a com- "plete separation from her, a total, absolute Independence, not only "of her Parliament, but of her Crown, for such is the amount of the "Resolve of the 15th. Confederation among ourselves or Alliances "with foreign nations are not necessary to a perfect separation from "Britain; that is effected by extinguishing all authority under the "Crown, Parliament, and Nation, as the Resolution for instituting "Governments has done, to all intents and purposes. Confederation "will be necessary for our internal concord, and Alliances may be "so for our external defense."—(*John Adams to Mrs. Adams*, "PHILA- "DELPHIA, May 17, 1776.")

As the writer of this paragraph was the Chairman of the Committee who framed the Preamble, and as he probably wrote it, there need be no better authority concerning the intent of him who framed it, as well as concerning his understanding of the meaning and of the consequences of it.

See, also, *Stephen Hopkins to Governor Cooke of Rhode Island*, "PHILA- "DELPHIA, May 15, 1776."

[3] The Delegation from Pennsylvania, subsequently such determined opponents of Independence, were resolute opposers of this Preamble and Resolution, and declined to vote on it, "as far as was in their "power, withdrawing the Province from this union of the Colonies, "both in council and action."—(*The Philadelphia Committee to the Committees of the rural Counties of Pennsylvania*, "PHILADELPHIA, May 21, "1776.") The majority of the Delegates from New York subsequently repeated their opposition to the measure, in the Provincial Congress of that Colony, where, also, their opposition to the Resolution of Independence was so peculiarly conspicuous. Although we have found no record of the action of the Delegations from New Jersey and Maryland, on that particular question, the subsequent action of the local revolutionary bodies, in those Colonies, concerning those Delegations, leaves no room for doubt concerning what the action of their respective Delegations had been.

[4] John Alsop and Francis Lewis took seats in the Provincial Congress, on the twentieth of May; John Jay appeared on the twenty-fifth of that month; James Duane, who had some other place in the Continental service, showed himself on the second of June; and Philip Livingston lingered until the eighth of June—all of them were there in season to accomplish, as far as the Provincial Congress of New York could be employed in such a work, all they had set out to do, in the work of procrastination, of reconciliation with the Mother Country, and of continued Colonial dependence.

[5] "Things have come to such a pass, now, as to convince us that we "have nothing more to expect from the justice of Great Britain; also, "that she is capable of the most delusive arts; for I am satisfied that "no Commissioners ever were designed, except Hessians and other "foreigners; and that the idea was only to deceive and throw us off "our guard. The first has been too effectually accomplished, as many "members of Congress, in short, the representation of whole Provinces, "are still feeding themselves upon the dainty food of reconciliation; "and, though they will not allow that the expectation of it has any "influence upon their judgment with respect to their preparations for "defence, it is but too obvious that it has an operation upon every part "of their conduct, and is a clog to their proceedings. It is not in "the nature of things to be otherwise; for no man that entertains "a hope of seeing this dispute speedily and equitably adjusted by "Commissioners will go to the same expense and run the same hazards "to prepare for the worst event, as he who believes that he must "conquer, or submit to unconditional terms and the like concomitants, "such as confiscation, hanging, and the like." (*General Washington to his brother, Augustine Washington*, "PHILADELPHIA, 31 May, 1776.")

Although an official copy of that Preamble and Resolution was evidently sent to the Provincial Congress of New York, no mention was made of the receipt of it, on the *Journals* of that body; but, on the twenty-fourth of May, "the order of the day being "read, the Congress proceeded to take into considera- "tion" the Resolution and the general subject to which it particularly related.[1]

* * * * * *

The Provincial Congress having "considered" the Report, it also adopted it, evidently without debate or a division of the house,—Westchester-county was unrepresented in that exceedingly important vote, owing to the absence of a quorum of its Deputation; —and, after the Congress had ordered the Resolutions to be published in all the newspapers in the Colony and in handbills, the latter for distribution in the rural Counties,[2] it appears to have dismissed the entire subject from its further attention.

The Resolutions which were thus adopted and published, form the foundation of the entire structure of the *Constitution of the State of New York*, in all its varied forms; and, for that reason, we have not hesitated to find places, in this narrative, for all which concerned them. We are not insensible of the fact, however, that the fair words which they contain were deceptive; that the voice and the votes to which the election of the proposed founders of a State was thus referred, were not those of "the Inhabitants" who had figured so largely in the preliminary Report, but only those of the Freeholders and those of the tenantry who were of the wealthier class, to the exclusion of the tenantry of small properties and of the Mechanics and Working-men of the Colony, and certainly to the exclusion of those who had been officially proscribed and officially outraged, and for whom, under subsequent action of the Congress, yet more atrocious proscription and persecution and outrage were held in reserve. We are not insensible, also, that, notwithstanding the seeming eagerness of its authors, at that time, to remove the "many and great "inconveniences," as well as that power of despotic oppression and tyranny which "attended the mode of "Government by Congress and Committees," of some of which "inconveniences" and despotism the reader has been already made acquainted, they were not subsequently so eager—they certainly loitered over their work until after the Royal Commissioners had exhausted their ingenuity as well as their authority in fruitless efforts to effect a Reconciliation and to restore harmony between the Colonies and the Mother Country; and, even at that later day, John Morin Scott and Alexander McDougal and others of the same class having, meantime, obtained other places which filled their expectations, the puny thing which was created and entitled *The Constitution of the State of New York*, was introduced to the world, and fostered by political midwives and wetnurses who cared nothing for it beyond what they could severally make from it. Most of all, we are not insensible of the fact that, notwithstanding all the fine words, concerning the "People" and the "Inhabitants" and their unquestionable political authority, which were included in the Resolutions, the oligarchic authors of those Resolutions carefully reserved to themselves, the sole authority to determine whether a Constitution should or should not be created; and to determine, also, if they should consider a Constitution were necessary and proper, in what words and with what provisions that Constitution should be composed; without the slightest recognition of any existing Right or authority, in the constituent "People" or "Inhabitants," to consider all such action of those who pretended to be the "representatives" of that "People" or of those "Inhabitants," and to ratify and approve or to disallow and reject the same, or any portion thereof, at its or their pleasure, as might be done by the recognized sovereign power; and as, in this instance, it certainly should have been done.[3] It will be seen, hereafter, in what manner the "oligarchy" who was seated in the Provincial Congress, controlling the affairs of the Colony in their own interest, and who intended to be re-elected, betrayed both the "Inhabitants" and the "People," in imposing upon both, a new form of Government, without their consent, but not until their own purposes to secure their own ends through the older Colonial form, had become unsuccessful.

The subject of a new form of Government was scarcely disposed of, when, on the fourth of June, the same "Society of Mechanics in Union," so called, whom the master-spirits of the Committee of Fifty-one had deceived and betrayed—the same who was composed of the fragments of that phantom which had been known by the general title of "The Sons of

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Veneris, 9 ho., A.M., May "24, 1776."

[2] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*. "Die Veneris, 4 ho., P. M., May "31, 1776."

[3] This peculiarity of the Resolutions of the Provincial Congress did not escape the vigilant attention of the Working men and tenants of only small properties, within the City of New-York—of those very "poor "reptiles" of whom Gouverneur Morris had written to Mr. Penn, in May, 1774, (*vide page* 188, *ante*)—and only with whose very acceptable help, the Delegation to the Continental Congress of 1774 had managed to secure their seats in that body. Whatever may have been their standing in the social scale of aristocracy, but for the co-operation of those who constituted the so called, "Society of Mechanics in Union," there would have been no place for either James Duane or John Jay in the Continental Congress of 1774 or in that similar Congress which succeeded it; and without their assent and approval, corruptly secured, in every instance except one, the members of the Delegation to the first-named of those Congresses, if not those to both, had lived in fretful obscurity, and have died as their respective ancestors had died, "unwept, unhonored, and "unsung." There was a fitness, therefore, in the alarm of these Working-men of the City of New York, because of the contemptuous disregard of their political Rights, by those, of the Provincial Congress, who were only the creatures of their plebeian will and the administrators of their inherent authority. The Address of the Society, which those working-men subsequently presented to the Provincial Congress, on that subject, a master-piece of political reasoning, has been preserved in the archives of the State, and will be referred to hereafter.

"Liberty," and from whom has proceeded that excellent body, still existing, which is distinguished by the title of "The General Society of Mechanics and "Tradesmen of the City of New York"—presented an Address to the Provincial Congress, on the subject of Independence.

The signers of that *Address*, the first movement concerning Independence in the Provincial Congress, stated that they were devoted friends to their bleeding country; that they were afflicted by beholding her struggling under heavy loads of oppression and tyranny, and the more so, when they viewed the iron hand lifted up against her; that their Prince was deaf to *Petitions* for interposing his Royal authority for redressing their grievances; that one year had not sufficed to satisfy the rage of a cruel Ministry, in their bloody pursuits designed to reduce them to be slaves taxed by them, without their consent; that, therefore, they rather wished to separate from, than to continue connected with, such oppressors; and they declared that if the Provincial Congress should think proper to instruct their Delegates in the Continental Congress to use their utmost endeavors, in that august assembly, to cause these United Colonies to become independent of Great Britain, it would give them the highest satisfaction; and they sincerely promised to support the same with their lives and fortunes.[1]

A snow-storm in Summer would not have been more unwelcome to the cultivators of the soil, than that *Address* was to the Provincial Congress, since Independence and the much coveted Reconciliation with Great Britain were wholly irreconcilable; and, without even the usual courtesy of a consideration of either the *Address* or the very important subject to which it related, by a Committee of the Congress—why should "the poor reptiles" who had written and presented such an *Address* receive such attention and enjoy such consideration as a reference of their *Address* and of their plea to a Committee of the Congress, would have indicated, although such a reference was usual and nothing more than respectful in matters of so much importance?—an *Answer* was made by the President of the Congress, orally; and a copy of it was evidently given to Lewis Thibou [*Louis Tiebout, ?*] by whom the *Address* had been read, at the head of "a number of citizens who style "themselves a 'Committee of Mechanics,'" before the Provincial Congress itself.

As the "oligarchy" which constituted that Congress had resorted to the extraordinary precaution of requiring the proposed *Address* to be delivered to it, for its "inspection," in order that that aristocratic body should "discover whether it is proper for this "Congress to receive the same"—the bearers of it, meanwhile, dancing an attendance, outside, before a closed door—before it would permit the Mechanics to enter the Chamber in which it was sitting, to present their *Address* and to read it, there had been ample time to prepare the *Answer*, in season for the oral delivery of it, from the Chair; and there was one Deputy present, and only one, who was capable of writing that *Answer*, in the terms in which it was constituted.[2]

That *Answer* was in these remarkable words:

"In Provincial Congress, June 4, 1776.

"Sir:

"We consider the Mechanics in Union as a volun-"tary Association of a number of the inhabitants of "this City, who are warmly attached to the cause of "Liberty. We flatter ourselves, however, that neither "that Association nor their Committee will claim any "authority, whatsoever, in the public transactions of "the present times; but that, on the contrary, they "will ever be ready to submit to that constitutional "authority which, by a free election, has been vested "in Congress and Committees.

"This Congress is, at all times, ready and willing "to attend to every request of their constituents, or "of any part of them: we are of opinion that the "Continental Congress, alone, have that enlarged "view of our political circumstances which will ena-"ble them to decide upon those measures which are "necessary for the general welfare: we cannot pre-"sume, by any instructions, to make or declare any "Resolutions or Declarations, upon a so general and "momentous concern; but are determined patiently "to await and firmly to abide by whatever a majority "of that august body shall think needful. We, there-"fore, cannot presume to instruct the Delegates of "this Colony, upon the momentous question to which "your Address refers, until we are informed that it is "brought before the Continental Congress and the "sense of this Colony be required through this Con-"gress."[3]

To that contemptuous *Answer*, the Mechanics in Union, ten days afterwards, [*June* 14, 1776,] sent a second *Address*, in reply, in which, under cover of an inquiry concerning one of the Resolutions of the Provincial Congress relating to a proposed establish-

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Martis, 9 ho., A.M., June 4, "1776."

[2] John Jay was not in his seat, in the Provincial Congress, during that entire day; and, therefore, he had no hand in it. John Morin Scott was present; but no one will pretend that such a sturdy sycophant of the popular element as he, would have ventured to have written such a paper, so contemptuously disrespectful of that great class of generally unfranchised Working-men. The President of the Congress, General Woodhull, of Suffolk, was not handy with the pen; and he possessed no such animosity against "the lower classes," as is seen in this *Answer*. It remained, therefore, to the high toned, "well born" Deputy from Westchester-county, Gouverneur Morris—the same who had stood in the window of the Coffee-house, on the nineteenth of May, 1774, and, thence, had studied the rising power of the democracy, whom he loathed *—to write the Answer of the Congress; and it was, unquestionably, he who did it.

[3] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Martis, 9 ho., A.M., June 4, "1776."

* Vide page 12, ante.

ment of a new form of Government, but in words and in terms which entitled the Artisan-author of it to the highest honors, the generally unfranchised Workingmen of the City of New York manfully declared their Rights, as a portion of that body of the People, throughout the Colony, in whom, they considered, were vested the original power and the source of all political authority, within the Colony; denounced the assumption, by either of the Congresses or any of the Committees, of an authority over and beyond that which had been delegated to them, as illegal and destructive of the ends sought to be secured by the creation of those several bodies; and warning the Provincial Congress of the necessary consequences of such an usurpation. That *Reply*, most respectful in its tone while it was most overwhelming in its facts and in its argument, was evidently not permitted to be presented to the Provincial Congress; and, without the slightest notice on the official *Journal* of that body—probably, without the slightest official action by the Congress—it was buried in the files of that "oligarchic" body, to await a resurrection in these later days.[1]

On the following day, [*June* 5, 1776,] the Provincial Congress was pestered, again, with that obnoxious subject of Independence; but, on that occasion, the aristocratic Colonial Convention of Virginia was the unwelcome claimant on its attention; and, consequently, it was constrained to be more civil in its words and more respectful in its demeanor than it had been, on the day before, when the plebeian Workingmen of the City in which it was seated had addressed it, respectfully, on the same subject.

The message which the letter of Edmund Pendleton had conveyed to the Provincial Congress was the celebrated and well-known Resolutions of that Convention, adopted on the fifteenth of May preceding, through which the Delegation from Virginia, in the Continental Congress, was *instructed* "to declare the "United Colonies free and independent States, ab- "solved from all allegiance to or dependence upon "the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain; and "that it give the assent of this Colony to such Decla- "ration, and to whatever measures may be thought "proper and necessary, by the Congress, for forming "foreign alliances and a Confederation of the Colonies, "at such time and in the manner as to them shall seem "best; PROVIDED, That the power of forming Govern- "ment for and the regulation of the internal concerns "of each Colony be left to the respective Colonial "Legislatures;"[2] and the Provincial Congress ordered "that John Jay and Gouverneur Morris be a Commit- "tee to prepare a draft of an answer to it, and to "report the same"[3]—without the usual injunction, "with all convenient speed," however, since the Provincial Congress was not in a hurry to consider the subject of Independence; and it would not be so, at least until what it evidently preferred, the question of Reconciliation, should have been met and finally disposed of.

On the afternoon of the day succeeding that on which the Resolutions from Virginia had been received, [*June* 6, 1776,] the Committee to whom those Resolutions had been referred, reported an answer to the letter of Edmund Pendleton which had covered them – an answer which was just as icy cold and formal as the *Answer* to "the Mechanics in Union," two days before, had been; and which told, as distinctly as the other had told, how entirely obnoxious to the aristocratic leaders of the Rebellion, in New York, the proposition for Independence from Great Britain had been. It simply acknowledged the receipt of the Resolutions and that of the letter which had covered them, saying, also, that they had been communicated to the Provincial Congress, by whom "they would be "considered with all the deliberation due to the im- "portance of the subject;" that the Congress thanked the Convention of Virginia for its attention; and that the latter was "assured that the Congress of this Col- "ony will invariably adopt and pursue every measure "which may tend to promote the union and secure "the rights and happiness of the United Colonies."[4]

Four days after the Resolutions of the Convention

[1] This admirable *Reply* to the *Answer* of the Provincial Congress, which was more especially devoted to the proposal of that body to impose a new form of Government on the Colony or State, without having submitted it to the body of the People, for ratification or rejection, was in these words:

* * * * * * * * * * *

[2] *Journal of a Convention of Delegates from the Counties and Corporations in the Colony of Virginia, held at the Capitol, in the City of Williamsburgh,* "Wednesday May 15, 1776."

[3] *Journal of the Provincial Congress,* "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., June "5, 1776."

[4] *Journal of the Provincial Congress,* "Die Jovis, 9 ho., A.M., June 6, "1776."

With this simple record of one of the coldest specimens of polite disagreement with another, on record, before him, the reader will hardly be prepared to read what Bancroft has written of the reception of the Resolutions from Virginia and of John Jay's treatment of them. His words were these: "But early in June, the New York Congress had to pass "upon the Virginia proposition of Independence. This was the moment "that showed the firmness and the purity of Jay; the darker the hour, "the more he stood ready to cheer; the greater the danger, the more "promptly he stepped forward to guide. He had insisted on the doubt- "ful measure of a second *Petition to the King* with no latent weakness of "purpose or cowardice of heart. The hope of obtaining redress had "gone; he could, now, with perfect peace of mind, give free scope to the "earnestness of his convictions. Though it had been necessary for him "to perish as a martyr, he could not and he would not swerve from his "sense of duty."—(*History of the United States*, original edition, viii., 439; *the same*, centenary edition, v., 305.)

The entire reply to the Convention of Virginia, excluding the date and the signature, occupies twelve lines of a narrow column, including the half-lines of two paragraphs. All which it contained, concerning Independence, was a formal acknowledgment of the receipt of the letter and of the Resolutions, "which were immediately communicated to the Con- "gress of this Colony, and will be considered by them with all the de- "liberation due to the importance of the subject." Nothing more than that was said or done, on the subject of Independence, in connection with the Resolutions from Virginia, nor in connection with anything else, relative to that subject, until the Congress was crowded into a consideration of it, by an entirely different agency, several days afterwards.

Yet this is "history," as Bancroft understands the meaning of that term.

of Virginia had been thus quieted, [*June* 10, 1776,] the Provincial Congress was further vexed, on the growing subject of Independence, by the receipt of the following brief note from those of the Delegates of the Colony who were, then, in Philadelphia:

"PHILADELPHIA, June 8, 1776.

"DEAR SIR:

"Your Delegates, here, expect that the question of "Independence will, very shortly, be agitated in "Congress. Some of us consider ourselves as bound "by our instructions not to vote on that question; "and all of us wish to have your sentiments thereon.

"The matter will admit of no delay; we have, "therefore, sent an express who will wait your "orders.

"We are, Sir, with the greatest respect,

"Your most obt. hum. servts.

"WILLIAM FLOYD,
"HENRY WISNER,
"ROBT. R. LIVINGSTON,
"FRANS. LEWIS.

"To NATHANIEL WOODHULL, ESQ., PREST.
"OF THE HON. THE CONVENTION OF NEW-YORK."[1]

This letter was received, early in the morning, and the Provincial Congress, very leisurely, read it, in secret Session; and, notwithstanding the urgency for speedy action which accompanied it, that was all which was done, concerning Independence, at that Session.[2] Late in the afternoon, the Congress very leisurely returned to the subject; and, then, it indulged itself by hearing the reading of the letter, a second time; by listening, while the Clerk read the powers of the Provincial Congress, which were very briefly presented in the Resolutions calling for the election of its members;[3] and by hearing the same stately official read the powers of the Delegates of the Colony in the Continental Congress,[4] closing its desperate effort to make haste slowly, in spending "some time, "in the consideration of the letter" of the Delegation,[5] without, however, taking any action whatever, on it or on the subject to which it referred.

Nothing whatever was done by the Provincial Congress, concerning the letter of the Delegates nor concerning Independence, on the following morning, [*June* 11, 1776;][6] but, during the afternoon of that day, with that peculiar disregard for those with whom he was associated which invariably distinguished John Jay from all others, that Deputy presented "several Resolutions on the subject of Independ- "ence," which were seconded by Colonel Henry Remsen, of the City of New York, "again read by "paragraphs, amended, and agreed to, and are in the "words following, to wit:[7]

"RESOLVED, UNANIMOUSLY, That the good people "of this Colony have not, in the opinion of this "Congress, authorized this Congress or the Delegates "of this Colony in the Continental Congress to de- "clare this Colony to be and continue independent of "the Crown of Great Britain.

"BUT WHEREAS the perseverance of the British "King and Parliament, in an unjustifiable attempt to "subjugate and enslave these United Colonies, may "render a determination on that and many other im- "portant points highly necessary and expedient, and "a recurrence to the people at large, for their senti- "ments on every great question that may occur in "the course of the present contest would be very "inconvenient to them, and probably be attended "with dangerous delay:

"RESOLVED, UNANIMOUSLY, therefore, That it be "and it is hereby earnestly recommended to all the "Freeholders and other Electors in this Colony, at "the ensuing Election to be held in pursuance of a "Resolution of the Congress of the thirty-first day of "May last past, not only to vest their Representa- "tives or Deputies with the powers therein men- "tioned, but also with full power to deliberate and "determine on every question whatever that may "concern or affect the interest of this Colony, and to "conclude upon, ordain, and execute every act and "measure which, to them, shall appear conducive to "the happiness, security, and welfare of this Colony; "and that they hold and exercise the said powers until "the second Tuesday of May next, or until a regular "form of Government for this Colony shall be estab-

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Lunæ, 9 ho., A.M., June 10, "1776."

[2] Ibid.

[3] It was stated in the Credentials of the Deputies from Orange-county that the Resolutions of the second Provincial Congress, providing for the election of the third Provincial Congress and defining its authority, were adopted on the twelfth of March preceding; but there is no mention of the adoption of any Resolutions whatever, on that subject, on that or any other day, on the published *Journal of the second Provincial Congress*.

Again: we have not found on that *Journal*, any definition of the authority of the third of those Congresses—that authority which, in the text, the Secretary is said to have read, on the afternoon of the tenth of June—but the Credentials of the Deputies from Kings-county, compared with those of the Deputies from Orange-county, indicate that the authority sought to be delegated to that third Provincial Congress by its constituent Counties, under the Resolutions providing for their election, included "full powers, in behalf of the said County, to appoint Delegates "to represent the Colony in the Continental Congress, and to make such "orders and take such measures as they shall judge necessary, not repug- "nant to or inconsistent with any Rules or Orders of the Continental "Congress, for the preservation of the Rights, Liberties and Privileges of "the inhabitants of this Colony."

These, or their equivalents, were, undoubtedly, what the Secretary read to the Provincial Congress, as stated in the text.

[4] "The powers of the Delegates at Continental Congress," which until it became convenient to refer to them in order to promote a selfish end, had remained unnoticed, were recited in their *Credentials*, in the following few words: * * * "to meet the Delegates from the other Colo- "nies, and to concert and determine upon such measures as shall be "judged most effectual for the preservation and re-establishment of "American rights and privileges, and for the restoration of harmony "between Great Britain and the Colonies," (*Journal of the Provincial Convention*. "Die Sabbati, 11 hora, A.M., April 22, 1775; *Journal of the Continental Congress*, "Thursday, May 11, 1775.")

[5] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Monday, 5 P.M., June 10, 1776."

[6] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Tuesday morning, New-York, June "11, 1776."

[7] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Tuesday, P.M., June 11, 1776."

"lished, in case that event shall sooner take place. "And it is further recommended to the said Free- "holders and Electors, by instructions or otherwise, "to inform their said Deputies of their sentiments "relative to the great question of Independency and "such other points as they may think proper." [1]

It needs very little of knowledge in the science of politics to distinguish, in these Resolutions, a proposal that those of the Colonists, in New York, who were not already proscribed and enslaved by the Resolutions of the Provincial Congress adopted on the fifth of June, six days preceding the adoption of these Resolutions,[2] should debase themselves and voluntarily become unqualified serfs, before, and entirely subject to, as absolute and unbridled a despotism as ever existed; and that knowledge will serve, also, to distinguish the author and supporters of such Resolutions, notwithstanding the gauzy masks which ill-supported their shallow pretensions to personal and political integrity, as nothing else than monarchists of the most pronounced school of absolutism, provided, always, they should, themselves, be seated very near to the throne. There was an appendage to those Resolutions, which rendered the entire movement still more remarkable; and the facts are not the less significant because those who have written of the Resolutions and of those who wrote them and promoted their passage through the Provincial Congress, have studiously concealed not only the license for a despotism which they contained, but, also, that secret appendage which made entirely inoperative all the provisions which they contained on the subject of the proposed Independence of the Colonies from the Mother Country.

The controlling appendage, to which we allude and which has not been heretofore noticed by any historical writer, was an *Agreement* which was made between the members of the Provincial Congress who were then present, John Jay having been of the number and unquestionably the leader in the movement, "That the publishing of the aforegoing Resolves "be postponed until after the Election of Deputies "with powers to establish a new form of Govern- "ment"[3]—that is to say, they were not to be made known to the Freeholders and other voters, until after the Election at which the subject of the proposed Independence, was, by virtue of these Resolutions, to be submitted to the Electors, at the Polls, should have been held.

A reference to the Resolutions will show to the reader that, although the question of Independence formed the basis as well as the top-stone of the structure, they were so contrived that, notwithstanding that question seemed to have been submitted to the judgment of the Electors, at the Polls, that grave subject was really made dependent, among the various other matters of government of which the Electors were audaciously asked to divest themselves, on the unrestrained, despotic will of the Provincial Congress itself; and, at the same time, the entire subject was made "a rider," as parliamentarians call such motions, which was to be "saddled" on an Order which had been already made, for an Election, and for an entirely different purpose. All these, because they were open and intelligible to every sensible Elector, were well enough; and every such Elector, under the closing paragraph of the last Resolution, might be reasonably expected, "by instructions or otherwise, to in- "form his Deputy of his sentiments relative to the "great question of Independency and such other "points as he might think proper," the aggregate of which "instructions" might be regarded as a reasonable indication of the will of those who had given them, on the great questions of a new form of Government and of Independence, without, however, possessing any controlling power over the oligarchic Provincial Congress, who might, nevertheless, regard or disregard that expressed will of its constituents whenever and to whatever extent it own unrestrained will should determine, the Resolutions themselves, meanwhile, affording a license to those Delegates who remained in the Continental Congress, to continue to withhold the assent of the Colony of New York to whatever action should be taken, relative to Independence, in that body. We say, all these were well enough, because they were open and intelligible; and if the question of Independence had been, thereby, submitted, even indirectly and insufficiently, to the arbitrament of the Electors, there would have been an appearance, at least, of fairness and consistency; but John Jay had no such intention—he aimed, mainly, to hoodwink those, in the Continental Congress, who were anxiously desiring the support of New York in their effort to crowd the question of Independence through that body, by a seeming fairness on that subject; while, at the same time, by a secret *Agreement* (an action, by a parliamentary body, which was unknown to parliamentary law, and without a precedent,) all

[1] By inuendo, if not directly, Bancroft, by making no mention of the letter of the Delegation of the Colony in the Continental Congress, leads his readers to suppose that these Resolutions were the outcome of the Resolutions of the Convention of Virginia, which had been disposed of, as we have seen, several days previously and in a lesser number of words.

The same writer describes these Resolutions, after the rhetorical flourish, concerning the author of them, which we have elsewhere quoted, as "calling upon the Freeholders and Electors of the Colony to confer "on the Deputies whom they were about to choose full powers of admin- "istering Government, framing a Constitution, and deciding the great "question of Independence," (*History of the United States*, original edition, viii., 440; *the same*, centennial edition, v., 305.)

The venerable author saw nothing of that absolute despotism, involving "every question whatever," civil or ecclesiastical or military, affecting not only individuals but the aggregate body of the inhabitants of the entire Colony, which those Resolutions clearly and definitely established; and his eyes saw nothing whatever of that *Agreement* which was appended to them, which entirely dispose of his rhetoric, and, as we shall presently see, present John Jay in a somewhat different light.

[2] Vide pages 343-347, ante.

[3] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Tuesday, P.M., June 11, 1776."

that he and the Provincial Congress had done or pretended to have done, thereon, was made inoperative, by withholding from the Electors, until after the Election at which the Resolutions were ordered to be submitted to the judgment of those Electors, all knowledge of the existence of any such Resolutions!

If the Provincial Congress possessed no authority, legal or revolutionary, "to declare this Colony to be "and continue independent of the Crown of Great "Britain," as both common sense and history, as well as the first of John Jay's series of enabling Resolutions, unquestionably determined, those enabling Resolutions, carefully concealed and rendered entirely inoperative by the *Agreement* which was subsequently appended to them, assuredly did not supply nor provide for a supply of that peculiar authority which John Jay and the Provincial Congress, *then*, regarded as necessary, for a warrant for such a declaration; and, consequently, that Congress was, and would necessarily continue to be, as it had previously been, without the slightest authority, legal or revolutionary, to take any action whatever, which tended toward a separation of the Colony from the Mother Country. The carefully concealed *Agreement* accomplished the evident purposes of its treacherous authors, however; and the Delegation of the Colony in the Continental Congress, at the same time, was enabled, by it, to make its opposition, in that body, to the *Resolution* and the *Declaration of Independence*, less offensive to the majority of that Congress and to the revolutionary elements throughout the Continent; but, notwithstanding these successes, those Resolutions, as well as the *Agreement* which was appended to them, were deceptive and fraudulent in their character, and intended by their author and promoters for nothing else than for the advancement of deceptive and fraudulent purposes. The reader will see, very soon, with what little respect the declaration which formed the basis of those Resolutions, as well as the Resolutions themselves, was regarded by the same John Jay and by nearly the same Provincial Congress—then as deficient in authority "to declare "this Colony to be and continue independent of the "Crown of Great Britain," as it had been, twenty-eight days previously—when, on the ninth of July succeeding, they actually did declare this Colony to be and continue independent of the Mother Country, their acknowledged want of authority, from any source, to do any such action, to the contrary not withstanding.

Were there any doubt, in any mind, concerning John Jay's entire capability of practising the most refined deceit and of being most unqualifiedly treacherous, whenever his own selfish or partisan purposes could be most successfully promoted by deceit and treachery, such a doubt would be surely removed by a knowledge of that remarkable transaction—the adoption of a series of Resolutions, for the seeming promotion of a specific purpose, while, secretly, at the same time, he entered into an *Agreement* with other persons, by means of the provisions of which *Agreement*, secretly executed, the Resolutions were made inoperative, and the seeming support which they appeared to extend to the question of Independence, at the same time, was converted into an illusion and a cheat—which we have described. John Jay and all those with whom he was associated, in the great political questions of that period, were aiming at something else than Independence, at something which was directly antagonistic to Independence; and he and they felt at liberty, under the license of that unholy ambition which controlled them, to resort to and to employ whatever means, of whatever character, which would promote their controlling purpose of keeping the Colony of New York out of the current which was evidently setting toward Independence, and in a continued political and commercial dependence on Great Britain. Whether others will justify either the fraud or those who perpetrated it, is a matter in which we have no concern.

Having thus disposed of its unwelcome guest, the Provincial Congress appointed John Jay and "Col- "onel a Committee to draft an answer to the "letter of the Delegates in the Continental Congress," which had been the basis of all the proceedings which are now under consideration; and it is probable that such an answer, conveying a copy of the *Resolutions*, but evidently not one of the *Agreement*, was sent to the Delegates, on the afternoon of the day on which the *Resolutions* were adopted, although no mention was made of any such answer in the *Journal of the Provincial Congress*—the files of that body, however, contain a letter from the Delegates, dated on the seventeenth of June and addressed to the President of the Provincial Congress, acknowledging the receipt of two letters, of different dates, in one of which "the "sentiments of the Hon. the Convention relative to "the important subject on which we thought it our "duty to ask their opinion," had been transmitted, was duly acknowledged.[1]

No further action, of any kind, concerning Independence, was taken by the Provincial Congress; and, guided by the restricted authority expressed on its *Credentials* and by the *Resolutions* which are now under consideration, without having been told of the treacherous *Agreement*, the Delegation in the Continental Congress continued to withhold the assent of New York to the *Resolution of Independence*, adopted by that body, on the second of July, and to the *Declaration* which it approved, two days afterwards.

During the very brief period of the existence of the third Provincial Congress, besides those general enactments in which its conservative farmers were more than ordinarily interested, Westchester-county was, sometimes, made the especial object of the

[1] *Francis Lewis, Robert R. Livingston, John Alsop, William Floyd, and Henry Wisner to Hon. Nathaniel Woodhull, President, etc.*, "PHILADELPHIA, "17 June, 1776."

attentions of that body. An instance of that class of special doings may be seen in the *Order* which was made by the Provincial Congress, on the twenty-first of May, in these words: "ORDERED, That Colonel "Ritzema send such prudent Officer as he shall think "proper, to Westchester-county, to apply to the "Chairman of the County Committee and to the re- "spective Sub-committees, in that County, for such "good Arms, fit for soldiers' use, as they may have "collected by disarming disaffected persons, in that "County; and the respective Committees are hereby "requested to deliver such of those Arms as are fit "for the Army, to such Officer, taking and preserving "his receipts for the same: that the said Committees, "respectively, take care that all such Arms be "appraised, and an account of the value of each kept "agreeable to the directions heretofore given for that "purpose; and such Officer as Colonel Ritzema shall "send to collect those Arms is hereby directed to de- "liver all such Arms as he shall so receive, to Colonel "Curtenius, that they may be repaired, where it may "be necessary."[1]

It is not now known how many Arms were thus transferred to the Provincial Storekeeper; nor from whom they had been impressed; nor what disposition was subsequently made of them. But, because the Third Regiment of the New York Line in the Continental Army, which was commanded by Colonel Ritzema, was one of those, under General Alexander McDougal, who were engaged with the Royal Army, on Chatterton's Hill, a few months afterwards, and because Colonel Ritzema's Regiment was undoubtedly supplied with Arms, as far as they went, from those which had been "impressed" in Westchester-county and were thus called in—although the Provincial Congress had disallowed the Resolution of the Committee of Safety, under which these Arms had been forcibly taken from their respective owners, it will be seen that the Arms which had been thus seized were not returned to those from whom they had been taken—there was evidently a master-hand so skilfully directing the progress of events that those Arms which had been thus violently and illegally and wrongly taken from the farmers of Westchester-county were taken back to that County, to be employed in the defense of it, against the assaults of the common enemy.

On the twenty-ninth of May, Colonel Thomas Thomas informed the Provincial Congress that Elijah Hunter, who had been Second Lieutenant in Captain Mills's Company, from Bedford, during the Campaign of 1775,[2] and who was a member of the County Committee of 1776-77,[3] representing that Town, was desirous of raising a Grenadier Company, to be attached to the Regiment of Westchester-county Militia, of which Thomas was the Colonel; and it was intended that, of that Company, Elijah Hunter should be the Captain;[4] Richard Sackett, the First Lieutenant;[5] Silas Miller, the Second Lieutenant;[5] and Jeremiah Lounsberry the Ensign.[5] The Colonel also solicited Commissions for all these aspirants to official authority, although there was not the slightest pretense that a single Private had been enlisted; and, of course, since a Thomas had made the request, the Commissions were "immediately issued to those gentlemen."[6]

On the first of June 1776, the Continental Congress made a requisition for six thousand men from the Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York, "to be employed to reinforce "the Army in Canada and to keep up the communi- "cation with that Province;"[7] on the third of June, a second requisition was made, by the same Congress, for thirteen thousand, eight hundred men from the Colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey, "to be employed to reinforce the "Army at New York;"[8] the eleven Battalions already "raised and ordered to be raised for the protec- "tion of the four New England Colonies," were declared to be "sufficient," for that purpose;[9] and a third requisition was also made for ten thousand men from the Colonies of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, "for a Flying Camp, to be immediately "established in the Middle Colonies."[10]

Of these several requisitions, one Battalion of seven hundred and fifty men was called from the Colony of New York, for the Canadian service;[11] and for the reinforcement of the Army at New York, that Colony was required to furnish three thousand men.[12] All were to be taken from the Militia of the respective Colonies; all were to be "engaged" only "to the first "day of December next, unless sooner discharged by "Congress;" and the pay of the men was to commence on the days on which they respectively left their homes.[13]

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[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Martis, 10 ho., A.M., May 21, "1776."

[2] Vide pages 276, 277, ante.

[3] *Members of a Committee for Westchester-county—Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxviii., 309.

[4] Elijah Hunter was evidently an ambitious man. In addition to the Commission, referred to in the text, he managed, on the twenty-first of November, 1776, to obtain the command of the Sixth Company of the Second, or Van Cortlandt's, Regiment of the New York Line, in the Continental Army of 1776-77, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Committee*, xxv., 761;) and he retired from the service, fifteen days afterwards, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Committee*, xxv., 851, 854, xxxv., 321;) contenting himself, thenceforth, as we shall see, hereafter, with hankering after authority to continue the persecution of his peaceful neighbors, which Ezekiel Hawley had previously failed to secure. (*Vide pages 350-353, ante.*)

[5] Of Richard Sackett, Silas Miller, and Jeremiah Lounsberry no other mention than this appears to have been made, on the military records of the Colony or State. It is probable they were stars of the smallest magnitude.

[6] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., May "29, 1776."

[7] *Journal of the Continental Congress*, "Saturday, June 1, 1776."

[8] *The same*, "Monday, June 3, 1776."

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] *Journal of the Continental Congress*, "Saturday, June 1, 1776."

[12] *The same*, "Monday, June 3, 1776."

[13] Ibid.

Of the nine Provincial Brigadier-generals which these requisitions would bring into the service, one was assigned to the Colony of New York ;[1] and, as will be seen, hereafter, a lively canvass for the place was immediately commenced by John Morin Scott, of the City of New York, and by the President of the Provincial Congress, Brigadier-general Nathaniel Woodhull, of Suffolk.

These several requisitions, with an elaborate appeal from the President of the Continental Congress, were laid before the Provincial Congress of New York, on the morning of the seventh of June ;[2] and on the afternoon of the same day, a Committee who had been appointed for the purpose, during the morning session, made a Report, apportioning the requisitions which had been made by the Continental Congress on the Colony of New York, in due proportions, on the several Counties, the number apportioned to Westchester-county having been three hundred men.[3] On the following Sunday afternoon, the levies which had been made on Westchester and Orange-counties and Suffolk were ordered to constitute one Battalion ; and, for that Battalion, Westchester-county was ordered to appoint or nominate, one Colonel, four Captains, four First Lieutenants, and four Second Lieutenants.[4]

Although the Provincial Congress was "of opinion "that the several levies," apportioned on the different Counties, "consisting of volunteers, would be most "advancive of the public service, yet" it evidently knew that volunteers could not be had, even under such a stress of circumstances as then existed and in so "glorious a cause ;" and drafts from the respective Regiments, in each County, were also provided for, in instances where deficiencies should be found; and every possible measure was employed, to secure the armament and general equipment of the men.[5]

Information had no sooner been received by the Provincial Congress of New York, that a Brigadier-general was to be appointed by that body, for the command of the four Battalions which were to be raised in New York, than it was announced "the "Congress conceived it necessary towards carrying "the several Resolutions and requisitions of the "Continental Congress into execution, to appoint a "Brigadier-general and a Major of Brigade of the "Militia of Westchester-county"—the Congress did not reveal in what that declared "necessity" existed, however; and as those offices had been created on the twenty-second of the preceding August[6] and had not been occupied, during the entire intervening period, while neither pay nor emoluments were derivable from them, it is very evident that that Brigadier-general and that Major of Brigade became a "neces- "sity," very suddenly, and only when a contingent possibility appeared that they, if they were already in place, might receive the appointments to the new-created offices of the same respective ranks, in the Brigade of Militia which the Continental Congress had called into the service of the Continent, with the honors, the pay, the emoluments, and the increased social and political influences which they would certainly ensure. Not a moment was lost, therefore—the Congress was not even permitted to refer the letter from the President of the Continental Congress and the exceedingly important enclosures which it covered, to a Committee, for consideration and report —when, with indecent haste, some ready made Certificates which had evidently been kept on hand, ready for immediate use, whenever they should be needed, were laid before the Provincial Congress, showing that, in the opinion of the enlightened County Committee, in Westchester-county, Lewis Morris was just the man for a Brigadier-general's command, and that Lewis Morris, Junior, could not be excelled as a Major of Brigade. With such intelligent judges of military matters and of the requirements of those who were to command and handle large bodies of soldiers, as were seen in the rustic Committee of the County of Westchester, 1776–77, and with Gouverneur Morris, the step-brother and uncle of the two ambitious Westchesterians, present, and directing the work, how could the Provincial Congress do less than to elect them? The record says, "the Congress conceive it necessary towards carrying "these Resolutions of the Continental Congress into "execution, to appoint a Brigadier-general and a "Major of Brigade of the Militia of Westchester- "county ; and Lewis Morris, Esqr., being thought the "most proper person for a Brigadier-general of the "Militia of that County,[7] and having been recom- "mended by the County Committee, for that pur- "pose, and Lewis Morris, Junior, Esqr., having been "also formerly recommended by the said Committee "for an appointment, to be the Major of Brigade of "the Militia of that County ;

"RESOLVED : That Lewis Morris, Esqr., be ap- "pointed Brigadier-general of the Militia of the "County of Westchester, and that Lewis Morris, "Junr., Esqr., be appointed Major of Brigade of the "Militia of the said County."

The Secretaries were ordered to engross the Commissions ; and that, properly attested, those Commissions be "sent to those gentlemen with all possible

[1] *Journal of the Continental Congress*, "Monday, June 3, 1776."

[2] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Friday morning, 9 ho., June 7, "1776."

[3] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Veneris, 4 ho., P.M., June 7, "1776."

[4] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Sunday afternoon, June 9, 1776."

[5] Ibid.

[6] Vide page 278, ante.

[7] As the *Militia Bill* which the Provincial Congress had adopted on the twenty-second of August, 1775, had massed "the Militia of the Counties "of Duchess and Westchester" [*into*] "one other Brigade," it would seem that Duchess-county ought to have been consulted, in this matter; but, very evidently, it was not.

"despatch,"[1] although the Offices were only those of the Militia, not in active service and, with a small exception, not likely to be so. The "despatch" was "necessary," however, since a full-fledged Brigadier-general would be a more imposing candidate, when the election should be held for the Brigadier-general of the four Battalions who had been called into the service of the Continent; and it was not a characteristic of the Morris family to be backward when its own interests required attention and action, at the front. We shall see, hereafter, how well this well-laid scheme was counter-schemed by more astute aspirants; how General Lewis Morris reaped all his military honors, what there were of them, in the Militia of Westchester-county;[2] and that Brigade-major Lewis Morris, Junior, secured all the laurels which he possessed, as an Aide of General Greene, a place for which he was indebted to the personal favor of that Officer.

Two days after the unseemly movement of the Morrises, [*June* 9, 1776,] the Provincial Congress proceeded to the election of a Brigadier-general for the command of the three thousand men who had been called from the Militia of New York, for the reinforcement of the Continental Army, under General Washington, who was then in that Colony; but General Lewis Morris, notwithstanding his artfulness—that species of "art" of which his step-brother, Gouverneur, had written to Mr. Penn, in May, 1774—was not even mentioned—even Westchester-county indicated that he was not a favorite, beyond a known limit; and its Deputation in the Provincial Congress did not pander to his inordinate ambition. The canvass was, indeed, confined to two candidates, John Morin Scott, of the City of New York, one of that celebrated "triumvirate" of the earlier periods of the Revolution and a lawyer of the highest standing, and "General"[3] Nathaniel Woodhull, of Suffolk, a veteran of the French and Indian War, and, at the time now under notice, President of the Provincial Congress. The canvass was evidently conducted, as we have already stated, with spirit; but the influence of the Counties of Westchester, New York, Tryon, Charlotte, and Albany, in behalf of Scott, was too great to be overcome by that of the Counties of Orange, Suffolk, Duchess, and Ulster, for Woodhull, the Counties of Richmond, Kings, Queens, Cumberland, and Gloucester having been absent; and the former was thus elected,[4] admirably filling the political demand, but not, in the slightest degree, promising to make the Brigade efficient or useful, as soldiers—like other lawyers, some of them within our acquaintance, the uniform of a General was attractive to him; he secured an office of distinction; and he continued to occupy it, until, on the establishment of the new form of Government, after having been defeated in his canvass for the office of Governor, he was transferred into the more comfortable, if not the more profitable place, of Secretary of State, which he occupied until 1789, and was succeeded by his son, who held the place until 1798.

On the following day, [*June* 10, 1776,] the Provincial Congress elected the Field-officers of the Regiment in which the levies from Westchester-county were to be enrolled; and Samuel Drake, who was then commanding the skeleton Regiment of Westchester-county Minute-men, in the Continental Service,[5] was elected Colonel; John Hulbert, of Suffolk,[6] was elected Lieutenant-colonel; Moses Hetfield, of Orange-county, was elected Major.[7] The Line-officers of the Regiment and the other details of its organization of the Regiment will be noticed, hereafter.

A matter of particular interest to the inhabitants of Westchester-county occurred during the session of the third Provincial Congress; and it may properly be mentioned in this narrative.

It will be remembered that, on the suggestion of General Lee, a Magazine of Provisions was ordered to be established, in Westchester-county; that the Delegates from that County were authorized to purchase, on the account of the Provincial Congress, the Pork and Beef which were desired; that, subsequently, Colonel Gilbert Drake, the Chairman of the County Committee and one of the Deputies from the County, so managed the affair that all the purchases

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Friday morning, 9 ho , June 7, "1776."

[2] Bolton said Lewis Morris was "a Brigadier-general in the Conti- "nental Army;" and in his arrangement of the words, if they mean anything, that he held that Office before he was sent to the Continental Congress of 1775, (*History of Westchester-county*, original edition, ii., 312; *the same*, second edition, ii., 428;) but we find no competent evidence of the truth of the former statement; and evidence is not necessary to show the entire untruth of the latter.

[3] Nathaniel Woodhull appears to have been a Colonel of the Suffolk Militia, who was "recommended or nominated to our Deputies in Pro- "vincial Congress for a Brigadier-general," by the Committees of the western Towns in Suffolk, in a meeting held at Smithtown, on the seventh of September, 1775, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, xxvi., 216;) but a very careful examination of the *Journals of the Provincial Congress* and of its *Committee of Safety*, from that date until the earliest mention of him as a "Brigadier general" which we have seen, has failed to produce the slightest evidence of his election to that or any other military authority, beyond his Colonelcy. We incline to the opinion, therefore, that, although he commanded the Suffolk and Queens Militia, it was only as the senior Colonel, or Colonel-commandant; and that he was only a "General," "by courtesy," as it was called.

[4] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Sunday Morning, June 9, 1776."

[5] Vide pages 328–330, ante.

[6] It is doubtful if he ever joined the Regiment, (*Colonel Henry B. Livingston to the Committee of Arrangement*, "FISHKILL, 24 Novr., 1776;") and he resigned, on the ninth of December, 1776, (*John Hulbert to the Committee of Arrangement*, "FISH KILL, December 9, 1776.")

William Goforth, who had served honorably in Canada, was elected to the vacancy, (*Minutes of the Committee of Arrangement*, "FISHKILL, "Jany 13, 1777;") but, in February, he declined to continue in the place, (*Philip Van Cortlandt to the Committee of Arrangement*, "FISHKILL, "Feby. 25, 1777.")

[7] Moses Hetfield was Captain of the Company of Minute-men, at Goshen, in September, 1775; (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Military Returns*, xxvi., 133;) in February, 1776, he was nominated as First Major of the Regiment of Goshen, (*the same*, xxvii., 77;) to which office he was subsequently appointed, (*the same*, xxvii., 135.)

of Flour, Beef, and Pork, with all the golden opportunities for personal profits which were thus afforded, were concentrated in his own hands; that there were, consequently, rival purchasing Agents, by whom and by the shrewd farmers, the prices of those articles were so greatly advanced that the Committee of Safety was constrained to interfere; and that, after the various buyers, on the account of the Congress, had thus secured their several harvests of the official plunder, the authority was suspended, the Magazine, very soon after, being declared unnecessary;[1] and the provisions which had been bought, at high prices, were thrown on the market again, for such prices as, under such circumstances, could be obtained for them, from the Contractors and Commissaries of the Continental Army.[2] Under the Rules of the Provincial Congress, the accounts and the vouchers had to be audited, before the former could be closed; and Colonel Gilbert Drake, who had endeavored to supersede his associates, in making the necessary purchases, could not produce a sufficient amount of those vouchers to balance his accounts—he had received three thousand pounds, in money; fifty pounds of that sum he could not account for; he was mean enough to hesitate, when the missing fifty pounds were officially called for, preferring, rather to go down to posterity, through all time, as a defaulter;[3] and the matter was laid before the Congress, to be patched up, in some way which would spare him from paying the one hundred and twenty-five dollars, which had disappeared, he did not know how.

The subject was one of those which, by hook or by crook, the Secretaries of the Provincial Congress were apt to pass, without making an official record of them; and we have found no mention of it, on the *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, until a special Committee who had been previously appointed "to "take into consideration the case of Colonel Gilbert "Drake, relative to a loss of fifty pounds he sustained "in receiving and paying out the monies deposited in "his hands, for the purpose of purchasing and laying "up in store a certain quantity of salted Pork, pur-"suant to an *Order* of the late Provincial Congress," made its report, on the fifteenth of June. In that Report, the facts were duly recited, very much to the depreciation of the vindictive Colonel's manliness, although it recommended that he be allowed for his loss, and that he be also compensated "for his other "services," the latter having been asked for, by no others of the Deputies who had also traversed the County and had made similar purchases and had been contented with what they had respectively made, in the operations. The Congress declared, as its opinion, "that Colonel Gilbert Drake sustained a loss, which "accrued in receiving and paying out the public "money, in purchasing Pork, by order of the late "Provincial Congress," without, however, assuming the loss referred to; and then it voted the gallant Colonel, "the sum of seventy pounds, as a compensa-"tion for his services, expenses, and commissions, in "purchasing the said Pork, as aforesaid," and leaving him officially "whitewashed," with twenty pounds and what, besides, he had made in the operations, snugly secured in his pocket-book. It was proven, in that instance, that influence was useful, even among "patriots;" and the Chairman of Westchester-county's County Committee, in the same instance, found it well to have been a Drake.[4]

As we have already stated,[5] the third Provincial Congress was alarmed by the entrance of General Howe into the harbor of New York, and precipitately disbanded, without a formal adjournment, although it had previously provided for a reassembling of the Deputies, at the Court House, in the White Plains, on the following Tuesday, [*July* 2, 1776.] As it did not thus resume its work, it ceased to exist; and, whether for good or for evil, the third Provincial Congress and all which it did and all which it failed to do became subjects of history.

* * * * * *

The latter half of the year 1776 was one of the most eventful periods in the history of America, if not in that of the entire civilized world; and in the great drama of political and military events, teeming with immediate interest and with ultimate importance, and occupying only that short half-year, Westchester-county, in New York, and those who were, then, within the limits of that ancient County—the peaceful and industrious farmers whose homes were there, as well those strangers, armed or unarmed, who had gone into the County, no matter for what purpose—occupy places which were, then, as conspicuous as, since the close of that period, they have been well-known, from one extreme of Christendom to the other.

On the second of July,[6] General Howe and the army which he commanded, whose entrance into the harbor of New York, a few days before, has been already noticed,[7] occupied Staten-Island—Richmond-county—with the military and naval forces which he had brought from Halifax, say seven thousand, five hundred, and fifty-six, rank and file, including those

[1] Vide pages 333–335, ante.

[2] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., Au-"gust 14, 1776."

[3] Gilbert Drake seemed to care very little for the respect of posterity; and his ill-conduct in the management of his monetary dealings with others, after the establishment of the Peace, led the Grand Jury to indict him, on a charge of extortion, (*Records of the Court*, in manuscript, County-clerk's office, at the White Plains.)

[4] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Sabbati, A.M., June 15 "1776."

[5] Vide page 338, ante.

[6] General Howe's *Observations on a pamphlet entitled* Letters to a Nobleman, 47.

See, also, *General Howe to Lord George Germain*, "STATEN ISLAND, 7th "July, 1776;" General Washington to the President of the Continental Congress, "New-York, July 3, 1776."

[7] Vide pages 339, 340, ante.

who were sick;[1] and, as has been already stated, the inhabitants of that beautiful island, remembering the sentence of outlawry which had been pronounced against them, by the Provincial Congress, and the multiplied outrages to which they had been subjected, on warrants of the same body, by those who claimed to be the special defenders of the Rights of Man; and being, also, relieved from apprehensions of a renewal of their sufferings, "testified their "loyalty by all the means in their power," furnishing the new-comers with "fresh Provisions, Carriages, "Horses, etc.,"[2] and meriting, from him, the high praise which General Howe awarded to them, in his despatches to the Home Government.[3]

It is proper that we shall say, in this connection, that General Howe, on his arrival at Sandy-hook, on the twenty-fifth of June, had been met by Governor Tryon and many others, "fast friends to Govern-"ment," from whom he had received "the fullest "information of the state of the rebels," and of their situation and defences, in the City of New York and on Long Island. His inquiries, concerning the face of the country between Gravesend and Brooklyn and concerning the military works which had been thrown up, had afforded information which had been so entirely satisfactory that he had determined to land the Army, at Gravesend, immediately, and to move, from that base, without the slightest delay and with only the small effective force which was then under his command, on the insufficient works which, at that early day, had been constructed in Kings-county. For the prosecution of that purpose, two days after the arrival of the Fleet and the Army, at Sandy Hook, [*July* 1, 1776,] the former had been moved up to Gravesend-bay, now so universally known to New Yorkers as one of their Summer resorts, in order that the troops might be landed, at daybreak, on the following morning, [*July* 2, 1776,] and, thence, make the first movement in the Campaign, against the insignificant works and yet more insignificant force which, at that time, were clustered around Brooklyn.[4]

It is not now known, if it was ever known, what the result of that early movement of the Royal Army would have been, had General Howe's purposes been duly executed; but there can be little doubt that, with no more than the small force which was then under his command and with the reinforcements which an early success would have surely brought to him, from Richmond, Kings, and Queens-counties, the insufficiently armed and ill-appointed handful of half-hearted men whom General Washington commanded or endeavored to command, would have been entirely overcome; and that, thereby, the physical strength of the Rebellion would have been surely broken.[5] But "the bright designs" of God had been directed to an entirely different end; and the uplifted hand of General Howe fell, harmlessly, without striking the meditated and well-aimed and powerful blow—during the night, after the Fleet had anchored in Gravesend-bay, and while the preparations for landing the troops, at the approaching daybreak, were in progress, and while the soldiery, smarting under the disgrace which had befallen it, at Boston, was eagerly preparing to recover its professional respectability, in an encounter, in the field, with those by whom it had been, there, humiliated, somebody, history does not say whom although intelligent conjecture undoubtedly supplies the information, approached the commanding General with "particular information of a strong pass, upon a "ridge of craggy heights, covered with wood, that lay "in the route the Army must take, only two miles "distant from the front of the enemy's encampment "and seven from Gravesend, which the rebels would "undoubtedly occupy before the King's troops could

[1] General Howe's *Observations*, 45,

[2] General Howe's *Observations*, 50.

[3] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "STATEN ISLAND, 7th July, "1776." General Howe's *Observations*, 50.

[4] General Washington's means for obtaining intelligence were very defective—how should it have been otherwise, among those whom the Provincial Congress had soured by the outrages inflicted on them or on their neighbors and friends? He was not informed of the arrival of General Howe, until three days after it had occurred; and then only through information received through a prisoner, whom the *Schuyler*, armed sloop, had captured.

On the same day on which that intelligence was received by him, General Washington wrote to the Continental Congress: "I could wish "General Howe and his armament not to arrive yet, as not more than "a thousand Militia have come in, and our whole force, including the "troops at all the detached posts and on board the armed vessels, "which are comprehended in our *Returns*, is but small and inconsider-"able when compared with the extensive lines they are to defend and, "most probably, the Army that he brings. I have no further intelli-"gence about him than what the Lieutenant" [*Davison, of the armed "sloop* Schuyler] "mentions; but it is extremely probable his accounts "and conjectures are true," (*General Washington to the President of the Continental Congress*, "NEW YORK, 27 June, 1776," *postscript* dated "June "28th."]

On the following day, General Washington wrote thus: "I suppose "the whole fleet will be in, within a day or two." [*It all arrived on that day.*] "I am hopeful, before they are prepared to attack, that I "shall get some reinforcements. Be that as it may, I shall attempt "to make the best disposition I can of our troops, in order to give them "a proper reception, and prevent the ruin and destruction they are "meditating against us," (*General Washington to the President of the Continental Congress*," NEW YORK, 29 June, 1776.")

A few days after General Washington had thus conveyed the intelligence of the weakness of his command, to the Continental Congress, the Adjutant-general of the Army is said to have written to a member of the same Congress, on the same subject, in these words: "With an "Army of force, before, and a secret one, behind, we stand on a point "of land with six thousand old troops, if a year's service of about half "can entitle them to the name, and about fifteen hundred new levies, "of this Province, many disaffected and more doubtful. In this situ-"ation we are: every man in the Army, from the General to the Pri-"vate, acquainted with our true situation, is exceedingly discouraged. "Had I known the true posture of affairs, no consideration would have "tempted me to have taken an active part of this scene; and this sen-"timent is universal," (*Adjutant-general Joseph Reed "to a Member of "Congress*," "NEW YORK, July 4, 1776," quoted by Dr. Gordon, in his *History of the Rise, Progress and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America*, Edition, London: 1788, ii., 278.)

[5] "General Howe is sufficiently strong, considering the goodness of his "troops, to make a successful attempt upon the Americans; but being "in daily expectation of the reinforcements from Europe, he will un-"doubtedly remain inactive till their arrival," (Gordon's *History*, etc., London edition, ii, 278.)

"get up to it; and, from the minutest description, "judging an attack upon this post, so strong by "nature and so near the front of the enemy's works, "to be too hazardous an attempt, before the arrival of "the troops with Commodore Hotham,"[1] [*from Europe,*] "daily expected," the General "declined "the undertaking;" and, consequently, the day-break came and went without the promised debarkation of the Army; the Fleet weighed its anchors, "passed the "Narrows," came too at the watering place, where it again cast its anchors; the Army was landed on Staten Island, as already stated;[2] the first mistake of the Campaign was committed; the first disastrous delay was inaugurated; General Washington and his feeble command were, for the time, spared; and the Rebellion was not suppressed. With an abundant naval force under his command, General Howe commanded and controlled all the waters which were near him; and Gravesend-bay need not have been regarded as the only base which he could have occupied—he could have turned the flank of any or of all the lines, either of hills or of armed rebels, and have landed his command either in front or on the rear of either of the latter, as he should have determined; and he could have led his abundantly supplied, admirably disciplined, and thoroughly willing command to an immediate and effectual success, had not his willing ears listened to those who inclined to Peace, and had not his sympathies controlled his judgment and overcome his sense of duty with the hope that the day of reconciliation—of reconciliation to be secured through himself—was not yet passed. He hesitated; and the golden opportunity passed away, never to be returned.

On the same second of July, and while the Royal Army was thus occupying Staten Island, the Continental Congress, at Philadelphia, was considering the subject of Independence.

* * * * * *

It will be remembered by the reader that, in 1774, when the County of Westchester was invited, by the Committee of Fifty-one, in the City of New York, to unite with that Committee in sending a Delegation to the proposed Congress of the Continent which had been called for the purpose of securing a proper and united opposition to the measures of the Ministry and, as far as possible, a redress of the grievances of the Colonies, the great body of the farmers in that County disregarded that invitation; and that the very few who accepted it, either personally or by their local Committees, assembled at the Court-house, in the White Plains; called one of the principal landholders of the County, who was, also, at that time a Representative of the County in the General Assembly of the Colony, Frederic Philipse by name, to the Chair; and signified the opposition to the measures of the Home Government, of, at least, those who were present, by authorizing the Delegation who had been elected to represent the City and County of New York, to represent, at the same time, the County of Westchester, in that general assemblage of Delegates.[3]

It will be remembered, also, that the General Assembly of the Colony, which was convened in January, 1775, although there was not, within it, a single "friend of the Government," every member having been an avowed member of the party of the Opposition, had presented the lamentable spectacle of a great party divided into factions, each seeking to secure the same great result, but by distinct and radically different means. In the conflicts of factions, in that body, it will be remembered that no more consistent and no more steadfast opponents of the Home and Colonial Governments were seen than the two Representatives of the County of Westchester and the other two, who represented, respectively, the Manor of Cortlandt and the Borough Town of Westchester, although Frederic Philipse, representing the County, and Isaac Wilkins, representing the Borough, were of one faction, and John Thomas, also representing the County, and Pierre Van Cortlandt, representing the Manor of Cortlandt, were of the other and opposing faction.[4]

At the adjournment of the House, in April, 1775, these four gentlemen appeared to have returned to their respective homes, and to have remained there, without immediately participating in the political events of the day, except in the instance of Frederic Philipse and Isaac Wilkins, who, eight days after the adjournment of the General Assembly, united in the *Declaration and Protest* against the assembling of the Provincial Convention for the sole purpose of electing Delegates to a second Congress of the Continent, which *Declaration and Protest* a large number of the inhabitants of the County of Westchester then signed and published.[5]

It will be remembered, also, that among the earliest of those whom the handful of office-seekers, in the interest of themselves and of the Rebellion, proscrib-

[1] Commodore Hotham did not reach New York until the twelfth of August, as will be seen, hereafter.

[2] *General Howe to Lord George Germain*, "STATEN ISLAND, 7th July, "1776."

See, also, [Captain Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 174; Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 190, 191.

Stedman said, "the troops thus landed," [*on Staten Island,*] "consisted "of two Battalions of Light Infantry; two of Grenadiers; the Fourth, "Fifth, Tenth, Seventeenth, Twenty-second, Twenty-third, Twenty-sev-"enth, Thirty-fifth, Thirty-eighth, Fortieth, Forty-second, Forty-third, "Forty-fourth, Forty fifth, Forty-ninth, Fifty-second, Fifty-sixth, Sixty-"third, and Sixty-fourth Regiments of Foot; parts of the Forty-sixth "and Seventy-first Regiments; and the Seventeenth Regiment of Light "Dragoons. There were, besides, two Companies of Volunteers, raised "at New-York, consisting of one hundred men each. The total amount "was nine thousand men"—in which latter statement, in general terms, he is contradicted by General Howe, in his *Observations*, (*vide pages*, 367, 368, *ante*.) although he gave the aggregate, including the Officers and Staff, while General Howe included only "the Rank and File of his command.

[3] Vide page 208, ante.

[4] Vide pages 224, 225, ante.

[5] Vide pages 248–250, ante.

ed, because of his action in the General Assembly—notwithstanding it was in an earnest opposition to the Ministry and in an equally earnest support of the demands of the Colony for a redress of grievances—because of his *Declaration and Protest* at the White Plains, and, undoubtedly, because of his understood authorship of some political tracts which were obnoxious to the controling political faction, Isaac Wilkins was obliged to seek personal safety in flight—he left his family and his estate and found a refuge in London.[1]

After having spent some months in retirement, Pierre Van Cortlandt resumed his place in the political turmoil of the period; while Frederic Philipse and John Thomas, the former at Yonkers and the other in the Harrison Precinct, are not known to have taken any part whatever, in the partisan operations of that period.

When the spirit of proscription was introduced into Westchester-county, destroying the peace which had previously prevailed among its rural inhabitants, Frederic Philipse was named among those who, without the slightest evidence of any wrong-doing, were to be arrested and dealt with.[2] He does not appear to have been disturbed, however, until the organization of the notorious "Committee to Detect Conspiracies," of which mention has been already made;[3] when, at the head of the *List of Suspected Persons, in Westchester-county*, who were designated as the victims of that American Inquisition, was placed the name of "*FREDERIC PHILIPSE×"—the asterisk before the name indicating that he was "to be Summoned;" and the cross which followed the name indicating that he was "to be Arrested."[4]

The *Minutes of the Committee* also indicate that on the twenty-seventh of June, 1776, an Order was made by that body, "That Summonses issue against the "following persons as inimical to the Cause and "rights of America, returnable on Wednesday the "third day of July next at ten o'clock in the forenoon "of the same day, viz: Frederick Philipse and "Samuel Merritt, which said Summonses signed by "all the members present af[d] were delivered to the "Secretary with directions to deliver them to the "messenger to be served."[5]

The Summons thus issued was served on Frederic Philipse, at Philipsborough, the present City of Yonkers, on Saturday evening, the twenty-ninth of June; and, on the following Tuesday, [*July* 2, 1776,] he made the following reply to the Committee:

"PHILIPSBOROUGH, July 2, 1776.

"GENTLEMEN:

"I was served on Saturday evening last with a "paper signed by you, in which you suggest that "you are authorized by the Congress to summon cer-"tain persons to appear before you, whose conduct "had been represented as inimical to the rights of "America, of which number you say I am one.

"Who it is that has made such a representation or "upon what particular facts it is founded, as you have "not stated them, it is impossible for me to imagine; "but, considering my situation and the near and "intimate ties and connexions which I have in this "country,[6] which can be secured and rendered

[1] Vide page 254, ante.

[2] *List of Westchester County Tories: Historical Manuscripts*, etc.; *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxiv., 193.

[3] Vide pages 344–347, ante

[4] *Minutes of the Committee to Detect Conspiracies*, "Die Sabbati, 12 ho., "June 15, 1775:" *Historical Manuscripts*, etc., *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxiv., 307, and xxx., 156.

[5] *Minutes of the Committee to Detect Conspiracies*, "Thursday, A.M., "June 27, 1776:" *Historical Manuscripts*, etc., *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxv., 485.

[6] Frederic Philipse was a native of the Colony; and the family had been well known residents of New York for more than a century preceding the date of this letter, and was connected, by marriage, with the other leading families of America—even George Washington had not scrupled to seek an alliance with it, if tradition speaks truly.

The well-known Rev. Timothy Dwight, S. T. D., President of Yale-college, writing of Yonkers, in the Autumn of 1811, said, "it is remarkable for nothing, except having been the residence of the family of "Philipse, one of the most distinguised of those which came, as Colonists, "from the United Netherlands. Colonel Philipse, the last branch "resident in this country, I knew well. He was a worthy and respectable man, not often excelled in personal and domestic amiableness. Mrs. Philipse was an excellent woman; and the children, the "eldest of whom was about seventeen, gave every promise of treading "in the same steps," (*Travels, in New England and New York*, iii., "442, 443.)

Mr. Bolton (*History of Westchester-county*, Second Edition, i., 523,) quoting from an original manuscript, in the handwriting of John Jay, said that that most zealous and most malignant of all Mr. Philipse's persecutors, said of him, probably in the later years of the life of the writer, "He was a well-tempered, amiable man; and a kind, benevolent landlord. He had a taste for gardening, planting, &c., and employed "much time and money in that way. * * * At the commencement "of our Revolution, he, Frederick Philipse, was inclined to the Whigs, "but was afterwards *persuaded* to favor the Tories.* He was removed "to Connecticut, on his parole. Nothing could have been more favorable to him, circumstanced as he then was, than to be placed in such "a state of tranquil neutrality. On a certain occasion, he obtained permission to go to New York, while in possession of the enemy. On "being afterwards required to return, he very improperly and unwisely "yielded to the importunities of certain of his friends, and refused to "return. His estate was confiscated."

Sabine, notwithstanding his notorious bitterness, repeated the story of the moral worth of this unwieldy, blind man, who lived on his estate, taking no part whatever in the partisan movements of the period. (*Loyalists of the American Revolution*, original edition, 537, 538; revised edition, ii., 186, 187.)

The persecution of Frederic Philipse and the robbery of his family, mainly through the two Jays, is a subject which some one will, hereafter, be very likely to examine and expose, in all its native ugliness, to the censure of the world.

*No one knew better than John Jay that there was another cause than that named, which led Frederic Philipse to dissent from the doings of John Jay, James Duane, Governeur Morris, *et al.* Frederic Philipse continued to be a member of the Colonial party of the Opposition, in New York, until, by the advice of the Committee of which John Jay was one of the master spirits and the Chairman, he was seized by the military power and sent into exile; and the scheme and trick by means of which those exiles who had been allowed to go into New York, did *not* receive the notices which Governor Trumbull sent for their return, affording a pretext for the sequestration of their large estates, was not a secret to those who were, *then*, in the ring of "patriotic" money-seekers, nor is it a secret to us, now.

Common respect for the truth should have led John Jay to have told the whole of the story concerning Frederic Philipse's visit to New York and his stay there, or to have said nothing concerning it.

"happy to me only by the real and permanent pros-
"perity of America, I should have hoped that suspi-
"cions of this harsh nature would not be easily
"harboured. However, as they have been thought of
"weight sufficient to attract the notice of the Congress,
"I can only observe that, conscious of the upright-
"ness of my intentions and the integrity of my con-
"duct, I would most readily comply with your Sum-
"mons, but the situation of my health is such as
"would render it very unadvisable for me to take a
"journey to New York, at this time. I have had the
"misfortune, Gentlemen, of being deprived, totally,
"of the sight of my left eye; and the other is so
"much affected and inflamed as to make me very
"cautious how I expose it, for fear of a total loss of
"sight. This being my real situation, I must request
"the favour of you to excuse my attendance, to-
"morrow; but you may rest assured, Gentlemen, that
"I shall punctually attend, as soon as I can, con-
"sistent with my health; flattering myself, in the
"meantime, that, upon further consideration, you
"will think that my being a friend to the rights
"and interests of my native country is a fact so
"strongly implied as to require no evidence on my
"part to prove it, until something more substantial
"than mere suspicion or vague surmises are proved
"to the contrary.

"I am, Gentlemen, your most obedient, humble
"servant FREDERICK PHILIPSE.

"TO LEONARD GANSEVOORT, PHILIP LIVINGSTON,
"THOMAS TREDWELL, LEWIS GRAHAM, GOUV-
"ERNEUR MORRIS, THOMAS RANDALL, Es-
"quires."[1]

As the Provincial Congress, as well as its Committee to Detect Conspiracies, had hurriedly left the City of New York before the day appointed for the hearing of Frederic Philipse and Samuel Merritt;[2] and as only one of the members of the Committee had lingered, after the Congress and the Committee had retired;[3] the proceedings against them, at that time, were evidently suspended—the suspension of the persecution of Mr. Philipse, however, was speedily followed by a similar proceeding, of which mention will be made, hereafter.

The fourth Provincial Congress was directed to meet at the Court-house, in the White Plains, on until the following day, Tuesday, the ninth of July, the Deputies from a majority of the Counties appeared, produced their Credentials, and organized the Congress. General Nathaniel Woodhull was chosen for its President; and John McKesson and Robert Benson, the Secretaries of the former Congresses, were continued in the same places, in this.[5]

There were only five Deputies present from the City of New York, although twenty-one had been elected; but every member of the Deputation from Westchester-county—Colonel Lewis Graham, Colonel Pierre Van Cortlandt, Major Ebenezer Lockwood, William Paulding, Captain Jonathan Platt, Samuel Haviland, Zebadiah Mills, Colonel Gilbert Drake, Jonathan G. Tompkins, General Lewis Morris, and Gouverneur Morris—was present.[6] Of the latter Captain Platt, Colonel Van Cortlandt, Zebadiah Mills, and General Lewis Morris were new members.[7]

After a letter from the Delegation of the Colony in the Continental Congress, bearing date the second of July, "on the subject of Independence, and request-
"ing instructions from this Congress,"[8] had been read, a second letter from the Delegation, of a subsequent date, "enclosing the *Declaration of Independence*," was also read, and referred to a Committee consisting of John Jay and Abraham Brasier, of the City of New York, Abraham Yates, Junior, of Albany-county, and John Sloss Hobart and William Smith, of Suffolk.[9]

The *Declaration* which was thus referred, was a duly authenticated copy of *A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled*, of which document mention has been already made; and, with its authentication, *in extenso*, it was entered at length on the *Journal of the Congress*.[10]

A very important letter, concerning prisoners of Monday, the eighth of July, 1776;[4] but it was not

[1] Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, vi., 1215, 1216.

[2] Vide pages 340–347, ante.

[3] Judge Jones, who was, also, one of those whom the Committee had summoned, related the fact that, on the thirtieth of June, Governeur Morris was the only member of the Committee who had not left the City, in the general panic. *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, ii., 296.)

In view of Governeur Morris's great anxiety to go into the City of New York, then a military post of the Royal Troops, very soon afterwards, it will hardly be necessary for us to inquire why he was the only member of the Provincial Congress who voluntarily exposed himself to supposed danger from the approach of the Royal Army.

[4] *Journal of the* (third) *Provincial Congress*, "Sunday afternoon, June 30, 1776."

[5] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Tuesday, 9th July, 1776."

Very singularly, and without the slightest authority except that of J. Warren Tompkins, Bolton, (*History of Westchester-county*, original edition, ii., 359; *the same*, second edition, ii., 564,) considered the Congress which was assembled, at the White Plains, on the ninth of July, 1776, as the same body as that which had been in session, in the City of New York, from the eighteenth of May until the thirtieth of June, preceding. In other words, both these learned historians regarded the third and the fourth Provincial Congresses as one and the same body.

[6] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Tuesday, P.M., WHITE PLAINS, "July 9, 1776."

[7] *The Journal of the Congress*, July 9, placed Colonel Van Cortlandt's name at the head of the list of "the new members present" who "took the general oath of secrecy," although the Colonel had headed the Deputation from Westchester-county, in the third Provincial Congress, as will be seen by reference to the *Credentials* of that Delegation, in the *Journal of that Congress*, "Die Sabbati, 10 ho., A.M., May 18, "1776."

The explanation of that apparent contradiction may be found in the fact that that short lived third Provincial Congress was dissolved before Colonel Pierre Van Cortlandt took his seat in it or was qualified to do so, by his taking the oaths of the office of Deputy.

[8] *George Clinton, Henry Wisner, John Alsop, William Floyd, and Francis Lewis, to the Provincial Congress*, "PHILADELPHIA, July 2, 1776."

[9] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Tuesday, 9th July, 1776."

[10] Ibid.

war and those who were, also, confined in the Jail, in the City of New York, for debt,[1] was received from General Washington, and referred to a special Committee;[2] and after the transaction of some other business, the Congress adjourned until the afternoon.

On the afternoon of the same day, [*Tuesday July* 9, 1776,] the Committee to whom had been referred the letter from the Delegation from the Colony in the Continental Congress and the *Declaration* which that letter had covered, made a Report, thereon, in the following words:

"IN CONVENTION OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK,[3]
"WHITE PLAINS, July 9th, 1776.

"RESOLVED, UNANIMOUSLY, That the reasons "assigned by the Continental Congress for declaring "the United Colonies free and independent States "are cogent and conclusive; and that, while we "lament the cruel necessity which has rendered that "measure unavoidable, we approve the same and "will, at the risk of our lives and fortunes, join with "the other Colonies in supporting it.

"RESOLVED, That a copy of the said *Declaration* "and the aforegoing Resolution be sent to the Chair-"man of the Committee of the County of Westches-"ter, with order to publish the same, with beat of "drum, at this place, on Thursday next," [*July* 11, 1775]; "and to give directions that it be published, "with all convenient speed, in the several Districts "within the said County; and that copies thereof be "forthwith transmitted to the other County Com-"mittees within the State of New York, with orders to "cause the same to be published in the several "Districts of their respetive Counties.

"RESOLVED, That five hundred copies of the "*Declaration of Independence*, with the two last men-"tioned Resolutions of this Congress for approving "and proclaiming the same, be published in hand-"bills and sent to all the County Committees in this "State.

"RESOLVED, That the Delegates of this State, in "Continental Congress, be and they are hereby "authorized to consent to and adopt all such mea-"sures as they may deem conducive to the happiness "and welfare of the United States of America."

It is said that the Report which was thus made by the Committee was unanimously adopted by the Congress; and, further, that an *Order* was made by the Congress directing that copies of the Resolutions which constituted the Report should be transmitted to the Continental Congress.[4]

The reader need only to be reminded that the evident author and the known supporters of this series of Resolutions were the same author who, twenty-eight days previously, had written, and almost entirely the same individual Deputies who, at the same time, had voted, that the authority of "the good "people of this Colony" was, then, necessary to enable the Provincial Congress or the Delegates of the Colony in the Continental Congress "to declare this "Colony to be and continue independent of the Crown "of Great Britain;" that, in the absence of any such authority already delegated to themselves or to the Colony's Delegates in the Continental Congress, it was, at that time, considered proper and necessary to ask for authority to do so, if it should be subsequently considered expedient and proper to make such a declaration of Independence, in behalf of that "good "people" of whom they, then, acknowledged themselves to have been only agents or deputies; that, for reasons which will be remembered, no such authority, then nor subsequently, had been delegated to either themselves or to the Colony's Delegates in the Continental Congress, by that "good people" whose servants and representatives both they and the Delegates referred to acknowledged themselves to have been; and that, on the later occasion, which is now under notice, themselves having been the witnesses, they were quite as much without authority, legal or revolutionary, "to declare this Colony to be and "continue independent of the Crown of Great "Britain," as they had been, on the former occasion, of which mention has been made. If it had been an act of usurpation to have declared the Independence of the Colony, without the "consent" of the Colony, previously given, on the former occasion, how much less flagrant was the act, also without having obtained that "consent," on the later occasion, which is now under consideration? Were John Jay and those whom

[1] *Joseph Reed, Adjutant-general* (by the General's order) *to the Provincial Congress*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, NEW-YORK, July 5th, 1776."

[2] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Tuesday, 9th July, 1776."

[3] In view of the fact that the body of which that Committee was a part and by whom it had been appointed and to whom it was to report, was, specifically, "a Provincial Congress for the Province of New "York;" and because, at that time, there had been no change in the status of the Deputations composing the Congress, who represented nothing else than certain specified Counties, each Deputation representing only a single County; and because, at that time, the Colony of New York, could not be possibly regarded as a "State," the caption of that Report displayed nothing of historical or legal precision, nothing of accuracy of statement, and nothing of good taste.

The hand which wrote it could not be concealed; and if the form of the writing answered the present purpose of the writer of it, in certifying his new-born zeal for Independence to his astonished constituents, it would probably answer an equally good purpose in invalidating the instrument of which it was the head, in case that "Reconciliation" for which the writer of the Report did not cease to hope and to pray and to labor, should be effected.

[4] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Tuesday, P.M., WHITE PLAINS, "July 9th, 1776."

The *Journal of the Continental Congress*, of Monday, the fifteenth of July, stated that a copy of the first, second, and fourth of these very important Resolutions had been enclosed, with a number of other papers, in a letter dated on the eleventh of that month, and sent to that Congress; that the letter and the papers which were enclosed in it were received by the Continental Congress, on Monday, the fifteenth of July; that the three Resolutions named were entered at length, on the *Journal of that Congress;* and that "the letter, with the papers enclosed," was referred to the Board of War.

he controlled really honest and sincere, when, on the eleventh of June, preceding, they made the confession of their legal incapacity to make such a declaration of Independence, unless with the previously-obtained "consent" of that "good people" whose servants and deputies they then acknowledged themselves to have been? If so, what possible ground is there for consistently regarding them as either honest or sincere, when, on the ninth of July, the occasion which is now under notice, while they were yet without that "consent" of their principals and constituents which had been previously regarded as essential to ensure validity to any such action, they actually, on their own motion, made such a declaration; severed the political connection which had previously existed between the Colony and Great Britain; abrogated all the Laws under which the Colony had been previously governed; deposed the previously existing Colonial Government; and usurped, to themselves, without the slightest limitation, the absolute and despotic control of every thing relating to the Civil, the Ecclesiastical, and the Military concerns of all who were within the Colony, not sparing even the consciences, the opinions, the properties, the liberties, or the lives of those who presumed to say to them, "What doest thou?"

We shall see, hereafter, how much of honesty and integrity there were, in either of these, when the series of Resolutions, on the subject of the Colony's independence, which is now under consideration, was written and adopted; how little the writer of them honestly and sincerely regarded those Resolutions as being, really, what they appeared to have been; and how little foundation in truth there is for the greater portion of what has been written concerning that writer and what he did, on the ninth of July, 1776.

Having disposed of the subject of Independence in the curt and crispy *Resolution* which headed the series which was reported by the Committee, the Provincial Congress turned to other subjects of vastly less importance; and, two days afterwards, on Thursday, the eleventh of July, very probably, no record of the fact having been found, the publication of the *Declaration* was made, officially, at the White Plains, in conformity with the second Resolution of the series, on that subject, which had been adopted by the Congress.[1]

The great importance of that Resolution which gave the sanction of the Colony of New York to the *Resolution for Independence* which the Congress of the Continent had adopted on the second of July, was seen in the immediate abrogation of all the forms of Law and Government which had previously been seen throughout the Colony, from the earlier period of the settlement by Europeans within its territory; and the substitution, in their stead, of nothing else than the government of unrestrained force, the Law of the stronger. A general Jail-delivery, in the City of New York, signalized the "new departure"—where there was no longer any Law, there could not be any breaches of the Law, either in the matter of pecuniary obligations or in that of any other obligation—and as every civil Commission was cancelled by that *Resolution of Independence* from the Crown of Great Britain, on the authority of which royal authority every such Commission was based, every Court of Justice was closed, every function of Government was paralyzed, and because no new form of local Government and no new system of Statutes had been provided to take the places of the others, which had been thus violently set aside, there was nothing but confusion and uncertainty; and had not the general conservatism of the Colonists prevailed and preserved the general peace, the advent of Independence, throughout the Colony of New York, would have been signalized by many a local scene of terrorism and of bloodshed. It was not so in the other Colonies; and had not the master-spirits of the revolutionary faction, in New York, in the interest of Reconciliation, obstructed the work of creating a new form of Government, quite as effectively as, at the same time, they were creating a necessity for such a new system—at least for a Provisional Government, if not for a permanent one—New York might, also, have been fully prepared for the great changes, in all her governmental arrangements, which were thus crowded on her. A very competent writer, a witness of the great changes of which he wrote and of which we write, thus accurately and graphically described them: "*The Declaration of Independence*, published by Congress on "the fourth of July, 1776, was the first act that put "an end to the Courts of Law, to the Laws of the "land, and to the administration of Justice, under "the British Crown, within the thirteen Colonies. "The revolt was now complete. Upon this event, "the Law, the Courts, and Justice itself ceased: all "was anarchy: all was confusion. A usurped kind "of Government took place: a medley of Military "Law, Convention Ordinances, Congress Recommendations, and Committee Resolutions."[2]

It is proper that we shall say, however, that, notwithstanding the *Declaration of Independence* was thus nominally accepted and approved, and notwithstanding New York was thus formally obligated to stand or fall with her sister States in the support and defense of the cause in which they were engaged, Independence had not been, as we have already seen, what the revolutionary faction of the great party of

[1] Bolton stated, in his *History of Westchester-county*, (original edition, ii., 359, 360; *the same*, second edition, ii., 564,) that, on the occasion referred to, "the *Declaration* was read by John Thomas, Esq., and "seconded by Michael Varian and Samuel Crawford, two prominent "Whigs of Scarsdale." But he has given no authority for the statement; and unless by "John Thomas, Esq.," the reader of the *Declaration* on the occasion referred to, he meant the younger of the two who bore that name, we must be excused for doubting the accuracy of the statement.

[2] Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, ii., 115.

the Opposition, in New York, had desired and aimed for; nor, since it had been crowded through the Continental Congress without the approval of the master-spirits of that revolutionary faction of the party and in the face of the determined opposition of those who represented or who, in other Colonies, were affiliated with that faction, although the *Declaration* and Independence itself had been acquiesced in by the Provincial Congress, did the same faction regard either with the slightest favor; nor, as the subsequent conduct of its leading members, those of its number from whom the character and disposition of the whole may be fairly estimated, in postponing the establishment of a new form of Government for the young State and leaving it during more than nine months without the slightest semblance of a Government of any kind, clearly indicated, did that remarkable faction, then, intend to respect either the *Resolution for Independence* or the *Declaration* of it any longer than would be necessary to enable it to effect a reconciliation with Great Britain, and, thereby, to secure to that family of whom all the faction were either members or hungry followers, all those official places, within the Colony, which were then occupied by their hereditary rivals, and all that influence, for like purposes of aggrandizement, within other Colonies and within the Congress of the confederacy, to which that horde of miscellaneous office-seekers desperately aspired, and to which, it was fondly considered, it would become reasonably entitled.

On the afternoon of the ninth of July, immediately after the Provincial Congress had adopted the Report of the Committee to whom the *Declaration of Independence* had been referred, and, thereby, as far as it could do so, had abrogated every Law and every Commission which had rested on the sovereignty of the King of Great Britain, with singular coolness but entirely consistent with the absolutism which had thus been inaugurated and with the disposition and desires of those who then controlled the Congress, the Sheriffs of the several Counties were "authorized "and directed" [*not by Law, but only by the oligarchic will and the consequent* ipse dixit *of the Congress,*] "to "retain and keep in their custody all prisoners, of "whatever kind, which are or may be in their custody, until the further order of this Convention, "or until such of them as may be confined for "debt, on civil process, shall be released by the "Plaintiffs so brought against them;"[1] and thus provision was made for the safekeeping not only of the victims of earlier lawlessness but of subsequent absolutism, the latter, by the terms of the Resolution, concentrated within the Provincial Congress itself.[2]

Immediately after the provision of depositaries for the victims of its absolutism, as stated in the Resolution above referred to, the Provincial Congress revived the notorious Committee to detect Conspiracies, which had ceased to exist by reason of the dissolution of the Congress who had created it;[3] united it to the Committee on Prisoners of War, which had been appointed during the morning session; withdrew the authority to interfere with those who were suspected of disaffection, which had been vested in General Washington, by the preceding Provincial Congress, puring the panic occasioned by the arrival of the Royal Army;[4] vested the consolidated Committee, thus created, with authority to "carry into execution "all such Resolves of the Continental Congress and "comply with all such necessary requisitions of the "General" [*Washington,*] "as require so much de-"spatch as to render an application to this Congress "impracticable or attended with dangerous delay;" appointed John Sloss Hobart, of Suffolk, Gouverneur Morris and Colonel Lewis Graham, of Westchester-county, Leonard Gansevoort, of Albany-county, and Thomas Randall and Colonel Henry Remsen, of the City of New York, or any three of them, for such Committee; "permitted" the Committee "to proceed "in the business under" [*unto?*] "them committed, "in such a manner as to them shall appear to be most "agreeable to the dictates of justice and humanity "and most advancive of the public good:"[5] and so set in motion, again, that concealed instrumentality of despotism, which, under the same plea of "necessity," had stamped the records and the history of the third Provincial Congress with everlasting shame; and, in this later instance, with such an increase of authority as made it, practically, an absolute power which was greater in its ability to oppress the State than even the Provincial Congress itself.[6]

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[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Tuesday, P.M., WHITE PLAINS, "July 9th, 1776."

[2] It is very evident that James De Lancey, the Sheriff of Westchester-county, or the Deputy who represented him, obeyed the Resolution of the Provincial Congress by holding in confinement, in the County Jail, those "Prisoners of State" who, for political reasons, had been or who were, subsequently, sent to him, (*Petition of Joshua Purdy and fourteen others*, "WHITE PLAINS GOAL, August the 18th, 1776;" *Petition of Jonathan Purdy, Junior*, "WHITE PLAINS GOAL, August 30th, 1776;" *Petition of Henry Chase*, "WIGHT PLAINS GOAL, August 30, 1776;" etc.) as well as those Prisoners of War who, also, were sent to him, for safe-keeping, (*Examinations of John Simpson, James Auchmuty, and seven others, Prisoners of War*, "WHITE PLAINS IN WESTCHESTER COUNTY, July 6th, 1776, compared with the *Petition of William McDermot*, one of the number; with the *Paroles of James Auchmuty and John Simpson and William McDermot*, dated October 20, 1776; and with the *Petition of John Simpson, William McDermot, William Elder, and Joseph Wollcomb*, "Octr., 1776;") the latter of which Petitions is also interesting because of the information which it brings of the treatment of Prisoners of War, at the White Plains, by those who were in authority, under the "Convention of the Representa-"tives of the State of New York;" etc.

[3] Vide page 347, ante.

[4] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Sunday Afternoon, June 30th, 1776."

[5] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Tuesday, P.M., White Plains, "July 9th, 1776."

[6] Although the Provincial Congress was seated at a distance from the City of New York, this Committee preferred to hold its meetings in that City; and, with the unlimited authority with which it was vested, with nothing to control its own estimate of a "necessity," and with the strong arm of the military power to support that estimate, that Committee was, in fact, an oligarchy of absolute power, possessing greater means for oppression and outrage than was held by the Provincial Congress which had created it and by whose warrant it acted.

On Wednesday, the tenth of July, the Provincial Congress "resolved and ordered that the style or "title of this House be changed from 'THE PROVIN-"'CIAL CONGRESS OF THE COLONY OF NEW-YORK', "which it had previously borne, to that of 'THE "'CONVENTION OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE "'STATE OF NEW-YORK;'"[1] and, thenceforth, there was no open pretension that the King of Great Britain was the Sovereign of that portion of America or that those who were within the bounds of her territory owed the slightest allegiance to him or obedience to his commands.

The fourth Provincial Congress, notwithstanding the momentous events which were evidently rapidly approaching, was immediately zealous in continuing the remarkable policy which had distinguished the preceding three of the series and which had served to keep alive and to intensify the feuds of former days, separating the Colonists into factions, bitterly antagonistic in feelings and in actions, instead of seeking to conciliate those who differed; to pacify those who were discontented; to bring into harmony, the thoughts and opinions and desires which were discordant and jarring; and to secure concert of action, for the promotion and support of "the common cause," among those who had previously differed only on the means which should be employed for the accomplishment of the common purpose. But the revival, with largely increased authority and without any diminution of malignancy, of the notorious political Inquisition—the Committee to detect Conspiracies—afforded abundant evidence of the purpose of the master-spirits of the new-formed Convention to keep apart those who might have been united, had a redress of grievances been the only purpose of the movements; and to drive over into the ranks of the Royal Army or into the service of that Army, those who, under a more judicious policy, would not have become enemies, eager for retaliation, even if they had not become very active friends. The outlawry of Richmond and Queens-counties and the terrible outrages which had been inflicted on their peaceful inhabitants, under the authority or with the permission of the earlier Provincial Congresses, had already produced their legitimate results, in the eagerness with which the persecuted and outraged inhabitants of each of these Counties had accepted the protection of the Royal Army and taken up arms for retaliatory action;[2] and nothing else than a continued and a more than ever before besotted haughtiness, utterly unmindful of the Rights of those who were assumed to be subject to their authority, and a continued and more than ever before mulish stubbornness, in their continued determination to reduce every one who opposed them, no matter how slightly, to an unconditional and absolute submission of thought, word, and deed, to their oligarchic authority, regardless of any and every consequence to others or to the country at large—only such a haughtiness and such a stubbornness, indeed, as had characterized the Colonial policy and the administration of Lord Bute and Lord North and Lord George Germaine and their Tory associates, in England; the same as those which had controlled the three Congresses which had preceded it, after the members of the first of them had been induced to wander into the green pastures of the revolutionary faction—could have induced the master-spirits of this new Provincial Congress, under the peculiar circumstances which had recently arisen, to disregard the significant teachings of their earlier policy, and to create disaffection and to raise up enemies when harmony and a concert of action, in the cause of their common country, had become so vitally necessary. In the prosecution of that ill-advised and injudicious, as well as barbarous, policy, it continued to make arrests of individuals whom somebody had denounced as "suspected;[3] and even individual members of the Convention, on their individual motions, without the slightest charge against their victims, ordered individuals into imprisonment.[4]

[1] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Wednesday morning, WHITE "PLAINS, July 10th, 1776."

Doctor Sparks erroneously stated, (*Writings of George Washington*, iii., 470, note,) that that change in the title of the Provincial Congress was made on the *ninth* of July, and cited the Manuscript *Journal of the Congress*, of the *ninth* of July, as his authority: we have preferred to depend on the official copy of that *Journal*, as it was printed by order of the Legislature, in 1842, which clearly indicates that the change was made on the following day.

[2] John Adams was either a very poor judge of human nature or a very besotted and haughty aristocrat, regarding the masses as unworthy of his sympathy or respect, or both, when he wrote of these people, then bleeding from every pore, from outrages inflicted on them by authority or with the permission of the Provincial Congress, and rejoicing that protection had been extended to them and to their property, by strangers, in such words as these: "The unprincipled and unfeeling and un-"natural inhabitants of Staten-Island are cordially receiving the enemy; "and, deserters say, have engaged to take arms. They are an ignorant, "cowardly pack of scoundrels. Their numbers are small, and their "spirit less." (*Letter to Mrs. Adams*, "PHILADELPHIA, July 11, 1776.")

Mr. Adams should have told just what he would have done, had he and his family passed through such an ordeal of "patriotism" as these islanders had sustained, and had he, as they were, been without hope of relief from his own countrymen. The record of his judgment would, then, have been complete.

[3] See the instances of Christopher Templer, (*Journal of the Convention*, "Die Lunæ, 4 ho., P.M., July 22, 1776;") that of Robert Sutton, (*the same*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., July 24th, 1776;") that of Nicholas Couwenhoven, (*Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Tuesday afternoon "Augt. 27, 1776;") and many others.

[4] See the instance of Henry Chase, "committed to the Jail at White "Plains, by an order from the Major," [*Major Webster, Deputy from Charlotte-county.*] (*Journal of the Convention*, "Die Jovis, 5 ho., P.M., "July 25, 1776.")

This case of imprisonment of Henry Chase very perfectly illustrated the despotic disposition and actions of those who were then in authority.

On the twenty-fifth of July, the date of the entry of his arrest on the *Journal of the Convention*, (he may have been arrested much earlier,) he petitioned the Convention that he was "confined in Goal upon suspision, "without money or friends," and begged that body would "bestow its "charity" upon him, (*Petition of Henry Chase and three others*, "WHITE "PLAINS, July 25, 1776:" *Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Petitions*, xxxiii., 152.)

On the thirtieth of August, Chase again petitioned the Convention, as follows:

Arrests were thus made, very often, without the slightest reason, even from the standpoint of those exercising the authority;[1] and even women, when they refused to be made tools for their inquisitorial practices, were ordered to be imprisoned "until they "should make discovery or declaration aforesaid."[2] Arrests were made by military officers, even for alleged civil offences;[3] and, of course, the arbitrary arrests of those who were obnoxious to members of the several County Committees were continued, without abatement[4]—the Committee of the City of New York assumed authority to pass over the Hudson-river, into New Jersey; to arrest six persons, "in "Bergen Woods, near Bull's Ferry;" and to bring its prisoners over the river, and imprison them in the Jail of the City.[5] Occasionally, food was provided for those who were thus seized and confined;[6] but such a favor was exceptional: in some instances, the expense of being confined was increased by official extras;[7] but there was an instance, also, wherein a prisoner, arrested by order of the Commander-in-Chief, was liberated from confinement, by the Convention, and given the largest liberty, with no other condition than that of an elastic parole, only because of his "connection with a large family of well-attached, "warm Whigs," and because it would be "the most "politic course to do so;"[8] and a second instance, wherein "a person of equivocal character," in Westchester-county,[9] and whose name was included in the *List of Suspected Persons* on which Frederic Philipse's name also appeared,[10] and who was ostentatiously summoned to appear before the notorious "Committee to "detect Conspiracies," of which his half-brother and

"WIGHT PLAINS GOAL, August 30, 1776.

"GENTLEMEN: My confinement is the Reason of my Petitioning to "you the Honorable Provential Congress, hopeing your Honours will be "Pleas[d] to Take my Case into Consideration for the Comete of Safety" [*the Committee of Westchester-county*] "Says that they have no Right to "try me So I leave my Case to your Honnours and Begg that your "Honnours would Concider me for I have bin imprisoned a long time, "and nothing Appeared against me, So I begg that your Honnours "would consider me as Quick as Possible for I am a Poor man and itt is "a Great Dammage to me to Ly in Prison, so Gentlemen I Leave my "Case to your Honnours not Douting but your wisdoms Gentlemen will "do me jestice, the Broken Petition from me,

"HENRY CHASE.

"POSTSCRIPT. GENTLEMEN I should be very glad if your Honnours "would be so good as to send for me before your Honnour as Quick as "Possible and in so doing you will greatly me.

"HENRY CHASE."

(*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Petitions:* xxxiii., 100.)

The County Committee had officially informed Chase, nine days previously, that it had no jurisdiction of his case, and directed him to the Convention, (*Westchester-county Committee to Henry Chase*, "IN COM-"MITTEE OF SAFETY FOR THE COUNTY OF WESTCHESTER, WHITE PLAINS, "Aug. 21, 1776"—*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Petitions*, xxxiii, 102;) but no attention whatever was paid to the poor man's Petition, by either the Committee of Safety of the State or the Convention to whom it was addressed—he was only "a Poor man," one of the "poor rep-"tiles," of earlier "patriotism."

On the thirteenth of September, the unfortunate prisoner again presented a Petition for relief, in these words:

"WHITE PLAINS GOAL, September 13, 1776.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HONORABLE PROVENSHALL CONGRESS.

"This my Humble Petition to Beg of your Honnours to send for me "that I may have my tryal for the County Commete and the Commete "of Safety says that they have no Right to try me and I have desird "them to send me to the Honnourable Provenshall Congress and they "tell me they Dare Not send me without orders from your Honnours "Gentlemen so I shall be very Glad if your Honnours will be Good "Enouf to send for me as soon as Possible, for I have bin in Prison "Going on Eight weeks and I cant support myself any Longer,* So "Gentlemen I Shall be very Glad if your Honnours would take my "case into Consideration if your Hounours Pleases so that I may be "clear[d] or condem[d] So Gentlemen I leave my case to your Honnours "wise consideration not Douting but your Honnours will have compas-"sion on a Poor Prisoner.

"HENRY CHASE."

(*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Petitions*, xxxiii., 90.)

To this second appeal, there does not appear to have been made the slightest answer, although it was received by the Convention, and "read," (*Journal of the Convention*, Tuesday morning, Septr. 17, 1776;) and His tory is silent concerning the remainder of the victim's career.

Those who shall desire to know who and what kind of a man it was who had thus possessed and exercised power enough to point his dirty finger at a man and cause him to be thus outrag d, without any remedy, may be gratified by turning to a *Petition* addressed to the Provincial Congress, on the fourth of May, 1776, by William Duer, subsequently well known, (*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Petitions*, xxxii., 85;) and to the *Accot of Monies, p[d] by the Treasurer for which no Accot has been rendered by the persons to whom they were paid*, reported by the Treasurer to the Convention, on the eighteenth of September, 1776.

(*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxvi., 257.)

[1] The instances of Christopher Temple, already referred to; that of Robert Sutton, (*Journal of the Convention*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., "July 24, 1776;") that of John Thomas, (*the same*, "Die Sabbati, 9 ho., "A.M., July 27, 1776;" that of John Sutton, (*the same*, "Die Sabbati, 3 "ho., P.M., July 27, 1776;") and others.

*The reader will remember that such prisoners as this, those thrust into confinement because it suited somebody to "suspect" them, were compelled to support themselves, while in Jail, or to starve, unless somebody should charitably help them to food.

[2] See the instance of Elizabeth Hicks, of Rockaway, (*Journal of the Convention*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., August 14, 1776.")

[3] See the instances of George Davy and William Tucker, arrested by Major Graham, (*Journal of the Convention*, "Thursday morning, July "18, 1776;") those arrested by Lieutenant Brett, (*the same*, "Die Veneris, "4 ho., P.M., Septr. 27, 1776;") etc.

[4] The instances of William Sutton and his son, John Sutton, (the latter discharged by the Convention,) arrested by the Committee of Westchester-county, (*Journal of the Convention*, "Die Jovis, 5 ho., P.M. July 25, "1776,") and of Abraham C. Cuyler, John Duncan, Stephen De Lancey, John Monier, and Benjamin Hilton, arrested and banished into Connecticut, by the Committee of Albany-county, (*the same*, "Die Mercurii, 9 "ho., A.M., Augt. 21, 1776,") are noteworthy.

[5] *John Berrian, Chairman, to the Convention*, "COMMITTEE CHAMBER, "NEW-YORK, Augt. 2, 1776;" *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Mer-"curii, 9 ho., A.M., Augt. 7, 1776."

[6] The instances of Rinier Van Housen and Henry Dawkins, in the Jail at the White Plains, (*Journal of the Convention*, "Friday morning, "Augt. 9, 1776,") may be noticed.

[7] William Sutton was arrested and confined in the Jail at the Plains, furnishing his own food, as was usual; but, soon after, he was banished to Philadelphia, and there confined, "subsisting himself," besides having been required to pay to Lieutenant Alexander Hunt, who conveyed him to Philadelphia, the expenses of his own journey, the expenses of Hunt while thus engaged in escorting him, and twelve shillings per day to the latter, "for his trouble in the premises." (*Journal of the Convention*, "Die Sabbati, 3 ho., P.M., July 27, 1776.")

[8] See the instance of Willett Taylor, who was thus favored, at the instance of General John Morin Scott, (*Journal of the Convention*, "Tues-"day morning, Augt. 13, 1776;" *the same*, "Thursday, A.M., August "15, 1776;" *General John Morin Scott to John McKesson*, "NEW-YORK, "*hora vesp.* 13th August, 1776;" *the same to* ——— ———, "NEW-YORK, "Aug. 13, 1776.")

[9] *Minutes of the Committee to detect Conspiracies*, "Thursday, A.M., "June 27, 1776."

[10] *Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxvi., 156.

another kinsman were leading members,[1] was made the "Judge of the High Court of Admiralty of this "State," only thirty-four days after he had been thus summoned to answer a charge of having been "sus-"pected," and before he had answered to that Summons;[2] and a third instance, when a leading member of the Convention itself, because of his known inclinations and because of his continued and frequent correspondence with his friends, in the City of New York as well as with those in Philadelphia, after both those Cities had been occupied by the Royal Army; and because of his expressed desire to go into the City of New York, for the purpose of visiting those friends; and because of his application for a flag, for the purpose of carrying those desires into effect; became generally and very seriously "suspected,"[3] without having been officially disturbed, by any one—he was not one of those "poor vipers" of whom he had told, only a few months previously;[4] nor did he come within the circle of those whom the dominant, aristocratic clique of that period was inclined to degrade to the level of the common people. There have been some, from that time until this, who have seen that, in the hands of such as then controlled the affairs of New York, the scales of justice were sadly tilted; that there was one kind of justice for one class of the inhabitants and another kind of justice for another class; that, in practice, the vaunted equality of all men was a fiction.

It was a favorite practice to remove the victims of these arrests from the vicinage of the alleged offence; and the Jail at Kingston was much employed,[5] although Morristown, in New Jersey,[6] and Hartford, in Connecticut,[7] and the City of Philadelphia,[8] and "others "of the neighbouring States,"[9]—of course, the older-time repository of the victims of New York's "suspicion," at Litchfield, in Connecticut, was included;[10]—did not fail to receive their very welcome supply of well-to-do boarders.

During the first three months of the existence of the Convention, there were thus lawlessly seized, of the residents of Westchester-county, William and John Sutton, of Mamaroneck;[11] John Rogers, a servant of Lewis Morris, of Morrisania;[12] Joseph Reade, of Westchester;[13] Isaac Underhill, of Yonkers,[14] and Philip Palmer[15] and James Horton, Junior,[16] besides a number of others the names of whom were not recorded on the *Journal of the Convention*.[17]

[1] *Minutes of the Committee to detect Conspiracies*, "Thursday, A.M., "June 27, 1776."

[2] Compare the record of the *Summons* of Richard Morris, in the preceding Note, with that of his appointment, in the *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho, A.M., July 31, 1776."

[3] Reference is made, in this place, to Gouverneur Morris; and those who shall incline to know more of the subjects referred to, are referred to Doctor Sparks's *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, i., 154–161, in which, notwithstanding the evident purpose of the kind-hearted biographer to say as little in disparagement of the aristocratic culprit as possible, the careful reader will perceive the unceasing hankerings of that distinguished "patriot," for the fleshpots of monarchy.

[4] Vide page 188, ante.

[5] The instances of Bloomer Nelson, Samuel Haines, Josiah Disberry, and Jacob Schureman, residents of Westchester county, (*Journal of the Convention*, "Thursday morning, August 29, 1776;" *Petition of John Sutton, Bloomer Nelson, and others*, "Kingston Goal, Febry 19th, 1777"—*Historical Manuscripts: Petitions*, xxxiii., 638; *Petition of Bloomer Nelson and three others*, "Kingston Goal, March 26, 1777—*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.,: *Petitions*, xxxiii., 610.) are sufficient for this purpose, although there are numerous others.

[6] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Sabbati, 9 ho., A.M., Augt. 17, 1776;" *the President of the Convention to the Committee of Ulster-county*, "In Con-"vention of the Representatives of the State of New York, "Harlem, Augt. 17, 1776;" etc.

[7] The instances of Abraham C. Cuyler, John Duncan, Stephen De Lancey, John Monier, and Benjamin Hilton, already referred to, will be remembered by the reader.

[8] It will be remembered that William Sutton of Mamaroneck was banished to Philadelphia.

[9] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Saturday morning, Novr. 9, "1776."

[10] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Jovis, 4 ho., P.M., July 18, 1776."

[11] Vide page 375, ante.

[12] *Journal of the Convention*, "Wednesday morning, Augt. 28, 1776;" *the same*, "Thursday morning, Augt. 29, 1776."

[13] The Affidavit on which Joseph Reade was ordered to be arrested is such a singular production that we are induced to copy it.

"Dutchess County, ss. Abraham W. D. Peyster, being sworn, depos-"eth and saith that, on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the fourth, "fifth, and sixth days of September instant, he was at New-Rochelle, in "the County of Westchester; that on one of the above-named days, he "heard, (as far as he can at present recollect,) either Theodosius Bartow, "of New-Rochelle aforesaid, or Anthony Abrahams, of the Town of "Westchester, in substance, say, in a conversation this Deponent had "with the one or the other of them, on the American contest, that Jo-"seph Reade, late of the City of New-York, Attorney-at-Law, but, at "present, as this Deponent understood, a resident in the Town of West-"chester, was reputed a great Tory; that the chief of his, the said Jo-"seph Reade's, conversation was of the Tory kind; and that he, the "said Joseph Reade, had reported that, in the late Battle on Long Is-"land, between the American Army and that of the King of Great "Britain, the Americans had lost either seven or fourteen thousand men. "(This Deponent cannot now recollect which of the two numbers was "mentioned, but rather thinks fourteen.) This Deponent further says, "that the amount of all he heard at New-Rochelle, at the time afore-"said, respecting Joseph Reade, was, that the said Joseph Reade was a "great Tory and very unfriendly to the American cause, and further "this Deponent saith not.

"A. W. D. Peyster.

"Sworn before me, this 10th Sept., 1776.

"Abm. Yates, Junr., *President*."

That Abraham W. De Peyster was an *employé* of the Convention, in its work of making arrests and conveying the victims into exile, as a copyist, etc.; and he was evidently anxious for another job, of the same class, when he volunteered this singular testimony. But the Committee of Safety disappointed his evident expectations, by transmitting the Affidavit to the Committee of Westchester-county, "with a letter requesting "them to proceed thereon," (*Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die "Martis, 8 ho., A.M., Septr. 10, 1776.")

[14] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Lunæ, 9 ho., A.M., October "7, 1776."

[15] Ibid.

[16] *Journal of the Convention*, "Wednesday afternoon, July 17, 1776."

[17] "Resolved: That General Morris be ordered immediately to appre-"hend and secure the persons ordered to be apprehended by this Con-"vention, yesterday, and that he be furnished with a list of those persons "names," (*Journal of the Convention*, "Die Sabbati, 4 ho., P.M., Augt. "10, 1776.")

As no such Order for the arrest of any one as is recited in the above Resolution appears in the published *Journal of the Convention* of the preceding day, it is evident that this is one of those instances of arbitrary lawlessness, familiar to despots, of which the records are buried in secrecy.

Those who were supposed to have been "disaffected," whether they were really so or not, very much alarmed the Convention; and the reports of the ill disposition of large portions of the inhabitants, in various parts of the State, were really and reasonably sufficient to create alarm, even among more resolute men than those of whom the Convention was constituted. Those whom the Committees and the Congresses had persecuted and outraged and all whom their sufferings could influence, very naturally and very reasonably, were "disaffected," as the inhabitants of Staten-Island had been: many, great numbers, of those who had honestly and earnestly opposed the Home Government and who had boldly demanded a redress of the Colonial grievances, were also "disaffected," when the fire-eaters' *Resolution of Independence* was forced on them, *nolens volens*, as Colonel James Holmes, of Bedford,—who had represented Westchester-county in the Provincial Convention which had sent the Delegation of the Colony to the second Continental Congress; who had represented the County in the First Provincial Congress; and who had commanded, throughout the entire Campaign of 1775, the Regiment of Troops in which were the Companies from the same County—was "disaffected," thereby. The greater number of those who had held places of honor and emolument, in the Colonial Government, notwithstanding it was politic to keep quiet, was also, more or less "disaffected;" and the multitude, whose timidity would not permit them to entertain a thought that Independence would be worth what it would evidently cost to secure it, was not very loud-toned in its favor, even if it did not, very often, lean toward "disaffection." Lastly, the inhabitants of the State, very generally, anxious only to attend to their business and their farms, without the distress and misery which a Civil War would necessarily produce, and seeing no advantage to themselves or to their families by the violent overthrow of one Government and the equally violent establishment of another Government—the great majority, by far the greater number, if not the almost entire body, of the farmers of Westchester-county, was of that class—preferred to remain as they had been, before they had been outraged by the new regime; and, therefore, were classed as "disaffected." There was reason, therefore, for the more tender anxiety of the Convention, composed of those who were cowards by instinct, since "its chickens had "come home, to roost;" and, as we shall see, its anxiety was not relieved by what it was subsequently required to experience. Governor Tryon was enlisting as many as he could entice into the service of the King, both in New York and in other States;[1] and those who were "disaffected," in Westchester-county and elsewhere, were beginning to organize and to arm, for their own defence and, now and then, in support of the Royal cause.[2] The Troop of Horse, in Westchester-county, of whom mention has been made, when a quota of its members was ordered for the reinforcement of the Continental Army, at New York, early in July, 1776, had refused to comply with the Order;[3] the Regiment of Westchester Militia, commanded by Colonel Joseph Drake, of New Rochelle, also declined to be submitted to a Draft, for the same purpose, later in July;[4] it knew that very few of the Militia of that County could be expected to enter the service, even for the protection of the County itself;[5] and, on the earnest appeal of the friends of the Convention, in Salem and on Cortlandt's Manor, for the protection of the small revolutionary factions, there, from the greater number of those who were regarded as "disaffected, in those "portions of the County,"[6] a special Company of thirty men, to be commanded by Captain Samuel Delavan, and in addition to the similar Company commanded by Captain Micah Townsend, previously organized,[7] was necessarily ordered to be enlisted and established, at the expense of the State, for that particular service.[8] Even the authority of the Convention and that of the Committee of Safety of the State were disregarded by Captain Varian, of Westchester-county;[9] and there

[1] *The Convention to the Continental Congress*, "IN CONVENTION OF THE "REPRESENTATIVES, etc., WHITE-PLAINS, WESTCHESTER-COUNTY, July "11, 1776;" *the Journal of the Convention*, "Friday morning, Augt. "9, 1776;" *Report of Committee on a more effectual mode of detecting and defeating the designs of the internal enemies of this State—Journal of the Convention*, "Die Sabbati, 4 ho., P.M., Sept. 21, 1776;" and many others.

The instance of William Lounsberry, who refused to surrender and was killed, while four of his recruits—Bloomer Nelson, Jacob Schureman, Samuel Haines, and Joseph Turner—were captured, is noteworthy. Both Lounsberry and his fourteen recruits were Westchester-county Loyalists; and he and they were intercepted in Westchester-county, by a party of Westchester-county Militia, on the twenty-ninth of August, 1776. (*Journal of the Convention*, "Thursday morning, Augt. 29, 1776;" *Committee of Safety to General Washington*, "IN COMMITTEE OF SAFETY, "HARLEM, Augt. 30, 1776.")

[2] *The Committee of Safety to General Washington*, "FISHKILL, 10 Oc-"tober, 1776."

A Corps of Westchester county Refugees was subsequently raised, the Lieutenant-colonency of which was taken by the veteran, James Holmes, of Bedford, already mentioned, (*A Short Account of the Descent and Life of James Holmes, Esq.*, edit. 1815, reprinted, *in extenso*, in de Lancey's *Notes* to Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, ii., 621.) Two Battalions of Loyalists were raised in Queens-county; and in several of the other Counties, heavy enlistments were also made.

[3] *Journal of the Convention*, "Thursday afternoon, July 11, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Veneris, 9 ho., A.M., July 26, 1776."

[4] *Colonel Joseph Drake to General Lewis Morris*, "NEW-ROCHEL, "July 24,1776;" *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., "July 31, 1776;" *Colonel Joseph Drake to the President of the Convention*, "NEW-ROCHELLE, 6th August, 1776;" *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Lunæ, 9 ho., A.M., Augt. 5, 1776."

[5] *Information from General George Clinton to the Convention—Journal of the Convention*, "Tuesday morning, Augt. 13, 1776."

[6] *Thaddeus Crane to Major Joseph Benedict*, "SALEM, September 7, "1776;" *Major Joseph Benedict to Colonel Gilbert Drake*, "CORTLANDT "MANOR, 18 September, 1776;" *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Sab-"bati, 9 ho., A.M., Septr. 21, 1776."

[7] Vide pages 348-350, ante.

[8] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Sabbati, 9 ho., A.M., Septr. 21, 1776."

[9] Compare *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "KINGS BRIDGE, Augt. "30, 1776," with the *Journal of the Convention*, "Monday morning, Sep-"tember 30, 1776."

was good reason for supposing, it was said, that a correspondence was kept up between the Royal Army, on Long Island, and prominent inhabitants of that County, as far in the interior as the White Plains, as early as the close of August, in 1776.[1] The inhabitants of Kings-county were said, early in August, to "have determined not to oppose the enemy;" and a Committee was appointed, with considerable ostentation, to go to that County, and to "inquire concern-"ing the authenticity of such report; and, in case "they find it well-founded, that they be empowered "to disarm and secure the disaffected inhabitants; to "remove or destroy the stock of Grain; and, if they "shall judge it necessary, *to lay the whole County* "*waste;* and, for the execution of these purposes, "they be directed to apply to General Greene, or the "Commander of the Continental Troops in that "County, for such assistance as they shall want;"[2] as if such a rash purpose would have been permitted to be carried into effect, under such peculiar circumstances, while the entire military and naval power of the King, in that part of the Continent, was resting within a mile of the proscribed County, and eager for a fight. Duchess-county, also, asked for further protection from the aggressions of the "disaffected," as Westchester-county had done;[3] and, notwithstanding two Companies had been already raised for that purpose and were then in service,[4] a third Company was ordered to be added to the local force.[5] Like the Militia of Westchester-county, that of Duchess-county was exceedingly "disaffected," and would not be drafted;[6] and with the rashness and haughtiness of the despotism which it wielded, James Duane and John Jay being present, the Committee of Duchess-county, with its local military force, was directed to assist in enforcing the Order,[7] as if one who was thus forcibly crowded into the Army, after the manner of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and the other Old World despots, would ever become a useful and effective soldier. The lower portions of Albany-county and the Manor of Livingston, also, asked for the enlistment and establishment of a local military force, for the only purpose of protecting the very few friends of the Convention who lived there, from the far greater number of the "disaffected" who also lived there;[8] and the measure of the anxiety of the Convention was completed by the submission of all Long Island, not excluding the peculiarly zealous revolutionary County of Suffolk, to the authority of the King.[9] In view of these stern facts, there need be no wonder that the Convention was anxious, concerning the "disaffected;" and because of the purely speculative disposition of the Eastern Troops, and of the apathy, if not of the "disaffection," which prevailed in those of the Middle States, especially among those who were forced into the Army, unwilling soldiers, from New York,[10] there need be no wonder that General Washington, also, was anxious, not only concerning the "disaffected" who were within his own command, but concerning, also, those who were scattered throughout New York, in the rural districts as well as within the Cities;[11] nor that he took unto himself the authority to seize and remove from their homes, some of those who were said to have been "disaffected," in many instances, those who had given their paroles and were honorably discharging their respective obligations of peace and quiet,[12] among the former of whom was Frederic Philipse, of Yonkers, whose almost total blindness and entirely harmless life would have undoubtedly sheltered him, had not "a number of well-affected inhabitants" volunteered to assist the General in selecting his victims,[13] and included Mr. Philipse's name on their list of the assumed "disaffected,"[14] who were maliciously said to have been, also, dangerous.[15] As the General expressly

[1] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Tuesday, A.M., FISKILL, Sep. "tember the 3rd, 1776;" *the Committee of Safety to the Chairman of the Committee of Westchester-county*, "FISHKILL, September 3, 1776."

[2] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Sabbati, 4 ho., P.M., Augt. 10, 1776."

[3] *John Field and Jonathan Paddock to the President of the Convention*, "DUTCHESS, SOUTHEAST PRECINCT, 7th Oct., 1776;" *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Martis, 9 ho., A.M., Octr. 8, 1776."

[4] Vide pages 348, 349, ante.

[5] Journal of the Committee, "Die Martis, Octo. 8th, P.M., 1776."

[6] Information given, personally, by Colonel Humphrey to the Convention. (*Journal of the Convention*, "Saturday morning, September 28, 1776.")

[7] *Journal of the Convention*, "Saturday morning, September 28, 1776."

[8] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Martis, 9 ho., A.M., Octo-"ber 8, 1776."

See, also, *Samuel Ten Broeck, Chairman*, pro tem., *to the Chairman of the Committee of Safety*, "DISTRICT OF MANOR LIVINGSTON, October 9, "1776;" *the same to the same*, "DISTRICT OF MANOR LIVINGSTON, Octo-"ber 10, 1776;" *Petrus Van Gaasbeck, Chairman, to the same*, "MANOR "OF LIVINGSTON, 10th Oct., 1776;" *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Saturday morning, Oct. 12, 1776."

[9] "The inhabitants of this island, many of whom had been forced "into rebellion, have all submitted, and are ready to take the Oaths of "Allegiance." (*General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "CAMP AT "NEWTOWN, LONG ISLAND, 3d September, 1776.")

See, also, *John Sloss Hobart to the Convention*, "FAIRFIELD, Octor. 7, 1776."

[10] Among other authorities, an extract of a letter from General Greene to General Washington, quoted by Sparks, in his *Writings of George Washington* (iv., 9,) is peculiarly noteworthy, in this connection.

[11] *General Washington to General William Livingston*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, "NEW-YORK, 6 July, 5 o'clock, P.M., 1776;" *the same to General George Clinton*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, NEW YORK, 12 July, 1776;" *the same to the "Secret Committee of the Convention of the State of New York*," "HEAD-"QUARTERS, 13 July, 1776;" *the same to the President of the Provincial Congress of New York*, "NEW-YORK HEAD-QUARTERS, July 14, 1776;" and many others.

[12] *General Washington to Governor Trumbull*, "NEW-YORK, 11 August, "1776;" *the same to the Convention*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, NEW-YORK, 12 "August, 1776;" etc.

[13] *General Washington to the Convention*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, NEW-YORK, "12 August, 1776."

[14] *Parole of Frederic Philipse*, "HARTFORD, Augt. 28, 1776;" *Petition of Frederic Philipse*, "MIDDLETOWN, 29th Novr. 1776."

[15] Frederic Philipse was taken into custody by an order from General Washington, on the ninth of August, and taken from his own house, at Yonkers, to New Rochelle, "where he was closely confined, under "guard, for eleven days," when he was removed to Connecticut, and gave his *Parole* that he would not go beyond the limits of the Town of Middletown, which no one pretends he attempted to violate. He remained there, until he was officially permitted to go into the City of New York, also on *Parole*. In the trick which was subsequently played on those who had been thus favored, by ordering them to return to Connecticut, but in such a manner that it was evident the *Order* would not

stated that all these were "apprehended only on sus-"picion,"[1] and that not on the personal knowledge of the General himself, but on information conveyed to him, unquestionably, by the notorious "Committee to "detect Conspiracies," who was then sitting in the City in which Head-quarters then were,[2] the same hands directed the movement which had previously directed the similar movements with which the reader is already acquainted; and the Convention was consistent when it thankfully acknowledged the great favor which it then enjoyed, in having received so welcome and so powerful an accession to its power for persecution, as General Washington and the Army of the Continent.[3]

Like the three Congresss who had preceded it, the Convention was kept busy, with matters pertaining to the Army. It authorized and superintended the enlistment of men, in the service of the State, for local purposes;[4] it attended to that of men for the reinforcement of the Continental Army;[5] and it provided for the payment of Bounties, in addition to the stipulated pay, to those who thus enlisted.[6] It resorted to Drafts, in order to fill the requisitions for men, when enlistments were tardy;[7] and where resistance was made to the Draft, force was authorized, to compel men to fill the ranks.[8] It appointed Officers of both the Militia and the troops in the field;[9] it passed on the qualifications of the Surgical Staff;[10] and it gave employment to Chaplains for the Army.[11] Bargains were made with favored Officers, when they entered the service, conditioned that they should serve nowhere else than in the City of New York;[12] and the settlement of disputes among Officers, concerning Rank, occupied much of its time and attention.[13] It exempted the Cavalry from the operations of a general Draft for men;[14] and those who were employed in furnaces for smelting iron, in forges for making bar-iron, in steel-manufactories, in the anchor forge in Orange-county, in saltworks, in paper-mills, and in powder-mills,[15] as well as those in a flaxseed-mill, in Duchess-county,[16] and in the workshops of a gunsmith,[17] were, also, exempted from every kind of military duty.

The Militia, of course, was the sole dependence of the Convention, in every emergency;[18] and, whether well-disposed or "disaffected"[19]—it seemed to be equally

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reach them, in the distant City, Mr. Philipse was included among the victims of somebody's official misconduct; and, as the world knows, that unintentional failure to return to his place of confinement, in Connecticut, was made the ostensible reason for the confiscation of his great estate, in Westchester-county and elsewhere.

There is not the slightest evidence that Frederic Philipse was anything else than an honest friend of his native country; that he ever spoke or wrote or did anything whatever which could be justly construed as inimical to his country or favorable to the obnoxious measures of the Home Government; or that he ever purposed doing so. He was almost totally blind; and that and his unusual corpulency unfitted him for the slightest personal opposition to or support of any political or military movements; while his fondness for gardening, in all its branches, to which the grounds of his Manor-houses, at Yonkers and Sleepy Hollow, bore ample testimony, and his domestic ties, and his unusual love of home, led him to prefer the quiet and retired life for which he was distinguished, instead of that more active and more public life to which, from his rank and standing and purity of character, he was so completely entitled.

[1] *General Washington to Governor Trumbull*, "NEW-YORK, 11 August, "1776."

[2] The Convention itself was, then, sitting in the old Dutch Church at Harlem; but the General's correspondence, on the subject under consideration, had been, undoubtedly, with the Committee, who was nearer.

See, also, *General Washington to General William Livingston*, "HEAD-"QUARTERS, NEW-YORK, July 6, 1776, Five o'clock, P.M."

[3] *The Convention to General Washington*, "Tuesday, A.M., Augt. 13, "1776."

[4] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Lunæ, 8 ho., A.M., July 22, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Martis, 8 ho., A.M., July 23, 1776;" *the Convention to the Deputation in the Continental Congress*, "HARLEM, 7 Augt., 1776;" etc.

[5] *Journal of the Convention*, "Friday afternoon, July 19, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Sabbati, 4 ho., P.M., Augt. 24, 1776;" *the same*, "Saturday "morning, September 28, 1776;" etc.

[6] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Lunæ, 9 ho., A.M., July 22, 1776;" *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "AT THE HOUSE OF MR. ODELL, PHIL-"IPSE'S MANOR, Augt. 31, 1776;" etc.

[7] *Journal of the Convention*, "Friday morning, July 16, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Lunæ, 9 ho., A.M., July 22, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Mercurii, "9 ho., A.M., July 31, 1776;" etc.

[8] *Journal of the Convention*, "Saturday morning, September 28, 1776."

[9] *Journal of the Convention*, "Friday morning, July 16, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Sabbati 9 ho., A.M., July 27, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Sabbati, "9 ho., A. M., Augt. 17, 1776;" etc.

[10] *Journal of the Convention*, "Tuesday, P.M., WHITE PLAINS, July 9, "1776;" *the same*, "Die Sabbati, 3 ho., P.M., July 27, 1776;" *the same*, "Tuesday afternoon, Augt. 20, 1776;" etc.

[11] *Journal of the Convention*, "Monday morning, Augt. 26, 1776."

[12] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Mercurii, 4 ho., P.M., July 31, 1776."

[13] *Journal of the Convention*, "Tuesday, P.M., WHITE PLAINS, July 9, "1776;" *the same*, "Die Lunæ, 9 ho., A.M., July 22, 1776—the case of "Colonel Drake against Colonel Thomas;" *the same*, "Tuesday morning, "Augt. 13, 1776;" etc.

[14] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., Augt. 7, 1776."

[15] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., August 14, "1776."

[16] *Journal of the Convention*, "Monday morning, August 26, 1776."

[17] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Wednesday morning, Septr. 25, "1776."

[18] The authorities are so numerous, that no attempt will be made to cite any of them.

[19] The following, in addition to what has been already stated concerning the disaffection in the Continental Army, presents the subject, very clearly. The Militia of Westchester-county contained, of course, all who were friends of the Convention and who lived within the County; but the number of efficient men in the entire Brigade did not exceed the strength of a single Regiment and these were so generally "disaffected," either with the service or with the General commanding them, or with both, that the latter regarded his own life as in danger, among them; and, therefore, when he was ordered to take the command of his Brigade, personally, in New York, he preferred to remain in Philadelphia, where he would be less exposed: "The situation of my Brigade I was con-"vinced was well known to the Convention," were his words. "I ap-"prehend that not more than a Colonel's command was left in it; and "as such did not think my presence was so absolutely necessary. I have "thought that the existence of such a Brigade, in which were so many "disaffected persons, was dangerous to the cause as well as to my own "life; but being desirous to participate in the virtuous opposition to the "British tyrant, I had determined, as soon as possible, to join General "Washington, and contribute my assistance to him." (*General Lewis Morris to the Convention* "PHILADELPHIA, Septr. 24, 1776.")

The reader may learn from this how very little the Morrises were respected, even among those who were under legal obligations to respect them, in and throughout Westchester-county, in the Summer of 1776.

The following will further illustrate the "disaffection" of the Militia of Westchester-county, a reasonable result of the outrages which had been officially perpetrated throughout that County, during many months preceding: "We suppose your Excellency has taken the necessary steps "to prevent their landing of any men from the ships, should they be so "inclined, as no reliance at all can be placed on the Militia of West-"chester-county." (*The Committee of Safety to General Washington*, "FISHKILL, 10th Octr., 1776.")

relied on, no matter what its temper might be—it was drawn into the service, while the other States were delinquent,[1] until no more could be taken, for any, except for the most temporary, purposes.[2] It was called out to guard the banks of the Hudson-river[3] and those of Long Island Sound.[4] Reinforcements of the Continental Army were taken from it, whenever reinforcements were called for;[5] the passes in the Highlands were constant sources of anxiety;[6] and the northern borders of the State[7] and Long Island[8] also enjoying its protection. Sometimes it was employed to drive Cattle to places of supposed safety:[9] sometimes it was employed in repairing roads:[10] sometimes, very frequently, it was called from its homes and its necessary labors on the farms, when there was not the slightest appearance of danger, to throw up the defences on which ordinary day-laborers, then suffering from want of employment, had better been employed.

The vessels of war which the Provincial Congresses had equipped and sent to sea, were duly cared for;[11] and it continued to give authority for the equipment of privateers.[12]

As the Convention was largely composed of the same persons as those who had been members of the Provincial Congresses, unto whom the exercise of despotic power has become not only familiar but agreeable and, sometimes, profitable, the same range of authority which those Congresses had usurped was exercised by the Convention, without any other Laws than the promptings of their own wills, as their respective rules of action. It continued, therefore, to provide, as best it could, for the wants of the Army, by manufacturing and by purchasing and distributing among the Powder-mills, all the Saltpeter which it could secure;[13] by making or buying or borrowing Gunpowder, and by distributing it or giving it away;[14] by searching for Lead, and opening Mines, and stripping Window-sashes, in Tryon and Albany-counties, and distributing it or giving it away;[15] and it attended to the search for Sulphur and Flints and Lead, and to the testing of those discovered.[16] It busied itself, also, with the details of distributing Cartridges[17] and Gunflints.[18] Like the Congresses who had preceded it, it engaged, directly, in the manufacture of Arms and Equipments, including that of Lances, with which somebody induced the Convention to attempt to arm the Militia who had been called into the service;[19] and it also bought Arms,

[1] "We can with pleasure assure you, that by far the greater part of "the levies ordered by the Congress to be raised from our Militia, are "completed, and at their several stations; that almost the whole of those "drafted in consequence of the enclosed Resolution, will, by the time "this reaches you, be at posts which is thought necessary to occupy, "least the enemy should cut off the communication between the Army at "New York and the country." * * * "It gives us great pain to in-"form you that the aid received from our sister States is very inadequate "to our expectations, none of them having yet completed the levies di-"rected by Congress, which leaves us reason to fear that instead of using "every means that human wisdom dictates for ensuring success, we shall, "with inferior numbers, on the doubtful issue of a single battle, hazard "the glorious cause for which we have struggled." (*The Convention to the Delegation of the State in the Continental Congress*, "HARLEM, 7th Au-"gust, 1776, A.M.")

[2] *The Convention to General Washington*, "FISHKILL, 10th Octr., 1776."

[3] The entire body of Westchester-county Militia was ordered to the mouth of the Croton-river, to oppose any movements, in that County, from the enemy's shipping, (*Journal of the Convention*, "Thursday morn-"ing, July 25, 1776;") to which the local Company, commanded by Captain Micah Townsend, was added, on the following day, (*the same*, "Die "Veneris, 9 ho., A.M., July 26, 1776.") The entire body of the Militia of Westchester-county was again called out, for the same purpose, with five days' provisions, a fortnight afterwards, (*the same*, "Die Sabbati, 4 "ho., P.M., Augt. 10, 1776.") The Militia of Orange-county, below the Highlands—now Rockland-county—was ordered out for the protection of the western shore of the river, early in the Autumn, (*the same*, "Thursday afternoon, October 10, 1776.")

[4] General Morris was instructed to guard the Sound-shore of Westchester-county, at the same time that he guarded the left bank of the Hudson. (*Journal of the Convention*, "Die Sabbati, 4 ho., P.M., Augt. 10, 1776.")

See, also, *Colonel Joseph Drake to the Convention*, "Wednesday morn-"ing, Augt. 28, 1776;" *the Convention's reply*, "Thursday morning, "Augt. 29, 1776."

[5] One-fourth of the entire body of the Militia of Westchester, Duchess, Ulster, and Orange-counties, to serve until the last day of the following December, was ordered out for general service, in July, (*Journal of the Convention*, "Friday morning, July 16, 1776;" *the same*, "Die "Jovis, 4 ho., P.M., Augt. 8, 1776;") one-fifth of the entire body of the Militia of Albany-county, to serve for one month, and one-half of that of Kings and Queens counties, to serve until the first of September, were added to these, very soon after, (*the same*, "Die Sabbati, 4 ho.. P.M., "Augt. 10, 1776;") and, a few days later, the entire body of the Militia of Orange, Ulster, Westchester, and Duchess-counties was ordered to hold itself in readiness to march, at a moment's warning, with five days' provisions and as much ammunition as possible, (*Journal of the Committee of Safety*. "HARLEM, Augt. 29, 1776.")

[6] The entries on this subject are so very numerous that we can pretend to cite no more than two or three of them, (*Journal of the Convention*, "Friday morning, July 16, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Jovis, 4 ho., P.M., "Augt. 8, 1776;" etc.)

[7] *The Convention to the Delegation from the State, in the Continental Congress*, "HARLEM, 7th August, 1776, A.M.;" *Journal of Committee of Safety*, "Tuesday morning, Octor. 22, 1776;" etc.

[8] *Instructions to General Woodhull—Journal of the Convention*, "Monday "morning, Augt. 26, 1776."

[9] *General Woodhull to the Convention*, "JAMAICA, August 27, 1776;" etc.

[10] The road from the North side of the Highlands to Kingsbridge and "a certain other small road which leads from the Post-road aforesaid to "the dock, at Dobbs's ferry," were ordered to be repaired; and requisitions on the Militia of Duchess and Westchester-counties, were made for that particular purpose, (*Journal of the Provincial Convention*, "9 ho., "A.M., Octor. 5, 1776.")

[11] *Journal of the Convention*, "Saturday morning, September 28, 1776;" *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Lunæ, 9 ho., A.M., October 7, "1776;" *the same*, "Wednesday afternoon, Octor. 16, 1776;" etc.

[12] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Veneris, 4 ho., P.M., Augt. 2, 1776."

[13] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., Augt. 14, "1776;" *the same*, "Die Sabbati, 9 ho., A.M., Septr 14, 1776;" etc.

[14] *Journal of the Convention*, "Friday morning, July 19, 1776;" *Order from General Washington to John Livingston, in favor of the Convention*, "NEW YORK, July 19, 1776;" *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Sabbati, "4 ho., P.M., Augt. 10, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., "July 24, 1776;" etc.

[15] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Lunæ, 9 ho., A.M., Augt. 19, "1776;" *Journal of the Convention*, "Thursday afternoon, July 11, "1776;" *the same*, "Thursday morning, July 18, 1776;" *the same*, "Die "Sabbati, 9 ho , A M., Octor. 5, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Sabbati, 9 ho., "A.M., July 27, 1776;" etc.

[16] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Jovis, 9 ho., A.M., Septr. 19, 1776."

[17] *Journal of the Convention*, "Saturday morning, July 13, 1776."

[18] *Journal of the Convention*, "Thursday morning, July 18, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Sabbati, 9 ho., A.M., July 27, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Lunæ, "9 ho., A.M., Augt. 5, 1776;" etc.

[19] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., July 31, 1776;" *the same*, "Friday morning, August 2, 1776;" *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Mercurii, 4 ho., P.M., Sept. 4, 1776;" etc.

The manufacture of four thousand Lances was assigned to the Coun-

when it could do so,[1] and, sometimes, it hired Arms, when it could not in other way procure them.[2] In short, there seemed to be nothing left, in all which related to the raising, the equipment of, and the furnishing of supplies for, the troops, which was permitted to be done by any other agency; and it affords subjects for thought and inquiry, as one reads of its uninvited interference with the instructions of the Quartermaster-general of the Continental Army to his subordinates, concerning purchases of Timber and Oak-plank and old Vessels, for the obstruction of the Hudson-river;[3] of its direct participation in the purchase of Lime, Brick, Oak-plank, Cordwood, Grain, and Clothing for the Continental Army, although the Quartermaster-general's officers were present and engaged in the same work;[4] and when it also found employment in attending to the Cooperage of leaky Oil-casks belonging to the Continent.[5]

The establishment of a new form of Government received the dilatory and half-hearted attention of the Convention—an abridgement of their existing despotic authority was opposed by the Deputies who then exercised it;[6] and there was a lingering, longing desire, among the master-spirits of the Convention, for a reconciliation with the Mother Country and a restoration of the former form of Colonial Government, evidently with themselves and their friends administering it.[7]

The subject was introduced into the Convention, very properly, on the day after that body had approved and accepted the *Declaration of Independence;* but the consideration of it was postponed, from time to time, until the first of August, when a Committee was appointed for the purpose of taking into consideration and reporting a plan for instituting and framing a *Form of Government*, together with a *Bill of Rights*, ascertaining and declaring the essential Rights and Privileges of "the good people of this State," as a foundation for such *Form of Government*, with instructions to report to the Convention, on the twenty-sixth

ties of Albany, Ulster, Orange, Duchess, and Westchester, eight hundred to each; and, in the last-named County, Stephen Ward, William Millar, and Thaddeus Crane were appointed "to procure the proportion "of Lances affixed to their respective names." (*Journal of Committee of Safety*, "Die Mercurii, 4 ho., P.M., Sept. 4, 1776.") Models were made from Spears procured in New York, (*the same*, "Die Lunæ, 11 ho., A.M., "Sept. 9, 1776;") and, including the long handles, five shillings and six-pence was paid for those which were not steeled, and six shillings and six-pence for those which were steeled, (*Journal of the Convention*, "Die "Jovis, 9 ho., A.M., Octor. 3, 1776.")

We have not met the slightest notice of the use of those four thousand Lances, in the service or elsewhere; and it is more than probable that they were never used, by any one.

[1] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., Aug. 21, 1776;" etc.

[2] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., August 14, 1776."

[3] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Sabbati, 9 ho., A.M., Septr. 21, 1776."

[4] *Journal of the Convention*, "Monday morning. September 30, 1776;" *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Lunæ, 9 ho., A.M., October 7, "1776;" *the same*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., Octr. 9, 1776; *the same*, "Thursday morning, Octor. 17, 1776;" etc.

Stephen Ward, Gilbert Strang, and Phil. Leake were appointed to purchase coarse woollen Cloth, Linsey-woolsey, Blankets, woollen Hose, Mittens, coarse Linen, felt Hats, and Shoes, for the soldiers, and to have the Linen made up into Shirts, all in Westchester county; and three hundred pounds—seven hundred and fifty dollars—were appropriated for that purpose. (*Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., "Octr. 9, 1776.") Although there were supplies of Grain much nearer to the Army, and vastly more exposed to the enemy's foraging parties, no Grain was purchased elsewhere than in the Livingston Manor, from which three thousand bushels of Oats, at four shillings per bushel, and four thousand bushels of old Corn and one thousand bushels of Rye, the two latter at five shillings per bushel, were drawn, at one time; but Peter R. Livingston was President of the Convention, and Gilbert Livingston and James Livingston and Philip Livingston and Robert R. Livingston and James Duane and John Jay and Pierre Van Cortlandt—the last-named three having been Livingstons by their marriages—were members of that Convention; and six of them were present when the order was given. (*Journal of the Convention*, "Monday morning, Septem-"ber 30, 1776.")

Need there be any surprise that, with such an array of strong men in its favor, that he more distant and less exposed Manor of Livingston should be chosen, especially since the purchasing agent of the Quartermaster-general of the Continental Army was at Fishkill, with funds to meet the drafts of Dirck Jansen, who was selected by the Convention, to gather the grain from the farmers or from the manorial storehouses, and, also, especially since no inspection of either the quantity or the quality of what was to be thus purchased, was provided for.

[5] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Friday morning, September 27, "1776."

[6] As late in the year as the early days of October, the attempt of the County-clerk of Duchess-county to continue the old practice of holding a County Court for that County was formally forbidden by the Convention, John Jay, James Duane, and Robert R. Livingston having been present in the Convention, (*Journal of the Convention*, "Die Sabbati, 9 ho., "A.M., Octor. 5, 1776.")

[7] There need be no better evidence of that fact, although there is an abundance, elsewhere, than in the successive orders for the issue of Bills of Credit, by the Convention. It continued to issue such Bills, in the name of the Colony, long after it had professed to accept the Declaration of Independence, by which it had ceased to be a Colony, (*Journal of the Convention*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., Augt. 7, 1776") and, subsequently, when a new issue of such Bills of Credit was ordered to be printed, (*Journal of the Convention*, "Die Martis, 5 ho., P.M., August 13, "1776") it was ordered to be printed with the insignia of the Corporation of the City of New York, (*Ibid*;) and the engravers of the several plates were instructed to leave a blank space where the name of the maker of the obligation should be, on those plates, in order that such name as should be subsequently found to be most useful—the Colony, the State, the City, or something else—might be inserted, with type, after the sheets should have been printed on the plate-press—conclusive evidence that the permanence of the new-formed State was regarded by even the master spirits of the Convention, as very questionable.

In the same connection, it may be well to inquire and to consider what the Earl of Coventry meant, when, in his place in the House of Lords, on the twenty-fifth of November, 1779, he said, "He lamented that a "War so fatal to Great Britain should ever have been begun, much more "that it should be continued with so much obstinacy; and declared that, "had the House paid attention to the propositions which he, the last "Sessions, informed them he was authorized to make from two persons "of authority and influence, in America, and which, had they been "listened to, by Parliament, and agreed to, would have been ratified by "Congress, we should have been, at this hour, in peace with America." —*Speech of the Earl of Coventry, in the House of Lords*, in Almon's *Parliamentary Register*, xv., 17.

"The last Sessions," during which the Earl of Coventry, by authority, presented overtures for reconciliation to which the Continental Congress would have agreed, was the Fifth Session of the Fourteenth Parliament of Great Britain, (November 26, 1778, to July 3, 1779,) long after the alliance of the United States with France had been perfected, and utilized in America. As the Earl, on another occasion, boldly acknowledged his personal friendship and correspondence with more than one of those who, then, were regarded as prime leaders in the Rebellion, there need be very little trouble in searching for the names of those who were, undoubtedly, the mouthpieces of the Continental Congress, in the work of reconciliation, on the occasion referred to by the Earl of Coventry, in 1779.

of August, less than four weeks from the date of its appointment.[1] The Committee who was appointed for those purposes consisted of John Jay, Colonel John Broome, and General John Morin Scott, all of the City of New York; John Sloss Hobart and William Smith, of Suffolk; Abraham Yates, Junior, and Robert Yates, of Albany-county; Henry Wisner, Senior, and Colonel Charles De Witt, of Ulster-county; William Duer, of Charlotte-county; Gouverneur Morris, of Westchester-county; Samuel Townshend, of Queens-county; and Robert R. Livingston, of Duchess-county.[2]

The subject continued to be played with, both by the Committee and the Convention, by both of whom nothing was done, until the Royal Army occupied the City of New York and prepared to extend its operations into Westchester-county, when other subjects occupied the attention of both; and thus were the best interests and the safety of the inhabitants of the State endangered—thus were their properties and their families and everything which was dear to them, subjected to the hazard of a revolutionary uprising, of anarchy, and of entire destruction—only because James Duane and John Jay and the Livingstons and the Morrisses and their friends preferred a reconciliation and a reconstruction of the former system of Government, with themselves in the offices; and, for the promotion of those selfish purposes, withheld every form of Government from the young State, and exposed every one and everything, within the State, to lawless anarchy and entire ruin.

There was scarcely a matter, in either the Judicial or the Legislative or the Executive departments of Government, with which that Congress did not interfere;[3] and it ventured to ask the Continental Congress, only because it lacked courage enough to do so, to revise the *Book of Common Prayer* and to exercise an official censorship over the prayers of those who did not use Rituals.[4]

While the Convention was thus busily employed—and justice requires that its industry and determination, in preparing for a successful opposition to the Royal Armies, on the northern frontiers as well as in the vicinity of New York, should be fully and properly recognized—other events of the utmost importance to New York and to her sister States, were of everyday occurrence.

As we have already stated, the Royal troops which had been withdrawn from Boston and carried to Halifax, during the preceding March, "having suffi-"ciently recovered from the fatigues and sickness "occasioned by their confined situation in that town" [*Boston*,[5]] left the later place, [*Halifax*] on the eleventh of June,[6] under convoy of Admiral Shuldham;[7] reached Sandy-hook on the twenty-ninth of the same month;[8] landed on the northeastern shore of Staten-Island, between the second and fourth of July;[9] and were welcomed by the persecuted inhabitants of that beautiful island, as their deliverers from the terrible oppression of the revolutionary powers, both that of New York and that of New Jersey.[10]

On the afternoon of the twelfth of July, for the purpose of distressing the American Army, "by "obstructing supplies coming down the river and other "good consequences dependent on that measure"—probably, also, for the purpose of offering encouragement to the conservative farmers of Westchester-county to follow the example of those on Staten Island, in declaring for the King—the *Phœnix*, commanded by Captain Hyde Parker, of forty guns, the *Rose*, commanded by Captain Wallace, of twenty

[1] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Jovis, 8 ho., A.M., August 1, 1776."

[2] Ibid.

[3] Without entering into details, the Convention provided for the refugee Poor, from the City of New York; protected the Cattle of the farmers, from the enemy's foraging-parties, as far as it could do so; guarded the Military-stores of the State; built Vessels-of-War; obstructed the navigation of the Hudson-river; arbitrarily set aside the Elections of Officers who were distasteful to it; borrowed Money, whenever they could find lenders; treated with the Indians; issued Paper-currency; gave employment to grumbling Mechanics; watched the "disaffected," in New Jersey; lent Money to impecunious County Committees; guarded the official Records; ordered Fasts; gave Passes to those making journeys; seized the Royal Quitrents; removed those who were exposed to the enemy; provided postal facilities; gave Licenses to Innkeepers; gave relief to insolvent Debtors; provided for the care of Orphans; relieved distressed Soldiers; etc., etc.

The *Journals of the Convention* and those of its *Committee of Safety* may be referred to, by those who shall desire further information concerning the action of the Convention or the Committee, thereon.

[4] "We take the liberty of suggesting to your consideration, also, the "propriety of taking some measures for expunging from the *Book of* "*Common Prayer*, such parts, and discontinuing in the Congregations "of all other denominations, all such prayers, as interfere with the in-"terest of the American cause. It is a subject we are afraid to meddle "with, the enemies of America having taken great pains to insinuate "into the minds of the Episcopalians that the Church was in danger. "We would wish the Congress would pass some Resolve, to quiet their "fears; and we are confident it would do essential service to the cause of "America, at least in this State." (*Journal of the Provincial Convention*, "Thursday morning, July 11, 1776.")

[5] *History of the Civil War in America*. By an Officer of the Army [*Captain Hall*] i., 173; Stedman's *History of the American War*, Ed. London, 1794, i., 190.

The *Annual Register for* 1776: *History of Europe*, 166,* 167,* and, following that authority, *The History of the War in America between Great Britain and her Colonies*, Ed. Dublin, 1779, i., 179, 180, and Murray's *Impartial History of the War in America*, Edit. Newcastle, ii., 153, say the troops were not comfortable at Halifax; and that General Howe was obliged to sail from there, because of a scarcity of provisions; but we prefer the statement of Captain Hall, who was present, and who wrote with unusual precision and accuracy, especially with Stedman supporting him.

[6] *History of the Civil War in America*, [Capt. Hall's] i., 173; Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 190.

[7] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "STATEN ISLAND, 7 July, "1776;" *Annual Register for* 1776: *History of Europe*, 167.*

[8] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "STATEN ISLAND, 7 July, "1776;" [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 174; Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 190; Marshall's *Life of George Washington*, Ed. Phila., 1804, ii., 415.

[9] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "STATEN ISLAND, 7 July, "1776;" [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i, 175; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, Ed. London, 1788, ii., 278; etc.

[10] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "STATEN ISLAND, 7 July, "1776;" General Howe's *Observations upon a pamphlet entitled* Letters to a Nobleman, Ed. London, 1780, 50; *London Gazette*, "ADMIRALTY OFFICE, "August 10, 1776;" *Governor Tryon to Lord George Germaine* "DUCHESS "OF GORDON, OFF STATEN ISLAND, July 8, 1776;" *John Adams to Mrs. Adams*, "PHILADELPHIA, 11 July, 1776."

guns, and three tenders, "taking advantage of the "tide and a fresh breeze," left Staten Island, and passed the City, receiving the fire of the American batteries on the Red Hook, Governor's Island, Powle's Hook, and along the line of the Hudson-river, within the City, without sustaining any material damage, and returning a fire which was equally harmless.[1] They anchored off Tarrytown, during the early evening;[2] but, if their errand was to encourage the farmers on the Philipse Manor to declare themselves favorably inclined to the King, their officers must have been sadly disappointed, since Lieutenant Daniel Martling, with whom the reader is already acquainted, on the first appearance of the approaching vessels, promptly ordered his command to turn out, to oppose any attempt which might be made to effect a landing; and, during the night, under the personal direction of Lieutenant-colonel Hammond, who lived in the vicinity, cartridges were distributed, and the inhabitants of the village and neighboring farms were collected, in order that an effective resistance should be made.[3] Fresh supplies of ammunition were sent, by the Convention, then in session at the White Plains; and measures were taken for reinforcing the inhabitants;[4] but, although it is said the ships were visited by one or two periaugas,[5] they appeared, while they remained off Tarrytown, to have been sent for no other purpose than to take soundings,[6] although there is little doubt that they also cut off the supplies, as well as the communication between the main Army and that on the northern frontier,[7] and availed themselves of the darkness of night to open communications with those of the neighboring inhabitants of Westchester and Orange-counties, who were supposed to have been friendly to the Royal cause.

The successful passage of these ships, up the river, very reasonably, created much anxiety and alarm, in the Army and throughout the State. General Washington, wisely suspecting that the purpose of the movement was to encourage the tenantry on the Manors of Philipsborough and Cortlandt to declare for the King, immediately ordered General George Clinton, then commanding the Militia who had been called out for the protection of the passes over the Highlands, to desire General Ten Broeck, commanding the Militia above the Highlands, to march down with as great a force as he could collect, in order the more effectually to secure those passes, particularly the road which passed over Anthony's Nose; and, at the same time, he authorized General Clinton, if there should seem to be any danger from those who were "disaffected," to send an express to Connecticut, desiring the western portion of that State "to col- "lect all their forces at the same point."[8] As we have already stated, the Convention of the State, then seated at the White Plains, besides sending advices of the threatened inroad to the officer commanding the fort in the Highlands, also sent a supply of powder and ball to the inhabitants of Tarrytown, and provided for reinforcements, "along that shore," and solicited protection for King's Bridge, "the destruction "of which it apprehended to have been an object "with the enemy."[9]

On the fourteenth of July, General Washington wrote to the Convention a letter which is so significant of the great anxiety which he felt and so highly illustrative of his character, as a great commander, that we make room for it, in this place.

"NEW-YORK HEAD-QUARTERS.
"July 14th, 1776.

"GENTLEMEN:—

"The passage of the enemy up the North-river is "an event big with many consequences to the public "interest. One particularly occurs to me well deserv- "ing your attention, and to prevent which I shall "gladly give every assistance in my power, consistent "with the safety of the Army.

"I am informed there are several passes, on each "side of the river, upon which the communication "with Albany depends, of so commanding a nature "that an inconsiderable body of men may defend "them against the largest numbers. It may be that, "on board these ships, there may be troops for that "purpose, who, expecting to be joined by the disaffect- "ed, in that quarter, or confiding in their own "strength, may endeavour to seize those defiles, in "which case the intercourse between the two Armies, "both by land and water, will be wholly cut off, than "which a greater misfortune could hardly befall the "Province and Army. I must entreat you to take "the measure into consideration, and, if possible, "provide against an evil so much to be apprehended. "I should hope the Militia of those Counties might be "used on such an emergency, until further provision "was made.

"I have also thought it very probable these ships

[1] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "STATEN ISLAND, 8 July, "1776;" *the same to the same*, "STATEN ISLAND, 6 August, 1776;" *General Washington to General Clinton*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, NEW "YORK, 12 July, 1776;" *the same to the President of Congress*, "NEW "YORK, 14 July, 1776;" *the same to General Schuyler*, "NEW YORK, 15 "July, 1776;" *Memoirs of Major-general Heath*, Ed. Boston, 1798, 49; [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 185, 186; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii, 304.

[2] *The Convention of New York to General Washington*, "Saturday morn- "ing, July 13, 1776;" [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 185; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 304.

[3] *Report and Evidence in the Case of Lieutenant-colonel Hammond.— Historical Manuscripts: Miscellaneous Papers*, XXXIV., 549.

[4] *The Convention to General Washington*, "Saturday Morning, July 13, "1776."

[5] *The Convention to General Washington* "IN CONVENTION, July 15, 1776."

[6] *The Convention to General Washington*, "Saturday morning, July 13, "1776."

[7] *General Washington to John Augustine Washington*, "NEW YORK, 22 "July, 1776."

[8] *General Washington to General George Clinton*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, "NEW YORK, 12 July, 1776."

[9] *The Convention to General Washington*, "Saturday morning, July 13, "1776."

"may have carried up arms and ammunition to be "dealt out to those who may favour their cause, and "coöperate with them, at a fixed time. I would, to "guard against this, submit to your consideration the "propriety of writing to the leading men, on our "side, in those Counties, to be very vigilant in ob- "serving any movement of that kind, in order that "so dangerous a scheme may be nipped in the bud; "for that purpose, to keep the utmost attention to "the conduct of the principal Tories in those parts, "any attempts of intercourse with the ships, and all "other circumstances which may lead to a discovery "of their schemes and the destruction of their meas- "ures.

"I am, Gentlemen, very respectfully,
"Your mo. obt. and very hble. servant,
"GEO. WASHINGTON.

"TO THE HONBLE. THE PREST. OF THE
"PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF NEW-YORK."

As we have said, the inhabitants of the vicinity of Tarrytown turned out for the purpose of obstructing any attempt which might be made, to effect a landing from the ships;[1] but they were farmers, in the midst of their harvest; and when they had been there three days, without having seen much pressing necessity for their further stay or any prospect of a relief or of a supply of provisions, although the Convention was sitting within six miles from them, they expressed their desire to be relieved, and some of them went home, without leave, "in order to attend to their har- "vests."[2]

Very ungraciously and, certainly, not in such words as were calculated to inspire respect for those who had employed them, among those against whom they were thus tossed, by the aristocratic master-spirits of the Convention,[3] Orders were issued to Captain Micah Townsend, who had probably been sent from the Plains to Tarrytown, on the day after the arrival of the ships, to remain at the latter place, with his Company; Colonel Thomas was ordered to send detachments from his Regiment, to relieve those who had not returned to their homes; and the pay and rations allowed to the Continental troops, were promised to those who were, as well as to those who should be, called into the service.[4] But, on the following day, [*July* 16, 1776,] all those in the neighborhood of Tarrytown were relieved from immediate danger, by the ships and their tenders weighing their anchors and sailing up the river, occasionally firing a shot, as they passed a house on the western side the river; and by their anchoring a short distance below Verplanck's-point, and "opposite the stores at Hav- "erstraw." During the afternoon of the same day, one of the tenders beat up the river, against an unfavorable wind, sounding the river very carefully as she proceeded, until she had come within gun-shot of Fort Montgomery, when her progress was arrested by a thirty-two pound shot, which struck her, and compelled her to put about, and to run down the river, not, however, without having plundered a little house which stood near the river.[5]

During the morning of that day, [*July* 16, 1776,] before the information of the departure of the ships from Tarrytown had reached the Convention, that body had provided for the removal of "all Provisions and "other Stores, as well private as public property, which "were stored in places within the district of Peekskill "and so situated as to be in danger of being taken by "the enemy," "to such places of safety as the Sub- "committee of Peekskill shall think proper;" and when the information of the departure of the ships was received from Lieutenant-colonel Hammond, the Convention very promptly despatched Colonel Pierre Van Cortlandt and Zephaniah Platt, the former a Deputy from Westchester-county and the latter one from Duchess-county, "to the Highlands, in order to "call out such Militia as they may think necessary for "the defence and security of this State; to direct "their stations; to reinforce the garrisons of Forts "Montgomery and Constitution, if expedient; and to "supply such forces as may be called out or to ap- "point proper persons for that purpose;" at the same time, promising Continental pay and rations to the Militia who should be thus employed; and advancing five hundred dollars, to be disposed of in procuring Provisions for the forces who should thus be called into active service.[6] The Convention further signified, at the same Session, its determination to protect the State, as far as it could do so, by ordering into immediate service, one-fourth of the entire body of Militia of the Counties of Westchester, Duchess, Orange—which then included what is now known as Rockland—and Ulster-counties, "for the defence of the liber- "ties, property, wives, and children of the good peo- "ple of this State; and as, at this busy season of the "year, the service may be inconvenient to many of "them, each man be allowed twenty dollars, as a "Bounty, with Continental pay and subsistence, and "be continued in the service until the last day of "December next, unless sooner discharged." At the same time, the men to be raised in Westchester and Duchess-counties were ordered to repair, immediately, to Peekskill; General Washington was requested to appoint an officer to take command of all the levies to be raised, on both sides the river; to designate what stations they should occupy; and to nominate two Deputy Commissaries for the troops, on each side

[1] Vide page 384, ante.

[2] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Lunæ, P.M., July 15, 1776."

[3] *The Convention to Lieutenant-colonel Hammond*, "IN CONVENTION FOR "THE STATE OF NEW-YORK, WHITE PLAINS, July 15, 1776."

[4] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Lunæ, P.M., July 15, 1776;" *the Convention to Lieutenant-colonel Hammond*, "IN CONVENTION FOR THE "STATE OF NEW-YORK, WHITE PLAINS, July 15, 1776."

[5] *Lieutenant-colonel Hammond to the Convention*, "TARRYTOWN, July "16, 1776;" *General Clinton to General Washington*, "FORT MONTGOM- "ERY, July 23, 1776."

[6] *Journal of the Convention*, "Friday morning, July 16, 1776."

of the river; and those who were already in the service, from Orange and Ulster-counties, were ordered to be posted in the Highlands, to guard the defiles, therein, which were westward from the Hudson-river, as General Clinton should direct. The provisions of these enactments were completed by the appointment of Colonel Thomas Thomas as the Colonel-commanding and Ebenezer Purdy as the Major, of the troops which were to be drawn from Westchester-county[1]—an appointment of Colonel which was made in the hurry of the moment and under a misapprehension, the Convention having erroneously supposed Colonel Thomas was the senior Colonel of the Westchester-county Militia, whereas the seniority rested on Colonel Drake; and which Election, subsequently, produced a serious rupture in the military circles of the County, and between the two rivals and their respective friends,[2] since Colonel Thomas resolutely retained the authority which he had thus received by mistake.[3] A guard of fifty men was also provided for the protection of the public stores of Provisions, at or near Peekskill;[4] and the Commissioners for building the Continental Ships, at Poughkeepsie, were requested to exert their utmost abilities and attention to defend those Ships from the hostile attempts of the enemy, and, if nothing else, to preserve the Oak-plank, Rigging, and other Stores from falling into his hands.[5]

In the afternoon of the same day, [*July* 16, 1776,] the Convention appointed a secret Committee "to de-"vise and carry into execution such measures as to "them shall appear most effectual for obstructing "the channel of Hudson's-river, or annoying the en-"emy's ships in their navigation up the said river; "and that this Convention pledge themselves for de-"fraying the charges incident thereto." That Committee was composed of John Jay, of the City of New York, Robert Yates, of Albany-county, Major Christopher Tappen, of Ulster-county, William Paulding, of Westchester-county, and Robert R. Livingston and Gilbert Livingston, both of Duchess-county. At the same time, a messenger was ordered to be sent to Governor Trumbull for the purpose of requesting him to order the forces of western Connecticut to be called out, for the further support of those who were occupying the passes in the Highlands;[6] a Resolution, requesting "all Magistrates and other officers of jus-"tice in this State, who were well affected to the liber-"ties of America, until further orders, to exercise their "respective offices," was adopted; and the Convention also adopted Resolutions declaring that "all persons "abiding within the State of New York and deriving "protection from the Laws of the same, owe Allegiance "to the said Laws, and are members of the State; that "all persons passing through, visiting, or making a "temporary stay in the said State, being entitled to "the protection of the Laws, during the time of such "passage, visitation, or temporary stay, owe, during "the same time, Allegiance thereto; and that all "persons, members of or owing Allegiance to this "State, as before described, who shall levy War "against the said State, within the same, or be adher-"ent to the King of Great Britain or others the ene-"mies of the said State, within the same, giving to "him or them, aid and comfort, are guilty of Treason "against the State, and being thereof convicted, shall "suffer the pains and penalties of Death!"[7]. The Convention also "earnestly recommended to the Gen-"eral Committees of the Counties and the Sub-Com-"mittees in the Districts of the several Counties in "this State, immediately to apprehend and secure all

[1] *Journal of the Convention*, "Friday morning, July 16, 1776."

[2] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Lunæ, 9 ho., A.M., July 22, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Lunæ, 4 ho., P.M., July 22, 1776;" *Colonel Joseph Drake to the Convention*, "WHITE PLAINS, 23 July, 1776;" *the same to General Morris*, "NEW ROCHEL, July 24, 1776;" *the same to the Convention*, "NEW ROCHELLE, 6 August, 1776."

[3] *Preamble and Resolution of the Convention*, "Die Lunæ, 4 ho., P.M., "July 22, 1776."

[4] *The Convention to Colonel Pierre Van Cortlandt*, "IN CONVENTION OF "THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF NEW-YORK, WHITE PLAINS, "July 16, 1776."

[5] *The Convention to Jacobus Van Zandt, in his absence, to the Captains Lawrence and Tuder, or either of them, at Poukeepsie*, "IN CONVENTION "OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF NEW-YORK, WHITE PLAINS, "July 16, 1776."

[6] It appears that it was subsequently considered advisable to send a Committee of the Convention, instead of a letter by the hands of a Messenger; and Colonel John Broome, of New York City, and William Duer, of Charlotte-county, were selected for that purpose. (*General Washington to the President of the Continental Congress*, "NEW YORK, 19 "July, 1776.")

[7] These Resolutions are almost identical with other Resolutions, of the same tenor, which had been adopted by the Continental Congress, on the twenty-fourth of June preceding, (*vide pages* 355, 356, *ante*;) but, because of the subsequent abrogation of all the Laws of the Colony, and because no other Laws had been enacted, even provisionally, to take their places, the truth was, that, on the day of the adoption of these Resolutions, by the Convention, there were no Laws, of any kind, in force, within the State, nor any Courts to try offenders, of any kind; and the Resolutions were, therefore, practically, mere buncombe, meaning nothing.

But the ridiculousness of the Resolutions was not confined to their allusions to Laws which had been formally abrogated and to Courts which had been as formally abol shed. Obedience to the Laws, had there been any Laws, would have been truly due from every one within the limits of the State; but that was something which was entirely distinct from Allegiance, which was not due to the Laws but to the Sovereign to whose supreme authority the person was legally subject, and from whom even the Laws themselves, had there been any, had derived all the authority which they could have possibly possessed. Treason has always consisted, and still consists, of something else than a mere misdemeanor or a simple felony; and the subject of another Sovereign, although a violator of the *lex loci*, to which he properly owed obedience, could not, then nor since, have been legally tried and convicted of Treason, for any such violation of the local Law, in the State of New York or elsewhere, else, under these Resolutions, every officer and soldier of the Royal Army, whether British or Irish or German, who were within the State of New York, on and after the sixteenth of July, 1776, were Traitors "against the State," liable to be tried for that very capital offence, and to "suffer the pains and "penalties of Death," therefor.

The Convention, in its eagerness to secure the State, made itself ridiculous by the passage of such Resolutions, especially since it was exercising despotic authority, unrestrained by any Law, and needed no such Resolution as a warrant for declaring any one, no matter whom, either with or without a reason, to have been a traitor, and to have hung and quartered him after the most approved fashion of despots, had it inclined to have done so.

'such persons, whose going at large, at this critical "time, they shall deem dangerous to the Liberties of "this State;"[1] and the measure of its zeal was filled by asking a loan from General Washington, for the payment of what it had undertaken to do, promising to "take the earliest care to replace what nothing "but urgent necessity would have induced it to bor- "row;" by requesting him to send an immediate supply of Ammunition for the troops who were already in motion and "but ill-supplied" with that very necessary article; by expressing a fear to him that the enemy would attempt "to cut off the communication "between the City and country, by landing above "Kingsbridge," and its desire to "have some force "ready to hang on his rear, in case such a step should "be taken;" and by suggesting to the General, also, that if Governor Trumbull would form a Camp of six thousand men, at Byram-river, the westernmost limit of Connecticut, any designs which the enemy might have, to land above Kingsbridge, would become "ex- "tremely hazardous."[2]

While the Convention was thus bravely and, generally, with excellent judgment, employed in making preparations for a vigorous and effective resistance, whatever the purposes of the enemy may have been, General Clinton, then at Fort Montgomery, as we have already seen, not only welcomed one of the enemy's tenders, which was beating up the river, taking soundings as she went, with a thirty-two pound shot, which caused her to put about and run down the river, to the place where the ships had anchored; but he also made preparations for the removal of all the goods, from the storehouses, and all the Cattle, Sheep, etc., from the farms which were contiguous to the river, to places of safety; and, on the following day, [*July* 17, 1776,] he went down with a force sufficiently strong to do what he had proposed; successfully removed what had not yet been removed by others; and left one hundred and eighty Militia, under the command of a prudent officer, to oppose any attempt which might be made to effect a landing or to open a communication with the shore.[3]

On the same day, [*July* 17, 1776,] the *Rose* and one of the tenders ran up the river, the former within three miles of Fort Montgomery; plundered the house of a poor man—taking, among other things, "a "handkerchief full of Salad and a Pig so very poor "that a crow would scarcely deign to eat it"—setting the house on fire, when it was left; and then, returning to the place where the tender had run aground, in the morning, cast her anchor, where, on the following day, the *Phœnix* joined her.[4]

The purposes for which these vessels were sent up the river have never been satisfactorily explained; and where historians have referred to the movement at all, they have generally left the subject imperfectly told. General Howe, in his first despatch on the matter, informed the Home Government that he had "submitted to Admiral Shuldham's consideration the "propriety of sending a naval force up the North- "river, above the Town of New York, with a view to "distress the rebels on that Island, by obstructing "supplies coming down the river, and other good "consequences dependent upon that measure, which "meeting with his approbation, orders are given for "two ships, one of forty and another of twenty guns, "to proceed upon that service, the first favorable op- "portunity; and I flatter myself that these ships, "more than which cannot be spared at present from "the protection of the transports, will prove of suffi- "cient force to support themselves against all at- "tempts of the enemy, from the upper river, and to "answer the purposes for which they are intended,"[5] from which it will be seen that it was a naval movement made for a purely military purpose, originated by the General-in-chief of the Army; and, it is said, unwillingly acquiesced in, by the Admiral.[6]

It was said by General Howe, as we have seen, that the purpose was to cut off the supplies, for the City, which were brought down the river; but he also said, it will be remembered, there were "other good "consequences dependent upon that measure," of the character of which "consequences" he prudently said nothing. If, among those "other good consequences," it was intended to cut off the communication, by water, between New York and Albany and, therefore, between the Army on the northern frontier and the main Army, at the former place, as General Washington suspected,[7] that would have been a well-devised

[1] *Journal of the Convention*, "Tuesday Afternoon, 16 July, 1776."

[2] *The Convention to General Washington*, "White Plains, July 16, 1776."

Of the last-named excellent suggestion, General Washington subsequently wrote, * * * "but I did not think myself at liberty to "urge or request his" *Governor Trumbull's* "interest in forming the "Camp of six thousand men, as the levies, directed by Congress, on the "third of June, to be furnished for the defense of this place, by that "Government, are but little more than one-third come in. At the same "time, the proposition I think a good one, if it could be carried into "execution. In case the enemy should attempt to effect a landing "above Kingsbridge and to cut off the communication between this "City and the country, an Army to hang on their rear would distress "them exceedingly." *General Washington to the President of the Continental Congress*, "New York, 19 July, 1776."

See, also, the General's unusually warm approval of the project, in his letter to the Convention, "Head-quarters, New York, July 19, 1776."

[3] *General George Clinton to General Washington*, "Fort Montgomery, "July 23, 1776."

[4] *General George Clinton to General Washington*, "Fort Montgomery, "July 23, 1776."

The sworn statement of Jacob Hallsted, the owner of the property carried away or destroyed, which is a well-told narrative of some of the evils attendant on every War, may be seen in the *Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxv., 77.

[5] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "Staten Island, 8 July, "1776."

[6] The direct authority for this statement has been mislaid; but a confirmation of it may be seen in General Howe's statement, in his despatch to Lord George Germaine, ("Staten Island, 8 July, 1776,") that no more than the *Phœnix* and *Rose* could have been spared, at that time, from the protection of the transports, even for the important service in which those two ships were employed.

[7] *General Washington to John Augustine Washington*, "New-York, 22 "July, 1776."

purpose, since the same movement which would have cut the line of communication between the two Armies, would, also, have cut off the supplies intended for the City. It was feared, also, by General Washington,[1] that troops were on board, intended for the seizure and occupation of the passes in the Highlands; and it was also supposed, by the same vigilant commander,[2] that Arms, for the use of those who were inclined to declare for the King, were carried up the river, by these ships and by their tenders.

The success of the expedition, in the purpose for which General Howe said it was principally sent out —to cut off the supplies for the City—was unquestionable; but if that had been the real and principal purpose of the movement, in view of its complete success, the ships would not have been withdrawn after so short a stay—the command of the river, for such a purpose only, would have been just as useful, permanently, as it had been during the short period of their limited stay on the river. There must, therefore, have been "other good consequences dependent on "that measure;" and we are not inclined to admit that any Arms were aboard the ships, for the equipment of Westchester-county Loyalists, nor that any design against the Highland passes was on the programme of their proposed operations—we incline, rather, to the belief that only ostensibly were those ships sent up the river to cut off the supplies; and that, really, they were sent up to sound, not only the river but the inhabitants of the Philipsborough and the Cortlandt Manors, on the eastern bank of the river, and, to some extent, those of Orange-county, below the mountains, on the western bank, as to their disposition to declare themselves favorable to the Royal cause. The vigilance with which the Westchester-shore of the river was generally watched and the extreme backwardness of even those who had been outraged by the County and Town Committees, to abandon their families and their homes, even in retaliation or because of their honorable loyalty to their Sovereign, were so painfully evident, however, that General Howe became convinced that if "the Militia of Westchester-county "could not be depended on," in the revolutionary interest, it was equally untrustworthy, in the interest of the King; that the farmers of Westchester-county were reliable, mainly, in their love of their respective homes; that they desired nothing more than a peaceful occupation of their respective farms; and that he need not expect any military co-operation from them. He learned the lesson, faithfully; and no one who reads what he subsequently wrote,[3] no one who studies what he subsequently did, concerning the alleged loyal element of the country, will fail to trace the spirit of both his words and his actions, back to the teachings of that not unprofitable expedition of the *Phœnix* and the *Rose* into the western waters of Westchester-county.

Whatever may have been the real purposes of the expedition, the eastern shore of the river was so well guarded that no attempt was made to land, in force, for any purpose, on the Westchester-county side of it, nor was there any open communication between the ships and the inhabitants of that County, although it is known that frequent communications were effected, secretly and in the night, with some of the inhabitants of the Cortlandt Manor[4]—it is not pretended by any one, that any Loyalist, from either of the three Counties of Orange, Westchester and Duchess, sought refuge on board of either of the ships. The river

[1] *General Washington to John Augustine Washington*, "New-York, 22 "July, 1776."

[2] Ibid.

[3] In his published Despatches to the Home Government, while he held the chief command of the Army in America, and in his *Narrative* in a Committee of the House of Commons, relative to his Conduct, etc., especially in his *Observations upon a pamphlet entitled* Letters to a Nobleman, General Howe told the story of his great expection of active co-operation, *in the field*, from those who favored the Royal cause; of the assurances, to that effect, which he received from Governor Tryon and others; of the measures adopted by himself, under the most favorable circumstances; and of the bitter disappointment which he had experienced, in every instance.

As the inhabitants of Staten Island, and those of Queens, Westchester, and Duchess-counties were supposed to have been especially conservative and, consequently, had been most terribly outraged by the dominant faction, it was reasonably supposed, by those who were familiar with the facts, that retaliation if not loyalty would induce these, especially, to declare against those who had oppressed and outraged them; but the peaceful disposition of the farmers of lower Orange and Duchess and Westchester-counties, their simple domestic habits and controlling love of home, and their almost universal contentment with their old-time prosperity and comfort and happiness, were not taken into consideration; and, as the expedition of the *Phœnix* and the *Rose* ascertained and as General Howe subsequently learned, these were more powerful than any other consideration—the farmers referred to, preferred to endure the hardships to which they might be subjected, *at home*, instead of abandoning their homes and wives and children, of throwing themselves into what would have been new and untried associations and methods and experiences, and of being subjected to other hardships, *in the field* or *in garrisons*, as severe, if not more severe, as those from which they would have thus escaped.

General Howe very well said, after experience had taught him the facts, "Much might be said upon the state of loyalty and the principles "of loyalty, in America. *Some* are loyal from principle; *many* from in- "terest; *many* from resentment; *many* wish for peace, but are indiffer- "ent which side prevails; and *there are others* who wish success to Great "Britain, from a recollection of the happiness they enjoyed under her "government." (*Observations upon a pamphlet entitled* Letters to a Nobleman, 39.)

Although there may have been individuals among the farmers of Westchester-county who, under this classification, were "loyal from "principle" or from "interest" or from "resentment," there can be very little doubt that the mass of those farmers were loyal, as far as they were loyal in any degree, because of their desire for peace, no matter from whom it might come, and because of their recollection of the happiness they had enjoyed under the Colonial Government.

They practically illustrated the theory of the party of the Opposition to the Home Government, with whom they had been, generally, in harmony—"Let us alone."

[4] *General Washington to John Augustine Washington*, "New York, 22 "July, 1776."

There is not known to have been any communication between the Westchester-county bank of the river and the ships, while the latter remained on their lower anchorage-ground, except those referred to on page 208, ante; but, subsequently, while the ships were off the Cortlandt Manor, their boats as we shall see, were very active, during every night; and it is known the ships were visited by some of the neighboring inhabitants. The guards were less vigilant, in the upper part of the County, than they had been, near Tarrytown.

was carefully sounded, as far as the tenders went;[1] the inhabitants, especially those on the western bank of the river, were widely robbed, and, sometimes, their houses were burned;[2] and the line of communication, between the City and the upper portions of the country, was effectually cut;[3] but, if the purpose had been merely to cut off the supplies, since the supplies of the City which were taken from Westchester-county, were drawn, during the harvest-season, only in very limited quantities and those from only the near-by farmers, possessing only limited means, the ships were anchored too far up the river; and that particular purpose of the expedition must have been, to some extent, defeated, by the mistake of the officer commanding it.

The Militia who were ordered out for the protection of the storehouses and the passes in the Highlands, responded with great promptitude,[4] so much so, indeed, that General Washington was warranted in calling to the main Army some Massachusetts troops who had been sent to that vicinity;[5] and the vessels dropped down and anchored "a little below Ver-"planck's Point," and ceased to make any attempt to effect a landing, anywhere.[6]

On the twenty-sixth of July, the ships were said to have dropped down the river, still further,[7] probably to the mouth of the Croton-river;[8] and it is very evident they fell down to their original station, off Tarrytown, during either the second or third of August.[9]

In the meantime, while the ships were thus alarming nearly every one, by their movements up the river, General Washington, notwithstanding his multitude of other cares, promptly adopted measures for securing the removal of those unwelcome visitors from the waters of the Hudson. Immediately after their successful passage up the river, the General wrote to the Governors of Connecticut and Rhode Island, for the use of some of the galleys which those States had built; and, on the twenty-fourth of July, he wrote to the Convention of New York, telling it what he had done; that he was in expectation, "every "hour," that three or four of those galleys would reach the City of New York; that he had one, already; that if any measures were being taken for attacking the ships, in which these galleys could be usefully employed, to let him know; and that, "if not other-"wise materially engaged," he should be glad to co-operate with them, and to furnish any assistance which the galleys could give.[10] The reply of "the "Secret Committee" of the Convention, to whom this portion of the General's letter was referred, has not been found; but the tenor of it may be seen in the fact that two of the galleys went up the river, on the twenty-eighth of July, and three or four more on the first of August;[11] and that they probably "ran into "shoal water and creeks, whence they could warp out, "at certain times of tide, and annoy the shipping."[12] On the afternoon of the third of August, these galleys—bearing the names, respectively, of *Washington*, *Lady Washington*, *Spitfire*, *Whiting*, *Independence*, *Crane*, and an unnamed whaleboat—boldly attacked the ships, at their anchorage; and as this early naval conflict occurred in the waters of Westchester-county, we make room for the contemporary account of it:

"TARRYTOWN, (Sunday morning,) August 4.

"SIR:

"I have just opportunity to inform you that, "yesterday, at one o'clock, P.M., the galleys attacked "the *Phœnix* and the *Rose*, off Tarrytown.

"The *Lady Washington* fired the first gun on our "side, in answer to one received from the *Phœnix:* "this first shot from us entered the *Phœnix*. The "*Washington*, galley, on board of which the Commo-"dore's flag was hoisted, then came up within grape-"shot of the ships, and singly sustained their whole "fire, for about a quarter of an hour, before any other "of our vessels took a shot from her (the tide wasting "them more than the pilots expected to the eastern "shore; and the *Lady Washington* falling back to

[1] *General Clinton to General Washington*, "FORT MONTGOMERY, July "23, 1776."

[2] *Colonel A. Hawkes Hay to General Washington*, "HAVERSTRAW, July "19, 1776;" *General Clinton to General Washington*, "FORT MONTGOM-"ERY, July 23, 1776;" *Extract from a letter dated at Fort Montgomery*, July 23, 1776, in Force's *American Archives*, V., i., 546.

[3] *Journal of the Convention*, "Thursday morning, July 18, 1776;" *General Washington to John Augustine Washington*, "NEW YORK, 22 July, "1776."

[4] *Pierre Van Cortlandt and Zephaniah Platt, Junr., to the Convention*, "PEEKSKILL, July 18, 1776."

[5] *General Washington to the Convention*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, NEW YORK, "July 19, 1776."

[6] *Pierre Van Cortlandt and Zephaniah Platt, Junr., to the Convention*, "PEEKSKILL, July 22, 1776."

[7] *Memoirs of Major-general Heath*, 50.

[8] *Pierre Van Cortlandt and Zephaniah Platt, Junr., to the Convention*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, MOUTH OF CROTON, Augt. 2, 1776."

On the twenty-sixth of July, Joshua, son of Caleb Ferris—a member of the County Committee, during 1775-6—went on board the *Phœnix*, remaining all night; and Philip Schurman—who had been in Boston, while the Royal Army had occupied the Town; who had been taken prisoner, by the Americans; and who had been released by reason of personal influence of his friends—Frederic Secore, "one Bailey,"* and Lewis Purdy, "from Croton River," are also known to have gone to the same ship, on that day or subsequently. (*Examinations of Joshua Ferris, Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, XXXV., 69, 85.)

* On Sunday night, the twenty-eighth of July, because the New England troops had gone away, on the preceding day, leaving the river-line unguarded, the boats from the ships went ashore, "at one Bailey's," near the mouth of Croton-river; "went back, half a mile; and drove off "a pair of oxen, two cows, one calf, one heifer, and eleven sheep: no "doubt had the assistance of some Tories, on shore." (*Pierre Van Cortlandt and Zephaniah Platt, Junr., to the Convention*, "HEAD QUARTERS, "MOUTH OF CROTON, Augt. 2, 1776.")

Was the Bailey, at whose house the landing was thus made, the same Bailey who was seen on board the *Phœnix*, a few days afterwards?

[9] Compare the letter of Pierre Van Cortlandt and Zephaniah Platt, Junr., of the second of August, with the reports of the engagement between the galleys and the ships, off Tarrytown, on the evening of the next day.

[10] *General Washington to the Convention*, "NEW-YORK, July 24, 1776."

[11] *Memoirs of Major-general Heath*, 51.

[12] [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, 186.

"take her station in the line, according to orders). "The *Spitfire* advanced, in a line with the *Washing-* "*ton;* and, with her, behaved well.

"We had as hot a fire as, perhaps, was ever known, "for an hour and a half. The *Washington*, which I "was on board, during the whole engagement, had "the ledgings of her bow-guns knocked away, which "prevented our working them, and was otherwise "considerably damaged, being thirteen times hulled, "had three shot in the waist, many of her oars car- "ried away, etc. *The Lady Washington*, after hulling "the *Phœnix* six times, had her bow, and only, gun, "a thirty-two-pounder, on which we placed much "dependence, split seven inches, and her gun-tackles "and breechings carried away. The *Spitfire* was "hulled, several times, and received one shot between "wind and water, which, not being quickly discov- "ered, occasioned her making much water. The rest "of the galleys received considerable damage in their "rigging, sails, and oars.[1] Under these circumstances, "our Commodore, Colonel Tupper, thought it pru- "dent to give the signal for our little fleet to with- "draw, after manfully fighting a much superior force, "for two hours.

"Never did men behave with more firm, deter- "mined spirits, than our little crews; one of our tars, "being mortally wounded, cried to his mess-mate, 'I "'am a dying man: revenge my blood, my boys, and "'carry me alongside my gun, that I may die there.' "We were so preserved by a gracious Providence, "that in all our galleys, which consisted of six, we "we had but two men killed and fourteen wounded, "two of which are thought dangerous. We hope to "have another touch at these Pirates, before they "leave our river, which God prosper.

"P. S. The following are the particulars of the "galleys, with their killed and wounded, viz.: the "*Washington*, Captain Hill, four wounded; the *Whit-* "*ing*, McCleave, one killed, four wounded; the *Spit-* "*fire*, Grimes, one killed, three wounded; the *Crane*, "Tinker, one wounded; on board a whaleboat, two "wounded."[2]

It appears that one, Anderson, had proposed a scheme to the Continental Congress for destroying the British fleet, then lying in the harbor of New York, with fire-ships; and he had been officially recommended to General Washington, by the President of the Congress, with a request that the experiment should be made.[3] The General had, accordingly, employed Anderson in constructing two fire-vessels; and, on the eighth of August, they were sent up the river,[4] for the purpose of destroying a portion, at least, of the squadron which seems to have continued to occupy its anchorage, off Tarrytown, although, by some, it is said to have dropped down the river, to the vicinity of the Lower Yonkers. One of these vessels was commanded by Captain Fosdick, the other by

[1] It will be seen that very little was said, in this Report, of the operations of the Connecticut galleys, the *Crane* and the *Whiting:* the following correspondence will remedy that defect:

I.

"NEW-HAVEN, October 14, 1776.

"SIR:

"By Captain Tinker am informed of the misfortune and situation of "the row-galleys sent into the Continental service from this State; and "as circumstances are altered, respecting them, since my last to you, on "the subject of dismissing their crews and arms, must again request your "attention to that matter, that the crew of the *Crane*, Captain Tinker, "who escaped, may be dismissed, and be admitted to return to the em- "ployment of this State; and that if the crews of the other two galleys "can be of no further service to you, they, likewise, may be dismissed; "of one or both, as you see fit, as we can employ them to advantage on "board our armed vessels, fitting out, into which service they are desir- "ous of entering.

"The galleys being employed in the service of the Continent, are es- "teemed to be at the Continental care and risk.

"This State readily submits to your Excellency's directions what is requisite and proper relative to the men and their arms.

"I am, with esteem and respect,

"Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

"JONTH. TRUMBULL.

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON."

II.

"HEAD-QUARTERS, October 18, 1776.

"SIR:

"The very critical state of our Army and frequent movements of the en- "emy render it almost impossible for the General to write, himself, with- "out neglecting more important duties. He, therefore, directs me to an- "swer your letter of the 14th, and to say that the Captains of the galleys "from your State have misbehaved, invariably, from the first moment they "came, to the time of their departure from hence, about a week ago; "that the accumulation of business and a hope that they would retrieve "their reputation, prevented your having an earlier information of their "behaviour. They are now under the sentence of a Court Martial for "misbehaviour, in the first attack made on the ships in the North River; "and on every other occasion, since, have manifested such want of "spirit and judgment as to be despised by the whole Army. . . .

"I am, Sir, by his Excellency's command,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

"JOSEPH REED, *Adjutant-general.*"

[2] *The Pennsylvania Journal: and the Weekly Advertiser*, No. 1757, PHILADELPHIA, Wednesday, August 7, 1776.

For other accounts of this early naval action, see an *Extract of a letter from New York*, dated August 4, 1776, in Force's *American Archives*, Fifth Series, i. 751; *General Washington to the President of Congress*, "NEW-YORK, 5 "August, 1776;" *The Pennsylvania Evening Post*, Volume II., No. 241, PHILADELPHIA, Tuesday, August 6, 1776; *The Connecticut Gazette and Universal Intelligencer*, Vol. II., No. 666, NEW-LONDON, Friday, August 16, 1776; [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 186, who said "most of the galleys were ran on shore, and taken;" *Memoirs of General Heath*, 51; Ramsay's *History of the American Revolution*, Edit. London, 1791, i., 298, a mere mention; Allen's *History of the American Revolution*, Edit. Baltimore, 1822, i., 429; Wilson's *History of the American Revolution*, Ed. Baltimore, 1843, 157; Force's *American Archives*, V., i., 751; Irving's *Life of Washington*, Edit. New York, 1856, ii., 299.

No others of the many writers on the American Revolution and General Washington, as far as we have seen them, including Stedman, Murray, Andrews, Lamb, Marshall, Hildreth, Pitkin, Lendrum, Hinman, Lossing, Bancroft, Carrington, Ridpath, etc., nor the local historian, Bolton, have paid the slightest attention to it.

We learn from the records of the "Governor and Council, or Commit- "tee of War," of Connecticut, that the *Whiting* and the *Crane* were owned by the State of Connecticut, and were, probably, those which were loaned to General Washington; that the *Whiting* was a new vessel, commanded by Captain John McCleave, was manned with fifty men, including her officers, and armed with four cannon, taken from the *Minerva*, eight swivels, and five muskets; and that the *Crane* was also a new vessel, commanded by Captain Jehial Tinker, was manned with fifty men, including her officers, and armed with two Continental nine-pounders, two three-pounders, eight swivels, and ten muskets.

[3] Sparks's *Writings of George Washington*, iv., 19, note.

[4] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 51.

Captain Thomas, both of them volunteers from the Army; and they must have succeeded in passing up the river and in being concealed, without having been seen by the enemy; and no one, ashore, appears to have given the slightest information concerning them.

We are told these vessels were sloops,[1] probably such as ordinarily sailed on the North-river; and that the night of the fourteenth of August was appointed for the attempt to burn the ships; but, from some unexplained cause, without having aroused any suspicion, however, the attempt was not, then, made.[2] Two nights later, that of the sixteenth of August, it was "pretty dark," and the tide was also favorable; and the mischief-laden sloops were unmoored, and allowed to drift with the tide, silently, up the river, toward their proposed victims. The *Rose's* tender is said to have been anchored as a look-out, ahead of the ships;[3] and Captain Thomas, without having been discovered by the enemy, steered his sloop alongside of her; grappled her; and lighted his fires. The flames from the burning vessels afforded light to Captain Fosdick, who, with very great ability, so directed his sloop that she fell alongside of the *Phœnix*, and grappled her, notwithstanding every effort of seamanship, on board the ship, was made to prevent it. With her fires fiercely burning, the sloop continued alongside the *Phœnix*, nearly a quarter of an hour, during which time the latter was also set on fire, in four places; and she was finally saved from total destruction, "almost miraculously," by a sailor who leaped, naked, on board the sloop, and, with an axe, "disengaged the "chain of the grappling which had "linked the two vessels together."[4] It is said,[5] very reasonably, that the lowness of the burning sloop, when alongside of the vastly larger frigate, prevented the more complete ignition of the latter; and that, after the vessels had been separated, the sloop was sunk by her intended victim. We are told,[6] also, that, as soon as she was disentangled from the burning sloop, "the *Phœnix* either cut "or slipped her cable; let fall her foresail; wore "around; and stood up the river; being immediately veiled from the spectators by the darkness of "the night;" that "the *Rose* and the other two "tenders remained at their moorings, although it was "said that one of the tenders was deserted by her "crew, for a time;" that the tender which was grappled by Captain Thomas was burned to the water's edge and was towed to the shore, by the Americans,[7] by whom one iron six-pound gun, two three-pounders, one two-pounder, ten swivels, a caboose and apron, some gun-barrels, cutlasses, grapplings, chains, etc., were taken from the wreck; and that the gallant crews of the fireships sustained neither loss nor injury, except in the instance of one man, who, in setting fire to his vessel, was considerably burned in his face, hands, etc., and in that of Captain Thomas, who, it was feared, perished in the attempt to fasten his vessel to the tender which it destroyed or in making his escape, by swimming, as he was not subsequently heard of. As General Washington stated in the letter from which we derive the information, when writing of him, "his bravery entitled him to a "better fate."[8]

Notwithstanding the bravery and skill of those who conducted the firevessels and the considerable success which attended their efforts, it is said that the advantages gained would have been largely increased had the galleys more actively co-operated with them; and there was evidently some dissatisfaction displayed, because of that nautical backwardness;[9] but these



THE AMERICAN FIRESHIPS.

[1] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 51.

[2] Ibid.

[3] [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 186.

[4] We have taken this minute description of the assault on the enemy's ships from Captain Hall's *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 186, 187, because it is so clearly stated, and because it is the work of an officer of the Royal Army, and, therefore, is not likely to have been overstated.

[5] Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 305.

[6] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 54.

[7] Lieutenant Loudon, of Colonel Nicoll's Regiment, and two privates of his Company, (*General Heath to General Washington*, "KING'S BRIDGE, "August 20, 1776.")

[8] *General Washington to Governor Trumbull*, "NEW-YORK, August 18, "1776."

[9] Ibid.

General Heath reported to General Washington, on the morning after the attack, that the galleys *Lady Washington* and *Independence* had behaved well, in their co-operation with the firevessels, while the other galleys were inactive; and the Commander-in-chief answered, on the same day, expressing his pleasure in hearing of the good behavior of those who had participated in the adventure, and instructing General Heath to "inquire into the cause of the inactivity of the other galleys, "and inform him thereof."—(*Richard Carey, Jun. A.D.C. to General Heath*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, August 17, 1776.")

In Adjutant-general's Reed's reply to Governor Trumbull's letter concerning the Connecticut galleys, after having recited the notorious mis-

repeated attacks and the want of intercourse with the fleet and the perils to which they were exposed, prompted the commanders of the ships, on the eighteenth of August, less than forty-eight hours after the last attack had been made on them, to take advantage of a strong easterly wind and a very rainy morning, to run down the river, past the fortifications thrown up by the Americans, and to join the main body of the fleet, off Staten Island, a feat which was successfully accomplished, without any considerable damage, "the air resounding with acclamations from the "fleet, re-echoed by the Army encamped on the "heights above,"[1] as they came to the anchorage.

During the period occupied in this early naval demonstration, so interesting to those of Westchester-county who lived near the line of the Hudson-river, neither of the great opposing powers, in the City of New York and on Long Island, on the one side, and on and around Staten Island, on the other, did any thing else than to strengthen their respective forces and prepare for the rapidly approaching contest. General Washington continued to strengthen his defences, both in the City of New York and on Long Island; but the backwardness of the distant States, in sending reinforcements to the Army, not only caused a constant anxiety, at Head-quarters, but an alarm which extended beyond the lines of the Camp.[2]

behavior of the crews of all of them, "in the first attack made on the "ships in the North River," for which they had been tried and condemned by a Continental Court-martial, that officer, writing "by his Ex-"cellency's commands," (*vide page* 390, *ante*) said of the subsequent operation of those galleys, "In the late affair, Captain McCleave must be ex "cepted from the general censure, as he managed with prudence and "propriety. But Captain Tinker, with the wind at South, and on the "tide of flood" [*flood of tide?*] "when the ships could move, left his vessel, "though stationed as a guard, to go up to King's Bridge, after some "clothes, as he pretends. The consequence was, that, in the hurry and "confusion, and long before they were in danger, they left the gal-"ley aground, though they might have burned or bilged her. The enemy "took possession of her, in half an hour; and she, with the other, left "under the like circumstances, will probably prove the most formidable "force they can have, to oppose us, on the river. There was a place of "safety provided for the other galleys, which they might have got into, "as well as McCleave; but they passed it, in their hurry." (*General Washington, through the Adjutant-general, to Governor Trumbull*, "HEAD-"QUARTERS, October 18, 1776.")

[1] [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 187.

For other accounts of this daring feat, in attempting to destroy these ships, and of the subsequent escape of the latter, see *General Heath to General Washington*, "KING'S BRIDGE, 17 August, 1776;" *General Washington to the President of Congress*, "NEW-YORK, August 17, 1776;" *the same to Governor Trumbull*, "NEW YORK, August 18, 1776;" *General Heath to General Washington*, "KING'S BRIDGE, 18 August, 1776;" *Examination of Jonathan Woodman and two others, deserters, enclosed by General Mercer to General Washington*, "NEWARK, August 19, 1776;" *Extract from a letter dated* "NEW YORK, August 19, 1776," published in Force's *American Archives*, Fifth Series, i., 1066; *General Heath to General Washington*, "KING'S BRIDGE, August 20, 1776;" *The Pennsylvania Evening Post*, Vol. II., No. 247, PHILADELPHIA, Tuesday, August 20, 1776; *The Pennsylvania Journal*, No. 1759, PHILADELPHIA, Wednesday, August 21, 1776; *The Connecticut Gazette and Universal Intelligencer*, Vol. II., No. 667, NEW LONDON, Friday, August 23, 1776; *Memoirs of General Heath*, 53-55; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 305; Force's *American Archives*, V., i., 983; Irving's *Life of George Washington*, ii., 306, 307; etc.

What purports to have been copied from a contemporary drawing of the brilliant scene, made by Sir James Wallace, who had command of the *Rose*, on the occasion now under notice, may be seen in *The Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York for* 1864, opposite page 672. It is understood to have been copied from the original drawing, in the British Museum; and it has been re-produced, in perfect *fac-simile*, but reduced in size, for the illustration of this article. (*Vide page* 391, *ante.*)

What the local historian of Westchester-county possibly intended for a description of this daring attempt to destroy the ships, was in these words, taken from his description of the property of the late Elijah Rich, near Yonkers: "Here, in 1777, a memorable engagement took "place between the two British frigates, the *Rose* and the *Phœnix*, which "lay off at anchor, and the gun-boats of the patriots which sallied out "of the harbor of Yonkers, having in tow a large tender filled with "combustibles, intending to run it alongside of the frigates. The crews, "however, kept it off, by means of spars; and a heavy fire of grape and "cannister compelled the gun-boats and their brave crews to seek shelter "in the mouth of the Saw Mill. The year previous," he continued, "General Heath had been requested by the person in command of the "fireships, to be a spectator of the burning of these vessels," quoting, in full, what General Heath, in his *Memoirs*, under the date of the sixteenth of August, 1776, had said of the attempt to destroy these ships, which is the subject of the narrative, in the text. (*History of Westchester-county*, original edition, ii., 459, 460; *the same*, second edition, ii., 627, 628.)

As it is more than probable that the ships, when they were attacked, were off Tarrytown, instead of below Yonkers; as Yonkers, in 1777, was within the British lines, and so could not have afforded a rendezvous, in the Saw-Mill-river, for American gun-boats and fireships, during that year; as the *Phœnix* and the *Rose* had dropped down to the anchorage of the Royal Fleet, off Staten Island, on the eighteenth of August, 1776, two days after the engagement described in the text; and as the authority whom he quoted, in full, described the engagement, of which he was an eye-witness, as having taken place on the sixteenth of August, 1776, it will be evident to the reader that the historian of Westchester-county, as well as his posthumous Editor, blundered.

[2] In order that the reader may understand the gravity of the subject, and be the better prepared for the recital of the narrative of those stirring events which occurred within the succeeding month, we make room for the following:

"It gives us great pain to inform you that the aid received from our "sister States is very inadequate to our expectations, none of them hav-"ing yet completed the levies directed by Congress, which leaves us "reason to fear that, instead of using every means that human wisdom "dictates, for ensuring success, we shall, (with inferior numbers,) on "the doubtful issue of a single battle, hazard the glorious cause for "which we have hitherto struggled." (*The Convention of New York to the Delegation from New York in the Continental Congress*, "HARLEM, 7th Au-"gust, 1776, A.M.")

"It is our great misfortune that, at this important crisis, this State is "unable to make those exertions which the cause of America requires. "From the disaffection of some among us; from the want of arms; "from the exposed situation of Long Island and our frontiers; from the "possession of one County by the enemy; and from the probability of "our being called upon to reinforce the northern Army, we are unable "to add much strength to your Excellency's command, being, by the "several reasons above-mentioned, deprived of the assistance of *nine* "Counties out of *fourteen* which compose this State. Notwithstanding "all these difficulties, we are determined to combat every obstacle and "to strain every nerve in defense of the rights and liberties of America, "which we conceive to be most materially interested in the safety of this "State. By our Resolutions for ordering the several drafts made in the "Counties of Suffolk, Queens, Kings, Westchester, Duchess, Ulster, and "Orange, to the environs of New York, we hope, in about six days, to "add near three thousand men to your Army.

"We lament, exceedingly, that we should have occasion to complain "of the languid efforts which the neighbouring States have made for "our assistance. From the zeal they professed for the public cause; "from the vicinity of some of them to this invaded country; and from "the dangerous situation in which Connecticut, Massachusetts, Penn-"sylvania, and Jersey must be in, should the enemy succeed in their "designs against this State, we expected the most strenuous and expe-"ditious exertions. How great our concern [*is*] at finding so considera-"ble a deficiency in the establishment of this Army, your Excellency "may easily judge from the feelings of a patriotic bosom, on the im-"portance of the cause and the dangers to which it is, by these means, "exposed.

"We flatter ourselves, however, that this supineness will not be of

General Howe, on the contrary, had been strengthened, on the twelfth of July, by the arrival of his brother, Admiral Lord Howe, with the long expected reinforcements for the Royal Army ;[1] and he brought, also, a Commission from the King, appointing his brother, General Howe, and himself [2] to be Commissioners for granting pardons to those of the Americans who should ask for the clemency of the Sovereign.[3] On the twelfth of August, the two fleets, under the convoy, respectively, of Commodore Hotham and the *Repulse*, met off Sandy-hook, and entered the harbor together, bringing another heavy reinforcement to the Royal Army, as well as the much needed Camp-equipage ;[4] two days later, [*August* 14, 1776,] Sir Peter Parker reached Staten Island, with the remains of the expedition which had been sent to Virginia and the Carolinas ;[5] and, at the same time, Lord Dunmore, "with the refugees and blackamoors "from Virginia,"[6] and Lord William Campbell, recently Governor of South Carolina, also joined General Howe.[7] Although General Howe made no mention of them, in his despatches to Lord George Germaine, it is said the Royal Army was strengthened, also, about the same time, by the accession of "several Regiments from Florida and the West In-"dies ;"[8] and, although about one half the German troops had not arrived—they were on the ocean, but were not immediately expected—the strength and discipline and appointments and spirits of the Army were greatly superior to those of the American Army, and reasonably promised greater success, in the field.

The Convention of the State, during that period of suspense, removed back from the White Plains to Harlem, occupying the old Church-building of the Reformed Dutch Church ;[9] and, nearer to the scene of the expected troubles, it provided for the protection of the Hudson-river and Long Island Sound, where the enemy was expected to make a landing, in force, by ordering the entire Militia of Westchester-county to appear, with five days' provisions, to take possession of such points, on the river and Sound, as General Morris should regard as most exposed to the enemy ; to remain in service during ten days ; to receive Continental pay and subsistence ; and that each man who should not have arms should bring with him a shovel, spade, or pickaxe, or a scythe straightened and fixed on a pole[10]—the latter, not easily to

"any duration ; and that the Continental Congress will devise means of "affording the most expeditious and effectual assistance to preserve a "State, the loss of which, from its geographical situation and the politi-"cal character of too many of its inhabitants, would be almost fatal to "the cause of American liberty." (*The Convention of New York to General Washington*, "HARLEM, Augt. 9, 1776.")

"I am extremely concerned that the quotas of men to be furnished by "the neighboring States have proved so deficient. The busy season "and harvest, to which it has been ascribed, being now over, in a great "degree, I flatter myself, from the zeal they have heretofore manifested, "they will afford every possible assistance, They are well apprised of "the importance of this State, in the present contest, and the necessity "of maintaining it against the attempts of the enemy." (*General Washington to the Convention*, "NEW-YORK, August 11, 1776.")

How ill-founded General Washington's faith in the sincerity of the other States was, beyond the limits of their respective individual interests, has been duly recorded in history, is well-known to every intelligent reader, and need not be repeated, in this place.

[1] *General Washington to General Schuyler*, "NEW YORK, 15 July, 1776 ;" *The Annual Register for* 1776 : *History of Europe*,* 167 ; etc.

Stedman, (*History of the American War*, i., 191,) said the Admiral and his command arrived at Sandy-hook, on the *first* of July ; but his error will be evident to every one.

[2] As the remarkable influence which the General and the Admiral possessed over the King, even under the most adverse circumstances, has been frequently noticed and very rarely explained, a passing notice of the reason for that influence may not be unwelcome to the reader.

de Lancey, in his *Notes* on Jones's *History of New-York during the Revolutionary War*, (i., 722,) has partly "let the cat out of the bag," by saying they "were sons of Emanuel Scrope Howe, second Viscount "Howe, by Mary Sophia, an illegitimate daughter of George I., by his "mistress, the Hanoverian Baroness Kilmansegge, and, consequently, "in point of fact, first cousins once removed of George III." But our friend appears to have gone a little astray, since George III. was the great-grandson of George I. ; and the children of a daughter of the latter could hardly have been "first cousins once removed" of the former. Besides, if our memory serves us correctly, the mother of the Howes, whomsoever she may have been, was a paramour of Frederic Lewis, son of George II., and father of George III., even after her convenient marriage with Viscount Howe ; and the very distinctive features and the peculiar physical ailments of the two brothers, which they shared with the King, very clearly indicated whose offspring they were, although they were born in wedlock and were, therefore, nominally, Howes. They were, in fact, half-brothers of the King.

[3] The extent of the authority of the brothers, Admiral and General Howe, as Commissioners for the restoration of Peace, in America, has been so variously stated, that the careful reader will do well to refer to their Commission, which may be found in a most singular connection with a mass of papers concerning the Expedition commanded by General Burgoyne, which appear to have been laid before the House of Commons, early in 1778. (Almon's *Parliamentary Register*, London : 1778, viii., 308–312.)

When Lord North, closely pinned in debate, declared that "taxation "was not to be given up : it was to be enforced : but whether at present "or hereafter was a point of policy which the Commissioners would "learn, on the spot, by *sounding* the people upon the spot," there was point as well as wit in what Charles James Fox said, in reply : "Accord-"ing to the noble Lord's explanation, Lord Howe and his brother are "to be sent out as *spies*, not as Commissioners, and if they cannot get on "shore, they are to *sound* upon the coasts." (*Debates in the House of Commons*, May 22, 1776 : Almon's *Parliamentary Register*, iv., 126.)

[4] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "STATEN ISLAND, 15 Au-"gust, 1776 ;" *Annual Register for* 1776 : *History of Europe*,* 169 ; *Memoirs of General Heath*, 53 ; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 304, 305.

[5] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "STATEN ISLAND, 15 August, "1776 ;" *Governor Tryon to the same*, "SHIP DUCHESS OF GORDON, OFF "STATEN ISLAND, August 14, 1776," postscript, dated "August 15, "1776 ;" Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 306 ; etc.

[6] Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 103.

[7] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "STATEN ISLAND, 15th "August, 1776."

[8] *Annual Register for* 1776 : *History of Europe*, 169 ; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 306.

[9] That old Church-edifice occupied the Church lot, on the South side of the Great Way, or Church-lane, not far from the Harlem-river. As the Streets and Avenues now run, it was inside of the block bounded by the First and Second-avenues and One hundred and twenty-fourth and One hundred and twenty-fifth-streets, near the present intersection of the First-avenue and One hundred and twenty-fourth-street, as it has been described to us by our friend, James Riker, Esq., of Waverly, New York, the distinguished historian of Harlem, etc.

The features of the old building may be seen in the *View of Harlem from Morrisania*, copied from the original drawing, in the British Museum ; and reproduced in the *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York for* 1863, opposite page 610 ; and, again, on page 218 of this work, for the illustration of this article.

[10] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Sabbati, 4 P.M., Augt 10, 1776."

be done, as any Westchester-county farmer could have told those Deputies by whom this order was made. As we have elsewhere stated,[1] Kings-county "determined not to oppose the enemy," although the latter had not made any attempt to occupy it; and the Convention, it will be remembered, made some rash movements toward crowding all who lived within that County into still greater acts of hostility against the Americans, instead of inspiriting them and securing their continued fealty to the State of which they were members. It provided for the removal of all which remained, of those Cannon which had been brought from the City and laid on the roadsides of the County of Westchester—those which had been spiked and unspiked, guarded and left unguarded, at such heavy cost, some months previously[2]—and General Clinton was requested to have carriages made for such of those guns as he should consider necessary for the defence of the works to the northward of King's Bridge.[3] At the suggestion of General Washington,[4] measures were taken for the removal of the women, children, and infirm persons, in the City of New York, to places of greater safety;[5] for obstructing the navigation, in both the Hudson and the East-rivers, as well as in Buttermilk-channel, the latter separating Governor's-island from Long Island;[6] providing for the temporary support of those who should be driven from their homes, by the enemy;[7] transferring the disposition of those whom it had cast into prison, because of "suspicions" which somebody had entertained concerning them, to the several County Committees, but in a tone of mildness which was remarkably unusual;[8] and, in other ways, endeavoring to serve the cause of the country—one of the most remarkable of the multitude of subjects which, at that time, crowded themselves before the Convention, for its consideration, was a letter from John Sleght, Chairman of the Committee of Kingston, "stating "that the *women* surround the Committee-chamber, "and say, if they cannot have *Tea*, their husbands "and sons shall fight no more."[9]

At length, every preparation for service in the field having been made, on Thursday, the twenty-second of August, the Campaign was opened. Had Lord Howe been despatched, with the heavy reinforcements which he brought, directly to New York instead of to Halifax—and, since it was known, in England, that New York would be the base of all the operations of the Campaign, there was no other reason than the bad judgment of those, in England, who controlled the movements of the troops, that he was not thus sent—the Campaign could have been opened several weeks earlier, when General Washington was much less prepared to receive an enemy, and, therefore, when a complete success in the suppression of the Rebellion was very much more promising; but that Almighty power which controlled all things, had other purposes; and the cause of America was promoted by that remarkable blunder among those who opposed it.

On the morning of Thursday, the twenty-second of August, as we have said, the active operations of the



"VIEW OF HARLAEM FROM MORISANIA IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK, SEPTEMR, 1765."

[Copied from the original in the British Museum for George H. Moore by Richard Sims.]

[1] Vide page 379, ante.

[2] Vide pages 322–324, ante.

[3] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Veneris, 9 ho., A.M., August 16, 1776."

[4] *General Washington to the Convention*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, NEW-YORK, "Aug. 17, 1776."

[5] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Sabbati, 9 ho., A.M., Augt. 17, "1776;" *the same*, "Die Veneris, 3 ho., P.M., Augt. 23, 1776;" *the same*, "Monday morning, Augt. 26, 1776;" etc.

[6] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Veneris, 9 ho., A.M., August 16, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Sabbati, 9 ho., A.M., Augt. 17, 1776;" *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Lunæ, 9 ho., A.M., Augt. 19, 1776;" *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Sabbati, 4 ho., P.M., Augt. 24, 1776;" etc.

[7] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Solis, 8 ho., A.M., Augt. 25, 1776."

[8] *Journal of the Convention*, "Monday morning, Augt. 26, 1776."

[9] *Journal of the Convention*, "Monday morning, Augt. 26, 1776."

It may be proper for us to say that the Chairman's letter was referred to the Deputation from Ulster-county; and that, a few weeks subsequently, tired of waiting for the Tea, "mobs, from different parts "of the country," went to Kingston; broke open the buildings which contained it; and, undoubtedly, helped themselves and their mothers and sisters and wives and daughters to what was then officially called "that detestable article called TEA."

Royal Army were commenced by the movement of the British Grenadiers and Light Infantry and the Hessians, or rather the German, Grenadiers, Light Infantry, and Chasseurs—the last-named commanded by the Count Donop—the whole numbering "not less "than four thousand men,"[1] of the *élite* of the Army, the whole commanded by General Sir Henry Clinton, to Gravesend Bay, near Coney-island, where, under the fire of three frigates and two bombketches,[2] the naval portion of the movement having been commanded by Commodore Hotham, the entire detachment, with forty pieces of artillery, were landed, in two hours and a half, without meeting the slightest opposition from the Americans. This Division of the Royal Army having met with no resistance, the remainder of the Army and of the artillery—except two Brigades of Germans, under General de Heister, and another Brigade of Germans, a detachment of the Fourteenth Infantry, from Virginia, some convalescents and some recruits, all of them commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Dalrymple, which were left for the protection of Staten Island—were also landed on Long Island, during the morning.[3]

The purposes of this work do not require us to follow the immediately subsequent operations of the two Armies; and the general knowledge which prevails concerning the disastrous "Battle of Long Island," made more disastrous by reason of "the obstinate, "self-conceited, inefficiency," if not by the criminal disobedience and neglect, of General Israel Putnam; concerning the remarkable retreat of the American Army, from Long Island, made more remarkable and successful through the nautical skill of Colonel John Glover and his Regiment of Marblehead fishermen; concerning the successful occupation of the City of New York, by the Royal Army, made more successful by reason of the arrant cowardice of those who had been posted at Kip's-bay, for the purpose of obstructing any attempt which the enemy should make to effect a landing at that place, as well as by reason of the greater cowardice of the Brigade of Massachusetts troops, commanded by General Fellows, and that of the Brigade of Connecticut troops, commanded by General Parsons, both of them, eight Regiments, in all, sent for the support of the small shore-guard; concerning the successful evacuation of the City of New York, by the American Army, made more successful by the tact and hospitality of Mary Lindley Murray and by the soldierly ability and the knowledge of the ground, of Aaron Burr; concerning the brilliant skirmish on Harlem Heights, made more brilliant by the daring bravery of Major Leitch, of Virginia, and that of Colonel Thomas Knolton, of Connecticut; and concerning the apparent inactivity, in both the Armies, which prevailed, during several succeeding weeks,—the general knowledge which prevails, concerning all these subjects, renders anything else than a mere reference to them, unnecessary. But, nevertheless, there were some minor operations, of both parties, during that period, which may well receive passing notices.

Early on the morning of the twenty-seventh of August, two ships and a brig anchored a little above Throgg's-neck; and before the troops whom General Heath had sent for the purposes of protecting the neighboring property, could reach the shore, several barges had gone ashore, on City-island; killed several cattle;[4] and carried away the dead animals and one of the inhabitants. The troops managed to secure the remainder of the cattle which were on the island.[5]

As there was an evident intention, on the part of the enemy, to occupy one or more positions, on New York-island or within Westchester-county or both, General Heath, who commanded all the Continental troops at Kingsbridge and in the last-mentioned County, with that faithful attention to his duties which so generally characterized him, ordered a chain of vedettes and other sentries to be maintained at Morrisania, Hunt's-point, Throgg's-neck, and other points, on the Sound, in order that the movements of the enemy, had he inclined to move to those neighborhoods, or to either of them, might be promptly made known to him.[6] The usefulness of that wise precaution will be seen, hereafter.

For the purpose of cutting the line of communication of the City of New York, through the Sound, with the sea—the way to the ocean, by way of the Narrows, having been already occupied by him—the enemy very judiciously occupied Barren-island, belonging to Westchester-county, Montresor's—now Randall's—island, and what is now known as Ward's-island—the latter two belonging to the County of New York, all of which, to some extent, at least, commanded the passage to and through the Sound;[7] and, on the tenth and eleventh of September, a considerable body of troops was landed on Montresor's-island,[8] which entirely com-

[1] [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 188.
See, also, Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 193.

[2] [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 188; Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 193.

[3] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEWTOWN, LONG ISLAND, "3 Sept., 1776;" *General Washington to General Heath*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, "NEW-YORK, 23 August, 1776;" *the same to the President of the Congress*, "NEW-YORK, August 23, 1776;" [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 188: *Memoirs of General Heath*, 55; Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 193; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 306; etc.

[4] Colonel Joseph Drake, in his letter to the Convention, dated "NEW-"ROCHELL, Augt. 28, 1776," said "they have not been able to *plunder* "*much*; they got from Mineford's-island" [*now City-island.*], "4 horned "cattle and some poultry, which is all we have been able to learn they "have plundered." In his *Memoirs*, (page 56,) General Heath said "the "enemy carried off one man and 14 cattle."

[5] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 55, 56; *Colonel Joseph Drake to General Morris*, "NEW ROCHEL, Augt. 27, 1776"—*Historical Manuscripts*, etc.: *Miscellaneous Papers*, xxxvi., 339.

[6] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 59.

[7] Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 199.

[8] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 59.

manded the Manor-house—all there was, at that time, of Morrisania, except the small farmhouses of the manorial tenantry, which were scattered over the surrounding country. The channel which separated Morrisania, in Westchester-county, from Montresor's-island, in the City of New York, being quite narrow, and a heavy picket of four hundred and fifty mounted men having been constantly maintained at Morrisania, the sentries of the respective forces, posted within half-gunshot distance, sometimes fired at each other, in violation of the inconsistent usages of War; and General Heath has recorded some interesting instances of both the friendly and the unfriendly correspondence of these very important minor outposts.[1] But a couple deserters from a man-of-war which was anchored off the island, conveyed such information to General Heath as led him to suppose that the entire force which occupied that island could be easily captured; and, having submitted the subject to the consideration of the General Officers of his Division and to General Washington, and, having received the approval of all, he proceeded to make the attempt. Two hundred and forty men were detached for that purpose; and the command of the expedition was given to Lieutenant-colonel Michael Jackson and Major Logan and Major Hatfield, the latter of Westchester-county. They were to embark, at the new Bridge over the Harlem-river, on board of three large floats; to be covered by a fourth float, similar to the others and carrying a detachment of Artillery, with a light three-pounder gun; to fall down the Harlem-river, with the ebb, during the night, to Morrisania; and the calculation was so made that, at daybreak, the young flood should be so much made, at the island, as to cover the flats, at the proposed place of landing, sufficiently for the floats to leave Morrisania, and be run ashore. The various sentries, on the line of the Harlem-river, were said to have been informed of the character of the movement, and instructed to permit the expedition to pass down the river, without challenging it; and every promise of a successful result was heard from all who were to be concerned in it or who knew of the proposed plan of operations. Notwithstanding one of the sentries had not been told of the expedition or had misunderstood the Order which had been given to him, and had resolutely disregarded the entreaties for silence which had been made, and had discharged his musket, giving an alarm, the enemy does not appear to have been disturbed; and the three floats ran up to the place appointed for the landing, without serious opposition, and at the appointed time. But, there, a new and entirely unlooked-for obstruction was encountered. The orders were that the float which contained the three commanding Officers should run ashore, between the other two; that the two Majors should jump ashore, one to the right and the other to the left, and take command of the men who were on those two outside floats, respectively, while Lieutenant-colonel Jackson should retain the command of those who were on the central float; and that the three parties should act in concert. The Officers and those who were on the central float sprang ashore, as they were expected; received and repulsed a charge which the enemy's guard made on them; but failed to receive the slightest support from those who were on the other two floats, who, instead of landing, sullenly "lay upon their oars." The enemy seeing that disaffection, rallied, and returned to the charge, with great spirit; and the Americans, those from the central float, finding themselves deserted, returned to their own float, with heavy loss; and the entire expedition withdrew from the island—whether the fourth float, on which were the Artillery and which was intended as a covering party, performed any service, is not now known, as nothing whatever has been said of it, in the narrative of the encounter and retreat. It is said that Lieutenant-colonel Jackson received a musket-ball in his leg; that Major Thomas Henley, one of the Aides-de-camp of General Heath, who had insisted on going out with the expedition, as a Volunteer, was shot through his heart, as he was getting into the float; that Major Hatfield was missing; and that the Americans lost, in killed, wounded, and missing, fourteen men.[2]

There was a wide-spread sorrow expressed for the death of Major Henley, who appears to have been a general favorite; and the cowardice of those who held back their support was as widely reprobated; but, in the prevailing temper of that period, although the delinquents were arrested and tried by Court-martial, nothing appears to have been done with them, beyond the cashiering of one of the Captains.[3]

[1] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 62, 63.

[2] The most complete account of this disastrous expedition is that of General Heath, in his *Memoirs*, 63–66; but the *Orders* which were given to Lieutenant-colonel Jackson by General Heath, "KING'S BRIDGE, "September 22, 1776;" David How's *Diary*, Edit. Morrisania, 1865, September 22, 1776; *General Orders*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, HARLEM-"HEIGHTS, September 24, 1776;" *Lieutenant-colonel Tench Tilghman to William Duer*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, HARLEM-HEIGHTS, September 25, 1776;" *Extract of a letter from an Officer, at* HARLEM, dated September 25, 1776, in Force's *American Archives*, Fifth Series, ii., 524; *Extract from a letter from Mount Washington*, dated September 26, 1776; *John Adams to Mrs. Adams*, "PHILADELPHIA, October 8, 1776;" Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 336—who says there were *five* boats, one of which was sunk by the fire of the *Brune*, frigate—etc., may be usefully consulted concerning it.

[3] *General Orders*, HEAD-QUARTERS, HARLEM-HEIGHTS, September 29, 1776; *Proceedings of a General Court-martial of the Line, held on the Heights of Harlem, by order of His Excellency George Washington, Esq., General and Commander-in chief of the Forces of the United States of America, for the trial of the Captains Wisner and Scott, in the service of said States, September* 30, 1776; *Adjutant-general Reed to General Beall*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, Oct. 5, 1776;" *the members of the General Court-martial to Adjutant-general Reed*, "CAMP NEAR HEAD-QUARTERS, October "6, 1776;" *Memoirs of General Heath*, 66.

The atrocities of both Officers and Privates of the American Army and the inadequacy of the punishments, therefor, to which the delinquents were then subjected, may be seen in multitudes of instances, throughout the contemporary publications; but the letter of General Washington, written to the President of the Continental Congress, "HEIGHTS OF

The apparent inactivity of the two opposing Armies, during several weeks after the occupation of the City of New York, was not understood, even by the Congress, and created some uneasiness;[1] but both were actively employed, the Royal Army in throwing up a line of defences, on the high grounds overlooking the Harlem-plains, from the South, in order to protect the City from an attack from the landside, when the main Army should be put in motion, for other operations;[2] and the American Army in not only throwing up defences on the high grounds overlooking the Harlem-plains, from the North, in order to protect itself from any attack which might be made on it, in that remarkably strong position,[3] but in throwing up defensive works, in its rear and at distant points, in order to guard against any surprise, by the enemy, of either of those points.[4]

During that long interval of apparent inactivity in the two Armies, the Convention of New York and its Committee of Safety were not idle nor inattentive to the interests of the country. It provided for the removal of the women, children, and infirm, and that of the poor, from the City of New York, in some instances into Westchester-county;[5] and the care of the public records also received its careful attention.[6] When the enemy's shipping threatened the shores of Suffolk, it appealed for help from Connecticut, in view of its own inability to afford protection;[7] when the Army retreated from Long Island, wisely foreseeing that the Horses, Cattle, Hogs, and Sheep, within the County of New York and the lower portions of Westchester-county, would become exposed to the depredations of the enemy, the Committee of Safety ordered them to be, forthwith, driven into the interior parts of the State, and requested General Washington to make that order public, and to give all possible assistance in carrying it into execution;[8] and, subsequently, when the purpose of the enemy to occupy Westchester-county had become more evident, Stephen Ward was appointed a Commissary "to purchase "all the Cattle fit for the use of the Army, within "that County, and to drive them down to the Army, "at King's Bridge, as fast as they may be wanted; "PROVIDED, that so much shall be left as is abso- "lutely necessary for the support of the families from "whom the same shall be taken."[9] At the same time, orders were given by the Committee of Safety, "that if any person shall refuse to part with his "Cattle, at a reasonable price, the Commissary be "directed to drive them down to the Army, and re- "turn to the owner the money for which they were "sold, after deducting the contingent charge;" "that "all the Hides of the Cattle so driven and killed, be "carefully preserved and sent to some safe place, on "the North side of the Highlands, where, being ap- "praised by persons hereafter to be named for that "purpose, they shall be paid for, by the State;" "that Gil. Budd Horton, Alexander Hunt, James "Varian, and Joseph Youngs be appointed Commis- "sioners to drive all the Horses, Hogs, Sheep, and "Cattle, from those parts of the County of Westches- "ter which lay upon the Sound or the Hudson's-river, "and which are any way exposed to the enemy, and "to billet them out upon the farms that lay in the "interior part of the County, till the same can be "otherwise disposed of; and that a reasonable com- "pensation be allowed them, for their trouble;" "that the farmers in the County of Westchester im- "mediately thresh out all their Grain, as the Straw "will be absolutely necessary for the use of the Army, "and as those who do not comply with this Resolu- "tion will be in danger of having their Straw taken "for the use of the Army, even though the same "should not be threshed;" "that His Excellency "General Washington be empowered to order any "Straw in the County of Westchester to be taken for "the use of the Army, paying to the owners a reason- "able compensation therefor;" "that the Chairman "or Deputy Chairman of the County of Westchester, "for the time being, on application from the Commis- "sary-general, be empowered to take so much of the "Grain, in the County of Westchester, as shall be "necessary for the use of the Army, allowing to the "owners thereof the now current price, and paying "them upon the delivery, PROVIDED, always, that "so much shall be left in the hands of the owners as "will be sufficient to support their families for nine "months, and to perfect the fattening of such Hogs "as may, now, be actually put up, for that purpose;" "that His Excellency General Washington, in case "that the Cattle, Hogs, Sheep, Horses, or Hay, in the "County of Westchester, should be in danger of fall-

"HAERLEM, 24 September, 1776," may be referred to, as a specimen of all of them.

[1] The correspondence of John Adams with his wife, which has been published, will show the anxious uncertainty which prevailed in the Congress.

[2] [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 201; Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 210.

[3] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK ISLAND, 25 Sept., "1776;" *Annual Register for* 1776: *History of Europe*, *176; [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 201; Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 209, 210; etc.

[4] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 67, 68.

[5] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Tuesday afternoon, Augt. 27, "1776;" *the same*, "FISHKILL, in DUTCHESS COUNTY, September the 2nd, "1776;" *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Sabbati, 4 ho., P.M., Septr. "7th, 1776;" *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Monday afternoon, "Sept. 23, 1776;" etc.

[6] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Jovis, 8 ho., P.M., Augt. 22, 1776;" *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Tuesday afternoon, Augt. 27, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Jovis, 9 ho., A.M., Sept. 12, 1776;" *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Veneris, 9 ho., A.M., Octor. 4, 1776;" etc.

[7] *The Convention to the Committees of Stonington, New-London, Groton, Lyme, Saybrook, Guilford, New Haven, Stratford, Fairfield, Milford, Norwalk, Stamford, and Horseneck*, (in each instance) "Wednesday morning, "Augt. 28, 1776;" *the same to Governor Trumbull*, "Wednesday morning, "HARLEM, 28th Augt., 1776;" etc.

[8] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "AT THE HOUSE OF MR. ODELL, "PHILIPSE'S MANOR, Augt. 31, 1776;" *the Committee of Safety to General Washington*, "Augt. 31, 1776."

[9] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Monday morning, Octor. 14th, "1776."

"ing into the hands of the enemy, be empowered "either to remove it or them, therefrom, or, if that "should not be practicable, to destroy the same;" "that the Commissary or Commissaries hereby ap- "pointed be empowered to appoint Agents under "them, and to call upon any officer commanding any "part of the Militia, for such detachments of the men "under his command as will be necessary to carry "the same into execution;" "that Mr. Stephen Ward "apply to the Commissary-general for such sums of "money as will, from time to time, be necessary to "carry the above Resolves into execution;" and "that a copy of the above Resolutions be sent to His "Excellency General Washington and to the Com- "missary-general, requesting their assistance in car- "rying the same into execution."[1] In the absence of General Lewis Morris, whose hankerings were evidently for something else than for active service in the field, at the head of his Brigade,[2] Colonel Joseph Drake, of New Rochelle, the senior Colonel, was placed in command of the Westchester-county Militia, with instructions to "call out as many of the Militia, "with five days provisions, as he shall think suffi- "cient to watch the motions of the enemy's ships,[3] "now in the Sound, and to prevent all communica- "tion with the disaffected inhabitants in said County; "and that he send notice, from time to time, to the "Convention, of every remarkable occurrence; and, "for that purpose, that he is hereby empowered to "press horses, when he shall think it necessary."[4] In faithful compliance with the Order thus sent to him, enough of the Militia were ordered out to guard from Rye-neck to Rodman's-neck, Colonel Graham's Regiment being at Throgg's-neck; and Colonel Budd was to send a hundred men and to guard from the Snuff-mills to Rye-neck.[5] Two days after the disastrous engagement on Long Island, the Convention adjourned from Harlem to Fiskill;[6] and its Committee followed, holding sessions, while on it way, at King's Bridge,[7] at the house of Mr. Odell on Philipse's Manor,[8] at the house of John Blagge, at Croton-river;[9] and, possibly, elsewhere.[10] It constructed fire-ships, for the protection of the Hudson-river from the enemy's vessels;[11] and it continued the support of the State's cruisers, on the ocean.[12] It attended to the removal of the military stores which were endangered by the movements of the enemy;[13] it ordered all the bells to be taken from the Churches[14] and all the brass knockers from the doors of houses,[15] "in order that the "fortune of War may not throw the same into the "hands of our enemy and deprive this State, at this "critical period, of that necessary, though unfortu- "nate, resource for supplying our want of cannon;" it provided Lances for those of the Militia whom it was unable to provide with other arms;[16] and when General Washington's supply of Gunpowder had become unsafely small, it replenished it from its own resources.[17] It appointed, on the motion of John Jay, a special "Committee of Safety and Correspondence "for that part of this State which lies below the "Highlands," Colonel Henry Remsen, Major Garret Abeel, and Major Peter Pra Van Zandt, all of them of the City of New York, having been appointed as that Committee;[18] but, notwithstanding James Duane and John Jay and William Duer were also appointed "to draw up Instructions" for that Committee, and notwithstanding the stirring events of which that portion of the State, "below the Highlands," very soon became the scene, nothing more was heard of either the Instructions or the Committee of Safety which was thus erected. It strengthened the works which had been thrown up for the defense of the Highlands; and it added to those defences some "works on the East side of the river, about three "miles below Fort Montgomery, at a place called "Red Hook, near Peekskill, which are well-calcu-

[1] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Monday morning, Octor. 14th, "1776."

These Resolutions were proposed by Robert R. Livingston.

[2] On the sixteenth of September, "the Convention was informed "that the Militia of Westchester-county are not so properly arranged "and managed as they ought to be, at this critical juncture, which is "occasioned by the absence of General Morris;" and it "Therefore, "RESOLVED, That General Morris, now at the General Congress, do im- "mediately return and resume the command of his Brigade;" and ordered the Resolution to be transmitted to General Morris, "with the "utmost despatch." (*Journal*, "Die Lunæ, 4 ho., P.M., Sept. 16, 1776.") The General's reply to that order of the Convention, dated "PHILADEL- "PHIA, Septr. 24, 1776," is one of the most remarkable displays of evident cowardice and military imbecility on record, (*vide page* 204, *ante*;) and if the withering rejoinder, written by Robert R. Livingston, which the Committee of Safety sent to the General, with a peremptory Order to take the command of his Brigade, dated "October the 8th, 1776," did not effect its purpose, it certainly conveyed to the bashful Brigadier an evidence of what others thought of his remarkable conduct, as a soldier.

[3] Two ships and a brig came to anchor, a little above Throgg's-neck, on the twenty-seventh of August; and made a raid on City-island, (*vide page* 395, *ante*.)

[4] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Tuesday morning, August 27, "1776."

[5] *Colonel Joseph Drake to the Convention*, "NEW-ROCHELL, Augt. 28, 1776."

[6] *Journal of the Convention*, "Thursday morning, Augt. 29, 1776."

[7] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "KING'S BRIDGE, Augt. 30, 1776."

[8] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "AT THE HOUSE OF MR. ODELL, "PHILIPSE'S MANOR, Augt. 31, 1776,"

[9] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "CROTON-RIVER, AT THE HOUSE OF "JNO. BLAGGE, Augt. 31, 1776."

[10] There is no record of the doings of the Committee, on Sunday, the first of September, although it evidently continued its journey, from the Croton-river to Fishkill, on that day.

[11] *Journal of the Convention*, "Thursday morning, Augt. 29, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Sabbati, 9 ho., A.M., Sept. 21, 1776;" *General Washington to the Convention*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, HEIGHTS OF HARLEM, Sept. 20, "1776;" etc.

[12] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Tuesday afternoon, Septr. 24, "1776;" *the same*, "Wednesday morning, Septr. 25, 1776;" *Journal of the Convention*, "Saturday morning, September 28, 1776;" etc.

[13] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "P.M., September 3, 1776;" *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Sabbati, 9 ho., A.M., Sept. 7, 1776;" etc.

[14] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Jovis, 4 ho., P.M., Sept. 5, 1776;" *General Washington to the Convention*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, NEW-YORK, "Septr. 8, 1776."

[15] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Sabbati, 9 ho., A.M., Sept. 7, 1776."

[16] Vide pages 381, 382, ante.

[17] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Friday morning, Sept. 27, 1776;" *Journal of the Convention*, "Saturday morning, September 28, 1776."

[18] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Sabbati, 9 ho., A.M., Sept. 7, 1776."

"lated to prevent the enemy's landing on that side "and becoming masters of the Highlands, opposite to "Fort Montgomery."[1] When the evacuation of the City of New York was made at the expense of large quantities of Flour, it appointed Agents, with instructions to purchase all the Flour which could be obtained in Duchess, Orange, and Ulster-counties, and to send it to the Commissary-general of the Army, at Spyt den Duivel-creek:[2] when the Army needed Pork, Beef, and other Stores, the Convention opened its Storehouses, in Westchester-county, into which it had gathered large quantities of the products of that County, the crops of the preceding year:[3] it purchased material for and provided for the manufacture of Clothing, for the Army:[4] it busied itself about salting Pork, in the County of Westchester, during the approaching season:[5] and whatever it supposed would promote the common cause and whatever it was requested to do, for that purpose, by either the Continental Congress or the Commander-in-chief or the General commanding the northern Army, was done, to the full extent of its ability and resources, with cheerfulness, promptitude, and thoroughness, never failing to receive, in return, the unqualified and entire approval of him whose entire approval was never idly bestowed.

On the twenty-first of September, the American Army, at Kingsbridge and its dependencies, which included General Heath's command, in Westchester-county, consisted, nominally, of four thousand, five hundred, and twenty-eight Commissioned Officers, Staff, and Non-commissioned Officers, and twenty-seven thousand, three hundred, and seventy-seven rank and file, exclusive of Colonel Knox's Regiment of Artillery, which contained, nominally, five hundred and forty-three men, including all the Commissioned and Non-commissioned Officers and Staff, and exclusive, also, of Colonel Durkee's Regiment and a Company of Artillery, both of them at Powle's-hook, now Jersey City, from whom no *Returns* had been received, during that week. But of those nearly twenty-eight thousand men, in the ranks, four thousand, four hundred, and fifty-three were present, sick; three thousand, four hundred, and thirty-three were absent, sick; three thousand, eight hundred, and thirty were absent, "on command;" and ninety-six were on furlough; leaving only about sixteen thousand men, including the Artillery and excluding the Officers, who were actually present and fit for duty.[6] Of these, thirteen Regiments were Militia, temporarily serving in the service of the Continent;[7] and, since the disastrous results on Long Island and in the City of New York, the entire Army was greatly dispirited and inspired no confidence in its Commander-in-chief.[8] On the thirtieth of September, the number of rank and file,

[1] *Journal of the Convention*, "Die Sabbati, 4 ho., P.M., Septr. 7, 1776."

[2] *Commissary-general Trumbull to the Convention*, "King's Bridge, 16 "Sept., 1776;" *Journal of the Convention*, "Dies Martis, 4 ho., P.M., "Septr. 17, 1776."

We have followed Washington Irving, in his historical writings, in our orthography of the name of that celebrated stream, notwithstanding the usual manner of spelling the words is considerably different.

[3] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., Septr. "18, 1776;" *the same*, "Die Veneris, 9 ho., A.M., Octor. 4, 1776."

[4] *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, "Die Jovis, 9 ho., A.M., Octor. 3, "1776;" *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Die Mercurii, 9 ho., A.M., "Octr. 9, 1776;" *the same*, "Thursday morning, Octor. 17, 1776."

Stephen Ward, Gilbert Strang, and Phil. Leak were appointed to buy coarse woollen Cloth, Linsey-woolsey, Blankets, woollen Hose, Mittens, coarse Linen, felt Hats, and Shoes, to the value of three hundred pounds—seven hundred and fifty dollars—in Westchester-county; and they were ordered to have the Linen made up into Shirts.

[5] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Thursday, Octor. 10, 1776."

[6] *General Return of the Army in the service of the United States of America at King's Bridge and its dependencies, Sept.* 21, 1776.

[7] Ibid.

[8] "The check our detachment sustained on the 27th ultimo has dis- "pirited too great a proportion of our troops, and filled their minds with "apprehension and despair. The Militia, instead of calling forth their "utmost efforts to a brave and manly opposition, in order to repair our "losses, are dismayed, intractable, and impatient to return. Great num- "bers of them have gone off; in some instances, almost by whole Regi- "ments, by half ones, and by Companies, at a time. This circumstance, "of itself, independent of others, when fronted by a well-appointed "enemy, superior in number to our whole collected force, would be "sufficiently disagreeable; but, when their example has infected another "part of the Army, when their want of discipline and refusal of almost "every kind of restraint or government have produced a like conduct "but too common to the whole and an entire disregard of that order "and subordination necessary to the well-being of an Army, and which "had been inculcated before, as well as the nature of our military es- "tablishment would admit of, our condition becomes still more alarm- "ing; and, with the deepest concern, I am obliged to confess my want "of confidence in the generality of the troops." (*General Washington to the President of the Congress*, "New-York, September 2, 1776.")

"Before I conclude, I must take the liberty of mentioning to Congress "the great distress we are in for want of money. Two months' pay (and "more to some Battalions) is now due to the troops, here, without any- "thing in the Military chest to satisfy it. This occasions much dissatis- "faction and almost a general uneasiness. Not a day passes without "complaints and the most importunate and urgent demands, on this "head. As it may injure the service greatly, and the want of a reg- "ular supply of Cash produces consequences of the most fatal tendency, "I entreat the attention of Congress to this subject, and that we may "be provided, as soon as can be, with a sum equal to every present "claim." (*General Washington to the President of the Congress*, "New- "York, 6 September, 1776.")

In his letter to the Congress, on the eighth of September, the General said, "On every side, there is a choice of difficulties; and every "measure, on our part, however painful the reflection is, from experi- "ence, is to be formed with some apprehension that all our troops "will not do their duty." After the experience of the General had been made more complete, by the cowardice of the troops at Kip's-bay, he thus wrote, also to the Congress, "We are now encamped, with "the main body of the Army, on the Heights of Haerlem, where I should "hope the enemy would meet with a defeat, in case of an attack, if the "generality of our troops would behave with tolerable bravery. But "experience, to my extreme affliction, has convinced me that this is "rather to be wished for than expected. However, I trust that there "are many who will act like men, and show themselves worthy of the "blessings of freedom." (*Letter to the Congress*, "Head-quarters, at "Colonel Morris's house, 16 September, 1776.") On the day after the date of the *Returns of the Army* which are referred to in the text, the General wrote to his brother, "the dependence which the Congress have "placed upon the Militia has already greatly injured and, I fear, will "totally ruin our cause. Being subject to no control, themselves, they "introduce disorder among the troops whom we have attempted to dis- "cipline; while the change in their living brings on sickness; and this "causes an impatience to get home, which spreads, universally, and in- "troduces abominable desertions. In short, it is not in the power of "words to describe the task I have to perform. Fifty thousand pounds "would not induce me again to undergo what I have done." (*General Washington to John Augustine Washington*, "Heights of Haerlem, 22 "September, 1776.")

present and fit for duty, including Colonel Knox's Regiment of Artillery, was reduced to fifteen thousand, one hundred, and four;[1] and on the fifth of October, the same rank and file, present and fit for duty, including the Artillery, numbered only fourteen thousand, four hundred, and eighty-six, exclusive of seven skeleton Regiments of Connecticut and Rhode Island, forming two nominal Brigades, each with its full complements of Officers and Staff, in which there were nominally twelve hundred and seventy-five men, present and fit for duty. There was, also, a body of Massachusetts Militia, "computed at four thousand, "so scattered and ignorant of the forms of *Returns* "that none can be got;" and a Regiment of New Hampshire Militia was posted at the White Plains and another at the Fishkills, "under the like circum-"stances."[2]

While the American Army was thus made weaker, day by day, by the disaffection or the despair of the sickly, despondent, home-sick, and ill-provided-for men who composed it—men who, in multitudes of instances, had enlisted either from necessity, occasioned by the prevailing prostration of every kind of business, or because they had been enforced to do so, by drafts, or because it had afforded opportunities for speculation and plunder, without, in either class, the slightest pretence to a care for "the "cause of America" or to even a love of country—the Royal Army, well-appointed and well-officered, numbered upwards of thirty thousand effective men, exclusive of those who were left for the protection of Staten Island and of those who were sick.[3] Indeed, in the graphic language of one of the most able writers of that period, at the time now under consideration an intimate friend of the master-spirits of the Convention of New York, "The British Army was "commanded by able and experienced Officers; the "rebel by men destitute of military skill or experience "and, for the most part, taken from mechanic arts or "the plough. The first were possessed of the best "appointments, and of more than they could use; "and the other of the worst, and of less than they "wanted. The one were attended by the ablest Sur-"geons and Physicians, healthy, and high-spirited; "the other were neglected in their health, clothing, "and pay, were sickly, and constantly murmuring "and dissatisfied. And the one were veteran troops, "carrying victory and conquest wheresoever they were "led; the other were new-raised and undisciplined, "a panic-struck and defeated enemy, whenever at-"tacked—such is the true comparative difference "between the force sent to suppress, and that which "supported, the Rebellion."[4]

[1] *Return of Brigades under the immediate command of His Excellency George Washington*, "HARLEM HEIGHTS, HEAD-QUARTERS, September 30, "1776."

[2] *Weekly Return of the Regiments of Horse and Foot, under the immediate command of His Excellency George Washington*, "HARLEM HEIGHTS, Oc-"tober 5, 1776."

General Lincoln's command can scarcely be regarded, with any propriety, as a portion of the main Army nor as a part of the fighting force of any Army, since it was sent for, to perform police duty, to quiet the apprehensions of the Convention of New York on account of the disaffected, in that State—those whom the Congresses and the Committees had forced into disaffection, by the outrages which had been inflicted on them, in the vain attempt to secure an entire conformity of political opinions with the *official* opinions of the dominant faction.

[3] General Howe's *Returns* show that, when he occupied Staten Island, after the arrival of the reinforcements brought by Lord Howe, say on the ninth of August, his command numbered, including his Officers, twenty-nine thousand, three hundred, and eight, of whom twenty four thousand, two hundred, and twenty-seven were rank and file, fit for duty. (*Reply to the* Observations of Lieut. Gen. Sir William Howe, on a pamphlet, entitled *Letters to a Nobleman*, Second Edition, 37.) Three days after the date of that *Return*, [*August* 12,] the two fleets, convoyed, respectively, by Commodore Hotham and the *Repulse*, came into the harbor of New York, with the Guards and the First Division of the Hessians, (*Compare Lord George Germaine's despatch to General Howe, dated*, "WHITEHALL, 21 "June, 1776," *with General Howe's despatch to Lord George Germaine, dated* "STATEN-ISLAND, 15 August, 1776;") and, two days subsequently, [*August* 14,] Sir Peter Parker and Lord Dunmore also arrived, (*General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "STATEN-ISLAND, 15 August, 1776,") the former, with what remained of the forces which had been sent to Virginia and the Carolinas, "as well as with some Regiments from Florida "and the West Indies," (*Annual Register for* 1776: *History of Europe*, *169,) numbering, "at least, five thousand men," (Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, i., 110:) the latter, "with the refu-"gees and blackamores from Virginia," (*the same*, i., 103,) "about a "thousand more" (*the same*, i., 110.) The Second Division of the Hessians, the Sixteenth Regiment of Light Dragoons, the horses for remounting the Seventeenth Regiment of Dragoons, the draught-horses for the Artillery and baggage, four hundred and two German and not far from five hundred British recruits, and the Prince of Waldeck's Regiment of German troops, all of whom joined General Howe, while he was in Westchester-county, as we shall see, hereafter—were on their way to America, at the time of which we write. (*Lord George Germaine to General Howe*, "WHITEHALL, 21 June, 1776.") There were, also, some Provincial "Corps, already raised," of whom we have seen no Returns, (*General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "STATEN-ISLAND, 16 August, "1776,") probably not strong in numbers, but, nevertheless, entitled to notice, in this connection.

From these facts, it appears that the entire force, present and commanded by General Howe, before he opened the Campaign on Long Island, was upwards of forty thousand men, exclusive of the Marines on the several Fleets, which could have been called ashore, had there been any necessity for their services. Only one Brigade of Hessians, a detachment of the Fourteenth Regiment, some convalescents, and those recruits which had already arrived, were left on Staten Island; and the Sick-list was very small; there were no detachments on special duties; and there could have been none absent on furlough: it is very clear, therefore, that when the Royal Army was moved from Staten Island, it numbered very little, if any, less than thirty-eight thousand effective men, including its Officers. In the Battle of Long Island, it was said to have lost only three hundred and sixty-seven of all classes, (*General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEWTOWN, LONG ISLAND, 3 Sept., 1776;") only "about" ninety-two were said to have been killed or wounded at Harlem. (*General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, "YORK ISLAND, 21 September, 1776;") the occupation of Powle's-hook, Long Island, and the City of New York required detachments, of course; but there can be little doubt that the Army which General Howe moved from Throgg's-neck numbered very little, if any, less than thirty thousand, Officers and men, fit for active service.

In confirmation of this estimate of the strength of General Howe's command, in Westchester-county, we may be permitted to state that, after the arrival of the Second Division of the Hessians and of those other reinforcements to which Lord George Germaine made reference, already noticed, but with the losses which it had sustained in Westchester-county and at Fort Washington deducted, on the twenty-second of November, 1776, "the force under General Howe's immediate command," is said to have been thirty-one thousand, seven hundred, and fifty-five, Officers and men, fit for active service. (*Reply to the* Observations of Lieut. Gen. Sir William Howe, on a pamphlet entitled *Letters to a Nobleman*, 37.)

[4] [Joseph Galloway's] *Letters to a Nobleman*, 34, 35.

As we have said, the two Armies were occupied, during several weeks after the Royal Army had taken the City of New York, in throwing up defensive works—the American Army, on the Heights of Harlem, to the northward and eastward of the present village of Manhattanville, back, to Kingsbridge, and in the more exposed portions of Westchester-county: the Royal Army, on the Heights of Harlem and on Vandewater's Heights, southward from the village of Manhattanville, and thence to McGowan's-pass, where the postroad to the northward and eastward descended from the high grounds, forming the northernmost portion of the present great City's Central Park, to the Harlem-plains, below[1]—and some time was, also, necessarily employed by General Howe, in obtaining information concerning the face of the country, in the rear of the positions occupied by the American Army, "upon a supposition that the enemy" [*the American Army*] "should remove from King's-"Bridge," which information, thus sought in advance of any movement of the Army, was become more necessary since he had found the Americans not so well-disposed to join and to serve the Royal Army, in the field, as he had been taught to expect;[2] and because the country referred to, the County of Westchester, "was so covered with wood, swamps, "and creeks, that it was not open, in the least de-"gree, to be known, but from post to post or from "accounts to be collected from the inhabitants, who "are entirely ignorant of military description."[3] Indeed, during that period, because of the character of the country, in its advantages for defensive operations, and because of his great disappointment, in his failure to receive the support, in arms, from those who were disaffected, which he had been led to expect, General Howe, also, became dispirited and disheartened, even to the extent of losing confidence in his own abilities and in those of his immense and well-officered and well-disciplined command to make any further progress, during that Campaign, nor until the arrival of heavy reinforcements, during the ensuing Winter and Spring.[4] General Howe had

[1] Vide page 397, ante.

See, also, *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "New York "Island, 25 September, 1776;" *the same to the same*, "New-York, 30 "November, 1776;" *Speech of Sir William Howe before a Committee of the House of Commons*, April 29, 1779.—Almon's *Parliamentary Register*, xii. 323; *Testimony of the Earl of Cornwallis before a Committee of the House of Commons*, May 6, 1779.—Almon's *Parliamentary Register*, xiii., 3; etc.

[2] Vide page 386, ante.

That disappointment was expressed to the Home Government, in the General's despatch of the twenty-fifth of September, 1776, in these words: "We must also have recruits from Europe, not finding the Amer-"icans disposed to serve with arms, notwithstanding the hopes held out "to me, upon my arrival at this post." In his *Speech before a Committee of the House of Commons, on the twenty-ninth of April*, 1779, the General repeated the expression of his disappointment, on that subject, in these emphatic words: "I must, here, add, that I found the Americans "not so well-disposed to join us, and to serve, as I had been taught to "expect." The careful student of the history of that period will also bear testimony, in confirmation of what General Howe thus wrote and said, that the Americans, those who had been persecuted and outraged because of "suspicions" that they were "disaffected," notwithstanding the very reasonable reasons which they had for thus transferring their strength to the Royal Army, generally remained at their homes, with their families, without voluntarily taking up arms, in either Army; and that the Loyal Battalions were composed, almost exclusively, of the floating population, largely men of foreign birth or Americans whose immoralities or necessities had induced them to enter the service. They were relatively few in numbers; and but for the personal respectability of those who led them, their services would have been only nominal.

We are not unmindful, in what we have thus said, of the great use of that loyal element which Joseph Galloway made in his very lawyer-like publications; but we have also borne in mind, that those publications were made for personal and partisan purposes; and that, like his earlier associates in duplicity and treachery, he was capable of resorting to unsavory means for the accomplishment of any given end in which he was personally interested, justifying the employment of those means by the character of the proposed end, and boldly and unreservedly doing evil in order that what he was pleased to regard as good might, therefrom, be secured.

[3] *General Howe's Speech before a Committee of the House of Commons*, April 29, 1779.

In his examination before a Committee of the House of Commons, on the sixth of May, 1779, the Earl of Cornwallis testified that "the knowl-"edge of the country of America, for military purposes, was extremely "difficult to be obtained from the inhabitants;" that "the country, in "general, is so covered with wood and so favorable to ambuscades that, "certainly, it was very difficult to obtain a knowledge of it by recon-"noitering;" and that he "never saw a stronger country or one better "calculated for the defensive." In another portion of his testimony, the Earl stated, "I can only say that it is a very strong country, very "rugged, very hilly, and very woody;" and that, although, "by no means "equally so," his former description was "applicable, in some degree, "to all." General Gray, before the same Committee and on the same day, testified that "the inhabitants of the country, in general, were so very much "against us that they deserted the country wherever we came; and we "could get no intelligence that we could possibly depend on;" that "that part of America where I have been, is the strongest country I ever "was in. It is every where hilly and covered with wood, intersected by "ravines, creeks, and marshy grounds; and every quarter of a mile, is "a post fitted for ambuscades. Little or no knowledge could be obtained "by reconnoitering;" and "America is, of all countries, the best calcu-"lated for the defensive: every one hundred yards might be disputed, "at least that part of it that I have seen."

During a visit which he made to us, at our home, near the White Plains, previously to the late Civil War, General John E. Wool, a veteran in the service of the United States, was peculiarly emphatic concerning the natural capabilities of Westchester-county, for a defensive warfare.

[4] "Upon the present appearance of things, I look upon the further "progress of this Army, for the Campaign, to be rather precarious, an "attack upon Rhode Island excepted, which I would willingly defer, "for a short time, in case it should be thought advisible to employ our "whole force together. * * * But, in my situation, I presume, I "must not risk, as a check, at this time, would be of infinite detriment "to us.

"The enemy is too strongly posted to be attacked, in front; and in-"numerable difficulties are in my way of turning him, on either side, "though his Army is much dispirited from the late success of his "Majesty's arms; yet have I not the smallest prospect of finishing the "contest, this Campaign, nor until the Rebels see preparations, in the "Spring, that may preclude all thoughts of further resistance. To this "end, I would propose eight or ten line-of-battle Ships, to be with us in "February, with a number of supernumerary Seamen, for manning boats, "having fully experienced the want of them, in every movement we have "made. We must, also, have recruits from Europe, not finding the "Americans disposed to serve with arms, notwithstanding the hopes "held out to me, upon my arrival at this port."—(*General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "New-York Island, 25 September, 1776," received by his lordship, November 2, 1776.)

"With regard to the knowledge of the country, so necessary to be ob-"tained previous to the movement from New-York, I beg leave to men-"tion the difficulties we labored under, in that respect, throughout the "War. The country is so covered with wood, swamps, and creeks, that "it is not open, in the least degree, to be known but from post to post or "from accounts to be collected from the inhabitants, who are entirely "ignorant of military description. These circumstances were, therefore

not learned the more modern military theory of "attrition," no matter at what cost, nor was he of the same school of politics as that in which Bute and Germaine and Dundas and Wedderburne and Jay and Duane and the Livingstons and the Morrises were preceptors, of high or low degree: on the other hand, he did not expose his command where the object to be attained was inadequate,[1] nor was he inclined to visit the country, even that portion of it which was antagonistic to the Royal Army, with severity.[2]

Whatever may have inspired and encouraged him, notwithstanding all whichs he had previously said of the "innumerable difficulties in his way, "of turning him," ["*the enemy*,"] "on either side," and of his own, evidently well-considered, apprehensions of an unfavorable result, should an attempt be made to do so, General Howe determined to endeavor to turn the left flank of the American Army, encamped on the Heights of Harlem and in Westchester-county, with a view of compelling it to abandon its very strong position and, if possible, of bringing it to action. As the defensive works, on the high grounds to the southward of the Harlem-plains, with the moderate detachment which he could leave, for the purpose of occupying them and the other portions of the City of New York, and with the further protection which was afforded by the Fleet and the increased safety which had been afforded by the capture of the American works at Powle's-hook, appeared to afford all the protection which would be neeessary, there seemed to have been little probability that General Washington would make any attempt to recover, or even to raid, that City; and the determination of General Howe was, therefore, a reasonable one, and, with such a force and with such appointments as he, then, controlled, there was a reasonable probability that it would be attended with an entire success.

On Sunday, the fifteenth of September, in order to draw the attention of the Americans from the preparations which were being made, on Long Island, for the occupation of the City of New York, by the Royal Army—which was successfully accomplished, later in the day—the *Phœnix*, of forty-four guns, and commanded by Captain Hyde Parker, the *Roebuck*, of forty-four guns, and commanded by Captain Hammond, and the *Tartar*, of twenty-eight guns, commanded by Captain Ommany, each with a tender, had been moved up the Hudson-river, as far as Bloomingdale;[3] and they had remained at anchor, at that place after the Royal Army had occupied that City, covering the left flank of the lines and very effectually closing the navigation of the lower portion of the river, to the Americans. But, about eight o'clock, on the morning of Wednesday, the ninth of October, they got under way and stood, with an easy southerly breeze, up the river. The Americans, with great labor and outlay of means, had constructed a *chevaux-de-frise*, for the protection of the navigation, above Fort Washington;[4] and it was hoped it would have intercepted the further passage of the ships while the batteries, at Fort Washington and Fort Lee, and the galleys, which had been stationed behind the *chevaux-de-frise*, played on them; but, "to the surprise and "mortification" of General Washington and his command, they passed all the obstructions, "without the "least difficulty, and without receiving any apparent "damage from our forts,[5] though they kept up a "heavy fire from both sides of the river."[6]

"the cause of some unavoidable delay, in our movements. I must, here, "add that I found the Americans not so well-disposed to join us, and to "serve, as I had been taught to expect; that I thought our farther "progress, for the present, precarious; and that I saw no prospect of "finishing the War, that Campaign. These sentiments I communicated "to the Secretary of State, in the letters last mentioned."—(General Howe's *Speech before a Committee of the House of Commons*, April 29, 1779.)

1 "The most essential duty I had to observe was, not wantonly to commit his Majesty's troops where the object was inadequate. I knew, "well, that any considerable loss sustained by the Army could not, "speedily nor easily, be repaired. I also knew that one great point "towards gaining the confidence of an Army—and a General without it "is upon the most dangerous ground—is never to expose the Troops, "where, as I said before, the object is inadequate."—(General Howe's *Speech before a Committee of the House of Commons*, April 29, 1779.)

2 "Although some persons condemn me for having endeavoured to conciliate his Majesty's rebellious subjects, by taking every means to prevent the destruction of the country instead of irritating them by a contrary mode of proceeding; yet am I, from many reasons, satisfied, in "my own mind, that I acted, in that particular, for the benefit of the "King's service."—(General Howe's *Speech before a Committee of the House of Commons*, April 29, 1779.)

3 *General Washington to the President of Congress*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, "AT COLONEL MORRIS'S HOUSE, 16 September, 1776;" *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, NEW-YORK, September 21, "1776;" *The New-York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury*, No. 1303, NEW-YORK, Monday, October 14, 1776.

General Heath, (*Memoirs*, 60,) said these Ships were "sent up the "river, as far as Greenwich," only, on the *fourteenth* of September.

4 Doctor Sparks, in his *Writings of George Washington*, (iv., 30, note,) said "the mode of constructing the *chevaux-de-frise* was a contrivance of "General Putman's;" and, in support of that statement, he quoted from a letter written by the General to General Gates, dated July 26th, in which were these words: "We are preparing *chevaux-de-frise*, at which "we make great dispatch by the help of ships, which are to be sunk; a "scheme of mine, which you may be assured is very simple, a plan of "which I send you."

Had not the General's own words been given in support of the statement, we should have supposed the Doctor had mistaken the General for Colonel Rufus Putnam, who was an Engineer: and the more so, since even the most zealous of the General's biographers and eulogists are silent, on this subject. Possibly, however, that silence may be accounted for, from the result of the professional stupidity of the Engineer, whomsoever he may have been.

5 In this instance, General Washington was mistaken, since the "ships "suffered much, in their masts and rigging;" and Captain Parker subsequently reported that the *Phœnix* lost a Midshipman, two Seamen, and one Servant, killed, and a Boatswain, a Carpenter, eight Seamen, a Servant, a negro Man, and a private Marine, wounded; that the *Roebuck* lost a Lieutenant, a Midshipman, and two Seamen, killed, and a Midshipman, two Seamen, and a Corporal of Marines, wounded; and that the *Tartar* lost a Midshipman, killed, and a Lieutenant of Marines wounded. —(*Report of the Killed and Wounded on board His Majesty's Ships passing the Batteries, the 9th of October*, 1776.)

See, also, Admiral Lord Howe's despatch to the Secretary of the Admiralty, "EAGLE OFF NEW-YORK, November 23, 1776."

6 *General Washington to the Congress*, "HEIGHTS OF HARLEM, 7 Octo-"ber, 1776," postscript, dated "October 9th;" *Lieutenant-colonel Tench Tilghman to the Committee of Safety*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, HARLEM-HEIGHTS, "9 Octr, 1776;" *General George Clinton to the Convention*, "KING'S BRIDGE, "10 October, 1776;" *The New-York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury* No.

A PLAN OF THE OPERATIONS of the KING'S ARMY under the Command of GENERAL Sr. WILLIAM HOWE KB. IN NEW YORK AND EAST NEW JERSEY

Againft the AMERICAN FORCES Commanded By GENERAL WASHINGTON.

From the 12th of October to the 28th of November 1776

Wherein is Particularly Diftinguifhed

THE ENGAGEMENT on the WHITE PLAINS the 28th of October

By CLAUDE-JOSEPH SAUTHIER Engraved by WM FADEN 1777

Scale of Miles

Publifhed (as the Act directs) 1st ... 1778 by W. Faden Corner of St Martins Lane Charing Cross

Thunder Hill
Kings Ferry
Parsons Pond
Stone Pt
Haverstraw
Haverstraw Bay
Verdrietige Hoek
Hoofden
Tarrytown
Phelps Town
Hawkes Garden
Orange Town
Tappan Sea
Tappan Creek
Croton River
Croton Bridge
North Castle District
Quarter
Bronx River
Bedford
White Plains
Jersey Town
Dobbs Ferry
Phelps Burg
Manor
Courtland
Pomonok
Paramus
East
Schraalenburg
Bakkebergh
New Jersey
Tolowa
Hackensack River
Hackensack
Aquakanonk
The New Bridge
Head of
The Redoubt
Fort Lee or Fort Constitution
Hudsons or North River
New York
Island
Harlem Creek
Bloomingdale
The Two Brothers
Hell Gates
East River
Lawrence Point
Long Island
Flushing
Whitstown
Frogs Point
Myers Point
East Chester
Miles Square
Pelhams
Frogs Neck
West Chester
The Sound
Rye
Mamaroneck
New Rochelle
The Bronx River
Fordham
American Camp
Weymarch
Camp
Harlem
Hell Gate
Long Island Sound

It would not have been very apparent how these vessels could have passed such seemingly formidable obstructions, "without the least difficulty," nor for what especial reason General Washington was "surprised and mortified," when such a passage had been successfully acomplished, had not General George Clinton, who commanded the Militia of the State who had been called out for the reinforcement of the Continental Army, at Kingsbridge, informed the Convention that the ships had "passed by, in shore, "East of our obstructions in the river" [1]—that the deep waters of the river, in shore, immediately around the point which juts into the river, at that place, had been left entirely unprotected—a fact which reflects very little credit on the skill or the forethought of either the Engineer or those who were employed in building the obstructions, especially since the *Phœnix* and the *Rose* and their respective tenders had passed the same obstructions, in the same way, on the eighteenth of August, after the galleys and the fireships had rendered their longer stay, in the waters of the Hudson-river, both unprofitable and hazardous.[2]

After the vessels had passed the obstructions, they ran up the river as far as Dobbs's-ferry, where they again cast anchor. On their passage up the river, they captured two or three small river-craft—one of them loaded with Rum, Sugar, Wine, etc.—and sunk a sloop which had on board a machine invented by Mr. Bushnell, for blowing up the British Fleet.[3] Two new ships, purchased for the further obstruction of the channel of the river, were driven ashore, near Yonkers—one of them was afterwards recovered, however, by a party of men whom General Clinton sent from Kingsbridge, for that purpose ;[4] and two galleys, which had been stationed near the obstructions, were also driven ashore, near Dobbs's-ferry, and captured by the enemy.[5] While the ships were at anchor, off Dobbs's-ferry, a boat's crew was sent ashore, and signalized its presence by plundering a store, and by staving the casks and setting the building on fire; but the fire was extinguished by the Americans, after the enemy had returned to his boat.[6]

The movement of the ships, up the river, and the consequent control of the latter, notwithstanding the obstructions on which so much dependence had been rested, very promptly called forth the entire energies of General George Clinton[7] and General Heath,[8] both of them in Westchester-county, to prevent the enemy from effecting a landing and for the protection of the property which was exposed to the ravages of his tenders and boats; and, of course, the vigilant Commander-in-chief immediately despatched an express to the Convention, that notice might be immediately communicated to General James Clinton, commanding the forts, in the Highlands, putting him on his guard, and directing that precautions should be taken to prevent the river-craft from falling into the hands of the enemy—the General was not informed of the destination of the ships nor of the purposes of the movement; but he was not, apparently, very much alarmed, and supposed, only, that they were sent to cut off the communication of the American Army, by water, to the northward; "probably to gain recruits;" and to close the supplies of the Americans, especially those of Boards, for the construction of Barracks,

1303, NEW-YORK, Monday, October 14, 1776; *The Freeman's Journal and New-Hampshire Gazette*, Volume 1, Number 27, PORTSMOUTH, Tuesday, November 26, 1776; *The Pennsylvania Journal*, No. 1767, PHILADELPHIA, Wednesday, October 16, 1776; Sauthier's *Plan of the Operations of the King's Army under the command of General S^r William Howe, K. B., in New York and East New Jersey*, Ed. London: 1777—opposite—; *Memoirs of General Heath*, 68; etc.

[1] *General George Clinton to the Convention*, "KING'S BRIDGE, 10 October, 1776."

[2] Vide page 392, ante.

[3] The late Charles J. Bushnell, of New York, well known among numismatists and antiquaries, was of the same family as the Mr. Bushnell referred to, in the text; and he gathered, with great labor and much cost, everything which was known to exist, concerning that early inventor. The only description of the machine for destroying vessels at anchor, invented by him and destroyed by the enemy whom it was intended to annoy, as far as we have knowledge, may be seen in the *Memoirs of General Heath*, 69.

[4] We have some reasons for supposing that both these ships were saved; although no direct evidence appears that more than one of them was brought off. See, however, *Lieutenant-colonel Tilghman to General Heath*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, October 9, 1776;" *Colonel Reed to the same*, "October 9, 1776;" *General Putnam to the same*, "Wednesday, noon;" *Lieutenant-colonel Tilghman to Robert R. Livingston*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, "HARLEM HEIGHTS, October 10, 1776;" etc.

[5] *Lieutenants Putnam and Cleaves to General Washington*, "NORTH RIVER, October 9, 1776;" *General George Clinton to the Convention*, "KING'S BRIDGE, 10 October, 1776;" *The Philadelphia Evening Post*, Volume 2, Number 270, PHILADELPHIA, Saturday, October 12, 1776; *The Pennsylvania Journal*, No. 1767, PHILADELPHIA, October 16, 1776; *Memoirs of General Heath*, 68, 69.

[6] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 69.

Among the incidents of 1776, Bolton related the following: "Upon "the 9th of October, a body of 1100 British troops embarked on board "batteaux at Peekskill and the same night proceeded to Tarrytown, "where they landed at daybreak, and occupied the heights adjoining." —(*History of Westchester-county*, second edit., i. 348.)

Although the historian has referred to "Gaine's *Weekly Mercury*," * as his authority, we have failed to find the slightest evidence, anywhere that such a movement as he has thus described was really made; and with the best of evidence, accessible to every one, that there were no British troops in Westchester-county, until several days after the date referred to, nor, then, within many miles from Peekskill, we dismiss the statement as something else than History.

[7] General Clinton sent out the detachment of troops which rescued one of the ships which were driven ashore, near Yonkers.—(*General George Clinton to the Convention*, "KING'S BRIDGE, 10 October, 1776.")

[8] General Heath ordered Colonel Sargent, with five hundred Infantry and forty Cavalry; Captain Horton, of the Artillery, with two twelve-pounders; and Captain Crafts, with a howitzer, to march, immediately and with all possible expedition, to Dobbs's-ferry; and the entire Division was formed, in order of battle, and "moved down, over the different "grounds which it was supposed might be the scene of action."—(*Memoirs of General Heath*, 69.)

See, also, *General Heath's Orders to Colonel Sargent*, "KING'S BRIDGE, "October 9, 1776;" David How's *Diary*, October 9, 1776; *Colonel Sargent to General Heath*, "Half past two o'clock at night, DOBB'S FERRY, "October 10, 1776;" *General Heath's Orders to Colonel Sargent*, "KING'S "BRIDGE, October 10, 1776;" etc.

* We have not found a file of Gaine's *New-York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury* of the latter portion of 1776; and the well-informed Mr. Kelby, of the New York Historical Society, informs us that such a file is not known to him, anywhere.

which it should have received, at an earlier day, and of which it was in great need.[1]

The enemy's Squadron got under way, again, during the evening, and sailed up the river, as far as Tarrytown; where it anchored, and remained during the entire period which was occupied by those stirring and momentous events of which their own movement, up the Hudson-river, was the earlier portion.[2]

When the information of that movement of the enemy's ships reached the Committee of Safety, at Fishkill, it was, evidently, very much alarmed; but, with that promptitude which the emergency demanded, it immediately ordered three hundred of the Militia of Ulster-county to be sent down, without any delay, to Peekskill, "well armed and accoutred, "and with three days' provisions;" that a sufficient number of the Militia of Orange-county, below the mountains—now Rockland-county—should be called out for the due protection of that portion of the western bank of the river, and one hundred from the Militia of the same County, above the mountains, should be called out and sent to Peekskill, with three days' provisions; that all the Rangers which had been enlisted for the protection of the frontiers of Ulster-county should be marched to Fishkill, evidently for the purpose of holding the more violent of the disaffected, in Duchess-county, in check; and it also sent expresses to General Schuyler, commanding the Northern Army, and to General George Clinton, at Kingsbridge, declaring its helplessness and begging "the most speedy succour." It also wrote a letter to General Washington, in which the condition of the country was thus described; "Nothing can be more "alarming than the present situation of our State. "We are daily getting the most authentic intelli- "gence of bodies of men, enlisted and armed, with "orders to assist the enemy. We much fear that "those, co-operating with the enemy, will seize such "passes as will cut off all communication between the "Army and us, and prevent your supplies. We "dare not trust any more of the Militia out of this "County, [*Duchess.*] We have called for some aid "from the two adjoining ones; but beg leave to sug- "gest to your Excellency the propriety of sending a "body of men to the Highlands or Peekskill, to "secure the passes, prevent insurrections, and over- "awe the disaffected. We suppose your Excellency "has taken the necessary steps to prevent their land- "ing of any men from the ships, should they be so "inclined, as no reliance at all can be placed on the "Militia of Westchester-county."[3] Two days afterwards, Robert R. Livingston, himself a member of the Committee of Safety and present when the letter from which we have quoted was written, addressed a personal letter, appealing to General Washington to do, for the protection of the Highlands—behind which all the immense estates of the Livingston family were, then, very securely situated—and for that of the State, what he, therein, elaborately described; although he must have known, when it was written, that General Washington could not, possibly, comply with a single one of the many requests which that letter contained.[4]

In the same connection, and in order that the reader may understand the temper of the great body of the people, beyond the limits of Duchess and Westchester-counties, we find room for the reply of the Colonel commanding the Militia of Orange-county, below the mountains, to the requisition which was made, by the Committee of Safety, for men enough to protect that portion of the western bank of the river, to which reference has been made. It was in these words: "We are in daily expectation of "their" [*the ships*] "proceeding up the river; and I am "sorry to inform the Committee of Safety that, should "they attempt to land with one barge, I cannot com- "mand a force sufficient to prevent their penetrating "the country. I have exerted myself to muster the "Militia, but have not been able to raise a guard of "more than thirty-eight men of my Regiment, at one "time, at Nyack.[5] The wood-cutters employed by "order of General Heath have been with me, but "have received orders to proceed in cutting wood for "the Army; and I have not, at present, but eleven "men to guard the shore between Verdudigo Hook "and Stony Point.[6] In this situation, I leave the "Committee of Safety to determine what can be ex- "pected from me, in a way of opposition.

"My whole Regiment consists of but three hundred "men: most of them are without arms, they having "been taken for the Continental troops. Most of my "men refuse to attend the service, though repeatedly

[1] *General Washington to the Continental Congress*, "HEIGHTS OF HAER- "LEM, 7 October, 1776," postscript dated, "October 9th;" *the same to General Schuyler*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, HARLEM HEIGHTS, October 10, "1776."

[2] *Lieutenant-colonel Tilghman to the Convention*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, "HARLEM-HEIGHTS, October 10, 1776;" *Colonel Sargent to General Heath*, "Half-past two o'clock at night, DOBB'S FERRY, October 10, 1776;"* *Colonel Ann Hawkes Hay to the Convention*, "HAVEERSTRAW, October 10, "1776;"

* It is very evident that this letter was written at half-past two o'clock in the *morning* of the tenth of October, since it was received, at King's Bridge, and answered, by General Heath, on that day; and the Colonel and his command, pursuant to *Orders* thus conveyed, countermarched to King's Bridge, where they arrived "At Night," of the same day.—(*General Heath's Orders to Colonel Sargent*, "KINGS BRIDGE, October 10, 1776;" David How's *Diary*, 10 October, 1776; *Memoir of General Heath*, 69.)

[3] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Thursday afternoon, Octor. 10, "1776."

[4] *Robert R. Livingston to General Washington*, "FISHKILL, 12 October, "1776."

[5] As the ships were anchored off Nyack as well as off Tarrytown, those villages being exactly opposite, the former on the western and the latter on the eastern bank of the river, and as two boats' crews had made an attempt to go ashore, at Nyack, on the preceding Sunday, it will be seen why the Colonel mentioned Nyack, especially, in his despatch to the Committee of Safety.

[6] The shore-line thus described includes the entire western bank of that portion of the Hudson-river which is known as Haverstraw Bay, extending from a short distance above Nyack to within a short distance from the southernmost entrance into the Highlands.

"summoned. Many reasons are assigned for this "desertion of the service, such as, that the troops last "raised were, by the Convention, expressly levied for "the purpose of protecting the shore; that this in- "duced many of their people to enlist, but they have "been drawn off from the immediate defence of their "wives, children, and property, to guard the eastern "shore of the river, contrary to their expectations. "Others declare that if they leave their business, "their families must starve, as they have all their "Corn and Buckwheat to secure, and have been so "called off, during the Summer, by the public "troubles, as not to have been able to put in the "ground, any Winter Grain, and would, therefore, as "leave die by the sword as by famine. A third set, "and the most numerous, declare that the Congress "have rejected all overtures for a reconciliation, in- "consistent with Independency; that all they desire "is peace, liberty, and safety; and that if they can "procure that, they are contented." [1]

It will be seen, from this official statement, that there were other Militia than that of Westchester-county on whom "no reliance at all could be placed," in that hour of extreme danger; and, when taken into consideration, in connection with the facts that the Counties of Richmond, Kings, Queens, and Suffolk had returned to their allegiance to the King; that Duchess-county was in open and armed opposition to the Convention, and was kept in subjection only by the occupation of the County and the support of the few friends of the Convention who lived there, by five hundred armed men, drawn from Connecticut; and that the Manor of Livingston, including the whole of the lower portion of Albany-county, was almost entirely "disaffected," Colonel Hay's exposition of the temper of the farmers of Orange-county very clearly established the fact that "disaffection" was not peculiar to the farmers of Westchester-county; and that the *Declaration of Independence* had not been received with any favor, by the greater number of the inhabitants of New York.

The purposes of the enemy, in sending the *Phœnix* and her consorts up the Hudson-river and in anchoring them off Tarrytown, as we have seen, were variously interpreted by General Washington and the Committee of Safety; and they have continued to receive the scattered attention of those who have written on the subject, to this day.[2] But, while the surmises of General Washington and those of the Convention were thrown out before the ships had reached the anchorage-ground to which they had been ordered and, therefore, before either their destination or the purposes for which they had been ordered to move up to Tarrytown were definitely made known to any one, except to their own Officers, there is no evidence whatever, in the subsequent conduct of those ships, to give the slightest weight to any of those earlier surmises, no matter by whom originated; and the direction in which the alarm of the Commander-in-chief and the Convention trended, in the light afforded by immediately subsequent events, was, certainly, not the right one—the ships certainly made no attempt to renew the previously unsuccessful attempt to give countenance and support, for military purposes, to the disaffected farmers of Westchester-county: they certainly made no attempt whatever to seize the forts in the Highlands and to occupy the water communication through the Highlands: and there is not the slightest evidence that they effected or attempted to effect combinations with anybody, on shore, for any purpose whatever. Had their purpose been to cut off the supplies of the American Army, as some have supposed and stated—a project which would have been unnecessary, if the American Army was to be obliged to abandon its strong position, near Kingsbridge, in order to prevent the enemy from falling on its rear—the ships would not have anchored at so great a distance from the American lines; nor would they have chosen, as their station, the widest part of the river, at that place quite three miles wide, of which two-thirds or more are shoal-water, over which the small river-craft could pass and re-pass, with impunity; while, within four miles, equally good anchorage grounds could have been found, equally safe from interference from the Americans, less exposed to the heavy winds of the season, which would have required not more than one-half the extent of guard-duty, and, at the same time, which would have been equally effective, for the purpose named. Had the purpose been, as others have supposed, to have obstructed the retreat of the American Army and the removal of its stores and heavy guns, by water, it is equally strange that the place which was designated for the anchorage of the ships was situated not far from ten miles above the American lines, within which General Washington held an

[1] *Colonel Ann Hawkes Hay to the Convention*, "HAVERSTRAW, Octor. "15, 1776."

[2] Marshall, (*Life of George Washington*, Ed. Philadelphia: 1804, ii., 495, 496,) very accurately, stated the object of the movement was to secure to General Howe the possession of the North-river above Kingsbridge, without, however, stating more than that. Sparks, (*Life of George Washington*, Ed Boston: 1842, 194,) said they "secured a free passage to "the Highlands, thereby preventing any supplies, from coming to the "American Army, by water." Hildreth, (*History of the United States*, iii., 154,) said, only, they "cut off all supplies from the country, South "and West of that river," the Hudson. Bancroft, (*History of the United States*, original edition, ix., 174; *the same*, centenary edition, v., 439,) referred to nothing else than to the *Phœnix* and the *Roebuck* and the tenders; and, very cautiously, for reasons which are not unknown to us, he said nothing whatever concerning the purposes of the expedition. Irving, (*Life of Washington*, Ed. New York: 1856, ii., 367-373,) in the most carefully prepared description of all, with a grave error in his description of the passage of the ships through the obstructions, and another in making General Washington do what was done by General Heath, recited all the surmises of the inhabitants and others, concerning the object of the movement, without pretending to offer any of his own.

No other writer of the history of that period has noticed the subject, notwithstanding its great importance.

undisputed line of communication with New Jersey, protected by the guns of both Fort Washington and Fort Lee, over which, if adversity had overtaken him, he could have securely retreated. For these reasons, and with the knowledge which all the events of that period in which that particular Squadron was concerned, has imparted, we have seen no reason for concurring with those who have already written concerning the purposes of General Howe, in the removal of the Squadron which had covered the left flank of his lines, from its anchorage, off Bloomingdale, to a distant anchorage, off Tarrytown, when he had no further use for it, at the former station, and expected to make it useful, for the same purpose, in the latter; and, at the same time, from the best evidence which we have been able to control, we have formed an opinion, concerning those purposes, which differs from all those to which we have referred and of all of which we have heard. That opinion may be thus stated: when preparations were being made by General Howe, for the military occupation of the City of New York, before any movement for that purpose was actually made, these ships were moved up the Hudson-river, on the opposite side of the island, for the purpose, as General Howe subsequently informed the Home Government, of drawing the attention of the Americans to that side, while the real operations were to be made on the other side. In short, the movement, on that occasion, was, primarily, a feint; but it had served, also, to command the lower portion of the river; to prevent the retreating Americans from removing their stores or heavy guns, from the City to Kingsbridge, by water; and, therefore, to throw into the hands of the Royal Army, both stores and guns which the Americans could ill-afford to lose. Subsequent to the establishment of the former, in the City of New York, the Squadron, at its anchorage, off Bloomingdale, had effectually covered the left flank of the enemy's lines, which, without such a protection, would have been negligently exposed to the well-known enterprise of the Americans; and, as far as we have seen it, there is not the slightest evidence that the Squadron had been engaged in any other service. At the time now under notice, General Howe was again preparing to move his great command, at that time, by way of the Sound, into Westchester-county; and he did no more, concerning that Squadron, in that connection, than he had done, in the former instance, when he had moved that command from Long Island to the City of New York—he caused it to be moved further up the river, evidently, again, in order "to draw the enemy's" [*the Americans'*] "attention to that side," while he and his command should effect a landing, on the other side of the County, with lesser opposition and difficulty; and it is not improbable, in view of the recognized purposes of General Howe, in proposing to move his command into Westchester-county, that it was expected, also, to cover that flank of the Army, in whatever operations it should become engaged, within that County. We believe that these were the only purposes for which the Squadron was moved up the river; and we also believe that, for the purpose of a feint, the movement was, again, an entire success: because of the subsequent movements of the two Armies, it was not required for any other purpose.

Having detached two Brigades of British and one Brigade of Hessian troops, the whole under the command of Lieutenant-general Earl Percy, to occupy the exterior lines, on the high grounds to the southward of the Harlem-plain, for the protection of the City of New York,[1] and another Brigade of British troops to garrison the City itself,[2] "all previous arrange-"ments, having been made," early on the morning of Saturday, the twelfth of October, the first detachment of the forces designated for that purpose, under the personal command of General Howe, embarked, at Kip's-bay,[3] in the City of New York, in flat-boats, batteaux, etc.; and, having passed through Hell-gate, landed—the *Carysfort*, frigate, having been so placed that she could cover the descent—about nine o'clock in the morning, on Throgg's-neck, in the Borough Town of Westchester, in Westchester-county.[4]

It was an exceedingly foggy morning;[5] and, from the fact that General Washington made no allusion to the enemy's movement, in letters written by him, on that day, respectively, to the President of the Congress and to Governor Cooke, of Rhode Island, notwithstanding his Headquarters, in the elegant mansion of Colonel Roger Morris, more recently owned

[1] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW YORK, November 30, "1776."

[2] General Howe made no mention of a third Brigade of British troops having been left, to garrison the City; but common sense tells us there must have been such a Garrison, within the thickly settled portions of the City; and Captain Hall, (*History of the Civil War in America*, i., 203,) and Stedman, (*History of the American War*, i., 210,) both of them officers of the Royal Army, have left records of the fact.

[3] Captain Hall, (*History of the Civil War in America*, i., 203,) said the troops were embarked, for this movement, in *Turtle*-bay; but, inasmuch as the naval portions of the movement were made under the personal superintendence of Admiral Lord Howe, we have preferred his statement, in his despatch to the Admiralty, ("EAGLE, OFF NEW-YORK, November "23, 1776,") that the embarkation was at *Kip's*-bay.

[4] *Admiral Lord Howe to Mr. Stephens, Secretary of the Admiralty*, "EAGLE, "OFF NEW-YORK, November 23, 1776;" *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, November 30, 1776;" *General Washington to General Heath*, "HEADQUARTERS, October 12, 1776;" *the same to the Congress*, "HEIGHTS OF HAERLEM, 12 October, 1776," postscript dated, "Oc-"tober 13th;" *Diary of David Howe*, October 12, 1776; *General Washington to Governor Cooke*, "HEADQUARTERS, HARLEM HEIGHTS, October 12, "1776;" postscript dated "October 13th;" *Colonel Smallwood to the Maryland Convention*, "CAMP OF THE MARYLAND REGULARS, HEAD-QUAR-"TERS, October 12, 1776;" *Extract of a letter from Harlem*, *in* The Pennsylvania Evening Post, Volume 2, Number 271, PHILADELPHIA, Tuesday, October 15, 1776; *the same*, *in* The Pennsylvania Journal, No. 1767, PHILADELPHIA, Wednesday, October 16, 1776; [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 203; Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 210; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 336; *Memoir of General Heath*, 70; etc.

[5] *Admiral Lord Howe to Mr. Stephens, Secretary to the Admiralty*, "EA-"GLE, OFF NEW-YORK, November 23, 1776;" *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW YORK, 30 November, 1776;" [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 203.

by Madame Jumel,[1] commanded a fine view of the East-river and Sound; and because the intelligence of the movement which he first received, was conveyed to him, by express, from General Heath, after the landing had been made,[2] it may be reasonably supposed that the movement of the Royal Army, into Westchester-county, was unknown to him, until after it had been accomplished; that the left flank of the American Army had been successfully turned, a second time, without his knowledge; and that the latter was placed, again, by reason of that successful movement of the enemy, in such a critical situation that its very existence was threatened—it is noteworthy, also, that if a dense fog had served to secure the escape of the American Army from what appeared to have threatened its entire destruction, at Brooklyn, a similarly dense fog, on the occasion now under notice, had afforded a similar advantage to the Royal Army, in its effort to recover the great military advantages which it had lost, on the former occasion.

During the afternoon of the same day, [*October* 12, 1776,] the second detachment of the Royal Army passed Hell-gate, in forty-two sail of vessels, including nine ships; and it was, also, safely landed.[3]

The naval portion of that very important movement was performed under the personal supervision of Admiral Lord Howe, assisted by Commodore Hotham; and the assistance of most of the Captains of the Fleet and that of the naval officers, in general, which were freely given, secured, for that difficult movement, the most complete success, the only loss sustained having been that of an artillery-boat, with three six-pounders and three men, which was upset and sunk by the rapidity of the current,[4] probably in Hell-gate.

General Howe, notwithstanding his successful occupation of Westchester-county, was made the object of much censure, because of his movement to Throgg's-neck, first, because of the danger to which the City of New York was exposed by the withdrawal of so large a portion of the Army; and the temptation which was offered to General Washington to make a dash, in that direction, instead of moving the American Army into Westchester-county;[5] in which latter case the three Brigades commanded by General Lord Percy would have been seriously imperiled; and, second, because he had landed on Throgg's-neck, which was really an island, instead of on the mainland, where none of the difficulties to which he was exposed, on the Neck, would have been encountered.[6] But, if the General noticed the first of these criticisms, we have seen no mention of it; and, in answer to the second, without pretending to offer any further explanation, although it is understood that he could easily have done so,[7] he said, before the Committee of the House of Commons, who was considering his conduct, as Commander-in-chief of the Army, that the landing at Pell's-neck instead of at Throgg's-neck, "would have been an imprudent measure, as it "could not have been executed without much un-"necessary risk."[8]

Throgg's-neck is a peninsula, on the eastern border of Westchester-county, which stretches upwards of two miles into the Sound. It was separated from the mainland by a narrow creek and a marsh, and was surrounded by water, every high-tide. At the time of which we write, a bridge across the creek, connecting with a causeway across the marsh, afforded means for communication between the mainland and the Neck; besides which, however, the upper end of the creek was fordable, at low-water.[9] As early as the third of October, General Heath, who commanded those detachments from the Army who were in Westchester-county, had reconnoitred his position, accompanied by Colonel

[1] The fine old mansion still occupies its place, with few, if any, alterations, on the high grounds forming the southern bank of the Harlem-river, near One hundred and sixty-ninth-street, a little below the High-bridge of the Croton-aqueduct. Madame Jumel, who was also the widow of Aaron Burr, has been dead, many years; and the right to the ownership of the property has been bitterly contested, in the Courts; but the old house remains—and long may it remain.

[2] *Colonel Harrison's reply, under General Washington's instructions,* "HEAD-QUARTERS, October 12, 1776;" *Colonel Ewing to the Maryland Council of Safety,* "CAMP NEAR HARLEM, October 13, 1776."

[3] *General Washington to the Congress,* "HEIGHTS OF HARLEM, 12 Octo-"ber, 1776;" postscript, dated "October 13th;" *the same to General Ward,* "HEAD-QUARTERS, HARLEM HEIGHTS, October 13, 1776;" *Extract of a Letter from Harlem,* dated October 13, in *The Pennsylvania Evening Post,* Volume 2, Number 271, PHILADELPHIA, Tuesday, October 15, 1776; *the same,* in *The Pennsylvania Journal,* No. 1767, PHILADELPHIA, Wednesday, October 16, 1776; *Memoirs of General Heath,* 71.

[4] *Admiral Lord Howe to Mr. Stephens, Secretary to the Admiralty,* "EA-"GLE, OFF NEW-YORK, November 23, 1776;" *General Howe to Lord George Germaine,* "NEW-YORK, 30 November, 1776;" [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America,* i., 202.

[5] *Annual Register for* 1776, *History of Europe,* 176*.

[6] [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America,* i., 203; Stedman's *History of the American War,* i., 210; etc.

It is very evident, from indirect questions put to the Government's witness against Sir William Howe, General Robertson, before a Committee of the House of Commons, on the fourteenth of June, 1779, that Lord George Germaine was also inclined to criticise the occupation of Throgg's-neck, adversely.

[7] It is said that the place for the landing of the troops was entirely entrusted to the naval officers, by whom Throgg's-neck was selected, because of the unfitness of Pell's-neck, for that purpose; and a glance at the official Chart of the Coast Survey, will satisfy any one of the wisdom displayed in the choice—the shallowness of the water, elsewhere, would have prevented the co-operation of the larger vessels of every class; and, certainly, the landing of the troops at Pell's-neck could not have been covered by any vessel of force sufficient for such a purpose, without which no prudent officer would have attempted a landing, anywhere.

But General Sir Henry Clinton has left a testimony on this subject, which disposes of every cavil. On the margin of his own copy of Stedman's *History of the American War,* (i. 211,) he wrote these words: "It "had been proposed to Sir William Howe that the troops should have "been marched to Harlem Point" [*Hoern's Hook, at the mouth of the Harlem River, opposite Hell-gate,*] "there met by the boats, passed to City "Orchard" [*City-island?*] thence to Mill's Creek," [*New Rochelle-harbor,*] "and Rochelle. This was overruled; and the above move to Frog's "Point took place. *Lord* Howe objected to Mill's Creek, under an idea "that it would not be safe for ships to lay there."

[8] *Speech of Sir William Howe before a Committee of the House of Commons,* April 29, 1779.

[9] Although Throgg's-neck is only a short distance from where we have lived during the past twenty-seven years, we have never been on the ground; and we have depended, for what we have said of it, on General Heath, (*Memoirs,* 67,) and on our unwearied friend, William H. De Lancey, Esq., who is familiar with that portion of the County.

Hand, of the First Regiment of Continental Foot; and, in doing so, he had "taken a view" of the causeway and the bridge, between the mainland and the Neck, at the western end of which a large quantity of cord-wood had been piled, "as advantageously situ-"ated to cover a party defending the pass, as if con-"structed for the very purpose," as he has stated. Considering it possible that the enemy might make a lodgment on Throgg's-neck, the General immediately ordered Colonel Hand to detail one of his best Subalterns and twenty-five picked men, to that pass, "as "their alarm-post, at all times," with orders, if the enemy should effect a landing on the Neck, immediately to take up the planks of the bridge; to oppose the movement of the enemy, to the mainland; and, in case the fire of the detachment should appear to be insufficient to check the advance of the enemy, over the causeway, to set fire to a tide-mill which stood on the mainland, at the western extremity of the bridge.[1] He also ordered Colonel Hand to detail another party to guard the fording-place, at the head of the creek; and to reinforce both these parties, if the enemy should effect a landing on the Neck; and he promised the Colonel that he should be properly supported. Colonel Hand carefully obeyed all these Orders, we are told;[2] and the only lines of communication with the mainland, from Throgg's-neck, were thus carefully guarded, when General Howe and his command debarked on that isolated ground.

When the enemy had effected a landing, on the Neck, in the morning, his advance pushed forward, towards the causeway, for the purpose of occupying that line of communication with the mainland; but the detachment whom Colonel Hand had sent for the protection of it, had taken up the flooring of the bridge, agreeably to the General's orders; and it also opened a fire on the enemy, with its rifles, compelling him to fall back to the main body. A similar movement of the enemy against the fording-place, at the head of the creek, met with a similar repulse; and no further movements, toward the mainland, appear to have been made; and, by way of precaution, a breastwork was thrown up, on the Neck, by the Royal troops, to cover the approach, by way of the causeway.[3]

Besides the despatch of an express to Head-quarters, with intelligence of the enemy's movements, to which reference has been made,[4] General Heath reinforced the guard, at the bridge, by ordering Colonel Prescott, the hero of Bunker's-hill, with his Regiment, and Captain-lieutenant Bryant, of the Artillery, with a three-pounder, to march to that place; and Colonel Graham, of the New York Line, with his Regiment, and Lieutenant Jackson, of the Artillery, with a six-pounder, was ordered to march to the head of the creek, for the reinforcement of the guard who had been posted at that place. Besides the throwing up of an earthwork, opposite the western end of the causeway, the addition of the Brigade commanded by General McDougal to General Heath's command, and an irregular, scattering fire which was indulged in, by both parties, nothing further was done by either of the Armies, during that day.[5]

When the intelligence of the movement of the greater portion of the Royal Army into Westchester-county, reached Head-quarters, General Washington appears to have given way to despair, in view of his powerlessness, and to have become despondent; although he appears to have really believed that the movement was not anything else than a feint. It is true that he ordered every Regiment who was under his immediate command, to be under arms, there, that it might be ready to act as occasion might require; that he authorized General Heath to make such disposition of the troops, in Westchester-county, including two Regiments of Militia who were posted near Kings-bridge, as he should think proper; and that he begged and trusted that every possible opposition would be given to the enemy, adding "God bless and lead you "on to Victory;"[6] but it was hardly consistent with his duty, as Commander-in-chief of the Army, at that important moment, to remain at Head-quarters; to give the absolute command of all the troops which were before the enemy to an Officer, excellent though he evidently was, as a subordinate, whose experience

[1] We are indebted to our friend, Edward F. de Lancey, Esq., of Mamaroneck, for the following account of that old Mill:

"The Mill and dam, at Westchester, were built by Colonel Caleb "Heathcote, the first Mayor of the Borough-Town of Westchester, at his "own expense. It stood till February, 1875, when it was accidentally "burnt. The outside had been renewed, from time to time; but the frame "was the original one, of massive hewn timber; and at the time of its "destruction, it was the oldest Mill, in Westchester-county, and, probably, "in the State.

"By the original Grant to Colonel Heathcote, the inhabitants reserved "the right to have their own grain ground, free. This was afterwards "commuted to a toll, payable to the present 'town' of Westchester, "which the Town enjoyed, as a source of revenue, till the Mill was burnt; "and the right to which it still retains, if the Mill shall be rebuilt."

[2] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 68.

[3] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 70.

[4] Vide page 407, ante.

[5] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 70.

[6] *General Washington, by his Secretary, Colonel Robert H. Harrison, to General Heath*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, 12 October, 1776."

In the same connection, it is a noticeable fact that the *General Orders* of the day and there were no *After Orders*, on that eventful twelfth of October, made no mention whatever of the movement of the enemy or of the disposition of the American troops; that they were written, entirely, in only three short lines—(*General Orders*, "HEAD QUARTERS, HARLEM "HEIGHTS, October 12, 1776")—that General Washington, on that day, appears to have completed none of his letters which were unfinished when General Heath's express arrived at Head-quarters; and that no allusion whatever was made, by him, to the enemy's occupation of Westchester-county nor to any movement of his own command, consequent on that occupation, in anything which he wrote or ordered to be written on that day, which we have found, except in that note, written by his Secretary, under his own eye, to General Heath, of which mention has been made in the text. As stated in the text, he certainly rode over to the village of Westchester and to the head of the creek, towards night, and looked at the preparations which had been made, at those places, to check any movement which the enemy should make; but, beyond that informal inspection, he evidently did nothing whatever, as the Commander in chief of the American Army.

was so very limited; to transfer to that officer the entire responsibility of the opposition which was to be made against the powerful enemy who was actually moving against the very existence of the young States, not yet confederated and very poorly connected even by the ties of a common danger; and to give to him his parting if not his farewell blessing; and nothing else than the bitterness of despair, the hopelessness which seemed to overwhelm all other traits of his character, could, possibly, have produced such unusual, such remarkable, such extremely dangerous results. It is, indeed, stated that he rode over to the village of Westchester and to the head of the creek, late in the afternoon; but no one has pretended that he issued an Order or did any other act which the Commander-in-chief, under such peculiar circumstances, might have been expected to have done.[1]

When General Greene, who was at Fort Constitution, as Fort Lee was then called, heard of the movement of the enemy, he wrote to General Washington, stating that three Brigades, at that time in New Jersey, were in readiness to be sent over the river, for the reinforcement of the main Army; and he hoped, if the force which was then on the eastern side of the river was insufficient to repel the enemy, that those Brigades, and he with them, might be ordered to cross the river, for its reinforcement, during the latter part of the coming night, as the enemy's shipping might move up, from below, and impede, if they should not totally stop, the troops from crossing.[2] But the proffered help was not accepted;[3] and Greene, notwithstanding his honorable anxiety, appears to have remained in New Jersey, without having received any answer to either his offer of help or his reasonable enquiries.

But the interregnum continued only during a few hours; and, gradually, the reason of the Commander-in-chief resumed its sway, his mental and physical strength was restored, and he was, again, the responsible head of the American Army. During the evening, as we have already seen, the Brigade commanded by General McDougal was ordered to move for the reinforcement of General Heath's command;[4] and, with that *Order*, the record of that great day in the history of Westchester-county was closed.

On the following morning, [*Sunday, October* 13, 1776,] General Washington became almost satisfied that the enemy's movement was not a feint; that his main body was on Throgg's-neck; and that he "had "in view the prosecution of his original plan, that of "getting in the rear of the Americans and of cutting "off their communication with the country."[5] That change in the General's opinion, as far as there was a change, appears to have been produced by the fact that General Howe had made no attempt to make a landing at Morrisania, as the former had supposed he would have done; and, the first time, he "thought it "would be advisable" to reinforce and protect the troops who had been, for more than twenty-four hours, guarding the two passes through which the enemy could open communications with the mainland; and he "recommended" the posting of small bodies of observation, at Pell's-point, at the mouth of Hutchinson's-river, at Hunt's-point, and at Willett's-point, without, however, giving an Order, for the execution of either of these.[6] At the same time, he strengthened the force already in Westchester-county, by moving the Brigade which had formerly been commanded by General Heath, for its support.[7]

He also ordered Colonel Tash, with his Regiment of New Hampshire Militia, then at the White Plains, to march to Fishkill, "with all possible despatch," for the assistance of the Committee of Safety, in holding the disaffected in check;[8] he called a meeting of the General Officers, at noon, "at or near King's "Bridge,"—as "we are strangers to a suitable place," it was left for General Heath to determine where he would have them meet;[9] and, finally, in these ringing sentences, he attempted to arouse the Army to a sense

[1] "Our men, who are posted on the passes, seemed to be in great spir-"its, when I left them last night." (*Letter to the President of the Congress*, "HEIGHTS OF HARLEM, 12 October, 1776," postscript, dated, "Oc-"tober 13th.")

[2] *General Greene to General Washington*, "FORT CONSTITUTION, October "12, five o'clock, 1776."

[3] We are not insensible that the General's grandson has said that "part of the troops were called over, but Greene was not," (Greene's *Life of Nathanael Greene*, Edit. New York: 1867, i., 235;) but he gave no authority for the statement, and we have found none; and we prefer to believe that the proffered help was not accepted, *at that time*, although some portions of General Greene's command were moved into Westchester-county, within a day or two, and after the Commander-in chief had recovered from his temporary despondency and had resumed the command of the Army.

[4] *Colonel Smallwood to the Maryland Convention*, "CAMP OF THE MARY-"LAND REGULARS, HEAD-QUARTERS, October 12, 1776," postscript, signed by Chris'r Richmond, Adjutant, and dated "Sunday, October 13, 1776;" *Colonel Ewing to the Maryland Council of Safety*, "CAMP NEAR HARLEM, October 13, 1776;" *Memoirs of General Heath*, 71.

[5] *General Washington to General Ward*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, HARLEM "HEIGHTS, October 13, 1776."

[6] "I beg leave to inform you that his Excellency (as the enemy did not "attempt landing at *Morrisania*, this morning,) thinks it would be ad-"visable to send a stronger force towards the two passes, near the enemy, "where our men were posted, yesterday, and also to throw up some "works for their cover and defence. He also recommends strongly to "your attention, the keeping a good look-out at Pell's-point, at the mouth "of Eastchester-creek, and at Hunt's and Willett's-points, for the sake of "gaining intelligence, these posts to be regarded as look-outs only." (*Colonel William Grayson, A.D.C. to General Heath*, "HEAD QUARTERS, "October 13, 1776.")

[7] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 71,

[8] *General Washington to Colonel Tash*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, October 13, "1776;" *Colonel R. H. Harrison to the Congress*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, "HARLEM HEIGHTS, October 14, 1776."

It is proper for us to say, in this place, that the Committee desired only two Companies; and ordered the remainder of the Regiment back to Peekskill, (*Colonel Thomas Tash to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety*, "PEAKSKILL, IN COURTLAND MANOR, October 26, 1776.")

[9] *Colonel Joseph Reed to General Heath*, "October 13, 1776."

It was stated in Colonel Reed's note that "it being necessary, since the "late movement of the enemy, to form some plan" of operations for the American Army, it is only reasonable to suppose the General Officers were called together, for an interchange of opinions, on that subject. The Council was evidently convened at General Heath's quarters, (*Memoirs of General Heath*, 71;) but nothing appears to have been done, because, it is said, of the absence of Generals Lee, Greene, and Mercer.

of its duty, to the country and to the world: "As the "enemy seem, now, to be endeavouring to strike some "stroke, before the close of the Campaign," were his words, "the General most earnestly conjures both Offi- "cers and men, if they have any love for their country "and concern for its liberties and regard to the safety "of their parents, wives, children, and countrymen, "that they will act with bravery and spirit, becoming "the cause in which they are engaged; and to encour- "age and animate them so to do, there is every ad- "vantage of ground and situation, so that, if we do "not conquer, it must be our own faults. How much "better will it be to die honourably, fighting in the "field, than to return home, covered with shame and "disgrace, even if the cruelty of the enemy should "allow you to return! A brave and gallant beha- "viour, for a few days, and patience, under some lit- "tle hardships, may save our country and enable us "to go into Winter-quarters with safety and honour."[1]

On the morning of the fourteenth of October, General Heath, with all the Generals under his command, reconnoitred the enemy, on Throgg's-neck;[2] and, soon afterwards, General Washington, accompanied by the Generals of the Army who were at Head-quarters, also visited all the posts, beyond Kingsbridge, and the several passes and roadways which led from Throgg's-neck and from the adjacent Necks, into the country,[3] acquainting himself, as far as he could do so, by personal reconnaissance, with the strength and position and purposes of the enemy; with the character and condition of the outlets, from Throgg's-neck and from the other similar, but lesser, Necks, in that vicinity, from which the enemy might incline to move into the interior of the County; with the capabilities, for defensive purposes, which those outlets severally possessed; and with the necessities, for military purposes, which each of these several subjects presented, for his attention.

During the same day, [*October* 14,] General Lee reached Head-quarters, on his return from the South; and the command of all the troops in Westchester-county, then the greater portion of the Army, was given to him, with the request, however, that he would not assume the command until he should have made himself acquainted with the different portions of the post, their circumstances, and the arrangements of the troops which had been made;[4] and, in the *General Orders* of the day, the Commander-in-chief ordered Colonel Bailey's Regiment to join General Clinton's Brigade, and Colonel Lippet's Regiment to join General McDougal's Brigade—each of them "to take their tents and cooking utensils, "and to lose no time;"—the two Connecticut Regiments, commanded, respectively, by Colonel Storrs and Major Graves, were ordered "to be in readiness "to march into Westchester, at a moment's warning;" and Generals Putnam and Spencer, the former commanding Heard's, Beall's, and Weedon's Brigades, and the latter commanding Lord Stirling's, Wadsworth's, and Fellows's Brigades, were ordered to remain on Harlem Heights and to continue the works of entrenchment thereon, General Putnam on all those proposed defensive works which were above Head-quarters, including those of Fort Washington:[5] those below Head-quarters, immediately in front of the enemy's works, which were occupied by Lieutenant-general the Earl of Percy and three Brigades, having been assigned to General Spencer.[6]

As General Heath was continued in the command of all the troops within Westchester-county, until further orders, notwithstanding the assignment of General Lee to the same command, the former instructed General Nixon, who had been ordered from New Jersey, with his Brigade, to "have the troops "which have marched, this day, to the eastward of "the Bridge, by Williams's,"[7] [*Williams's-bridge,*] "completely ready to turn out, in case the enemy "should make an attack, that night;" instructing him, at the same time, "should the attack be made

[1] *General Orders*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, HARLEM HEIGHTS, October 13, "1776."

[2] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 71.

[3] *Colonel Harrison to the Congress*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, HARLEM HEIGHTS, "October 14, 1776;" *the same to Peter R. Livingston*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, "HARLEM HEIGHTS, October 14, 1776;" *Memoirs of General Heath*, 71.

[4] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 71.

There is nothing which indicated the general consciousness of the helplessness of the country, at the time of which we write, as much as the general dependence of the country, as well as that of the Army, on General Charles Lee, an officer of large military pretentions; the ambitious leader of that party, in the Congress and elsewhere—mainly New Englanders—who was inclined to depreciate, if not to officially embarrass, General Washington; and the self-appointed and very willing and very unscrupulous critic of everything and everybody, unless of himself and of those who were pandering to his unholy ambition and applauding even his scurrility. He wielded a very glib, but a very poisonous, tongue, and a sharp and venomous pen, both of which were ready for immediate use, whenever his passions or his interests required their co operation. He was generally haughty, in his demeanor; he was always unprincipled, for good; he never ceased to be avaricious, even to meanness and dishonesty. A huckster of his own political and military opinions and associations, he was never contented with the prices which his wares commanded in the market of the world; and, after he had disgusted even his own party and had become, himself, disgusted with all mankind, he died, "unwept, unhonored, and unsung."

The country has had other men of straw whom it has also grasped, in its hours of great anxiety and great danger, almost counterparts of that on whom the Army and the country leaned, so confidently and so lovingly, from early in 1775 until the Summer of 1778; and just as the broken reed of that early period pierced the hand which leaned on it, so have these latter pretenders, these latter selfish and unpatriotic tools of unscrupulous and designing men, wounded those whose confidence they had secured, and brought shame and dishonor on the country which had petted them.

[5] The position assigned to Major-general Putnam, not immediately in front of the enemy, but, in the rear, where he could do no more than oversee the construction of certain *specified* defensive works, is peculiarly noteworthy—the disaster on Long Island was too distinctly remembered to allow him to be posted, again, where he could possibly do any harm.

[6] *General Orders*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, HARLEM HEIGHTS, October 14, "1776."

[7] We have not found any other description of these troops than what General Heath and David How wrote concerning them: the former saying, "two or three Brigades have moved, this day, beyond Wil- "liams's;" (*Letter to Colonel Sargent*, "KING'S BRIDGE, October 14, "1776;") and the latter, "14. There has been two Brigades March[d] By "hear This Day Towards forgg's point." (*Diary*, "October 14, 1776.")

"towards Frog's Point," to "endeavour to support "the Regiments that are posted at the passes, there;" "should the attack be made at or near East Chester "landing," to "make the best disposition of his "troops and repel the enemy;" and if any new movement of the enemy should be discovered, "to "send notice thereof, immediately, by one of the "Light-horsemen." General Heath also informed General Nixon "that a guard was absolutely necessary at "Rodman's-point," [*the same as Pell's-point, on the opposite side of the Hutchinson's-river, from Throgg's-neck,*] "next to East-Chester-creek." He said that Colonel How was near the landing-place, "with a "Regiment of Militia;" but it was evident that not enough was known of Colonel How's military qualifications for the command of so important a position; and General Nixon was directed to make inquiries on the subject.[1]

While the military authorities were thus engaged in preparing to meet the enemy, in arms, whenever the latter should endeavor to move from the Neck on which he was then quietly encamped, the Convention of New York, by its Committee of Safety, as we have already stated in our review of the proceedings of that Convention,[2] as soon as information could have possibly reached it, that the enemy had moved towards Westchester-county, provided for the immediate disposition of all the Cattle, Horses, Hogs, Sheep, Grain, Straw, and Hay, on the well-cultivated farms throughout that County, in order that the enemy should not secure them for his Commissariat;[3] and the careful reader may gather from that decided action of the Committee of Safety, how completely desolated all that flourishing County must have become, before that enemy secured a foothold on the main-land—indeed, before that foothold had been secured, all that portion of the County which was below Tarrytown, the White Plains, and Rye had, probably, been generally stripped of the various agricultural productions of that season, excepting only the Potatoes, the Buckwheat, and the Corn; and, of the Live-stock, of every description, it is scarcely probable that any remained, within that portion of the County.

In connection with this notice of the removal of the Live-stock and Crops, we may properly mention that, very largely, the inhabitants of those portions of the County which were likely to be exposed to the depredations of either of the two Armies—and one of these Armies was quite as bad as the other, in the work of plunder and devastation and outrage—removed from their several rural homes, with as many of their effects as they could take with them, to places of supposed greater safety;[4] and it is scarcely probable that, in all the lower Towns of the County, in which the tramp of armed men was soon to be heard, many of the inhabitants remained, unless, here and there, where the head of a family, accompanied by a faithful negro, lingered on the deserted homestead, in order that the property which could not be removed might not be left entirely uncared for.

The Convention was also mindful of the danger to which the records of the City and County of New York, as well as those of the Borough of Westchester and those of the County of Westchester, were exposed, by the movement of the enemy into the last-named County. All these had been removed from their proper places and lodged, for greater safety, in private houses, in different parts of the County, where, it was feared, they would become exposed to the enemy: and William Miller, of Harrison's Precinct, Theodorus Bartow, of New Rochelle, and John Cozine were appointed Commissioners for collecting them and removing them to Kingston, in Ulster-county, with instructions to gather and remove the scattered papers, "with all possible expedition," and to deliver them, at Kingston, to Dirck Wynkoop, Abraham Hasbrouck, and Christopher Tappen; and the Commissioners were authorized to call for a military guard, "to attend the said records, in their removal."[5]

On the fifteenth of October, the local Committee of Poundridge became so much alarmed, by reason of the movements of the "disaffected," in its vicinity, that the subject was laid before the Convention;[6] and the local Convention, and even individual members of that body, continued to worry General Washington

[1] *General Heath to General Nixon*, "KING'S BRIDGE, October 14, 1776."

[2] Vide pages 397, 398, ante.

[3] *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Monday morning, Octor. 14, "1776."

[4] The Morris family had left Morrisania, at the first appearance of danger, (*Lewis Morris to the Convention*, "PHILADELPHIA, Septr. 24, 1776.") John Jay obtained a leave of absence, on the fifteenth of October, to assist in the removal of his aged parents, with their effects, from their home, at Rye, to a place of safety, one of the most honorable acts of his life, (*Journal of the Convention*, "Tuesday afternoon, 15 October. 1776.") The pathetic story of Phœbe Oakley, (*Petition*, December 2, 1776,) and other evidences of equal value, clearly indicate that, among those who are less known to fame but equally worthy of respect, the removal of families and their effects, to places of supposed greater safety, at the time of which we write, very generally prevailed.

[5] *Journal of the Convention*, "Tuesday morning, Octor. 15, 1776."

[6] As the note of the Committee indicated the feeling of the more active of the disaffected, at that time—although the great body of those who were discontented made no attempt to take up arms or to join the Royal Army, preferring to remain at home, in peace—we make room for it, in this place;

"POUNDRIDGE, October 15, A.D., 1776.

"HONOURED SIRS:

"We, the Sub-Committee of Poundridge, in West-Chester County, "beg leave to inform your Honours that we are apprehensive that "there is danger of our prisoners leaving us and going to the Min-"isterial Army, as we are not more than nine or ten miles from the "water, where the Sound is full of the Ministerial ships and tenders. "One of our number is already gone to Long-Island, and numbers are "gone from other places, which are, no doubt, now with the Minis-"terial Army. There are disaffected persons daily going over to them, "which gives us much trouble. Therefore, we humbly beg your Hon-"ours would give us some directions concerning them, that they may "be speedily removed at some farther distance. We would also inform "you that for the misdemeanors of one of them and our own safety, we "have been obliged to commit him to gaol at the White Plains.

"These, with all proper respects, from yours to serve,

"JOSHUA AMBLER, *Chairman of Committee.*

"TO THE HONOURABLE CONVENTION OF THE STATE OF NEW-YORK."

with recitals of dangers from the "disaffected" who, singular as it appeared to those local despots, were not inclined to submit, passively, to whatever of insult or of injury those in revolution should be inclined to impose on them—only in very exceptional instances, however, did that "disaffection" extend beyond a disinclination to approve, in formal words, all which the Congresses had done, while the inclination to approve the Colonial policy of Great Britain was no stronger; and the general disinclination to leave their homes and their families and to resort to arms, or to rènder any assistance whatever, which the "disaffected," everywhere, presented, was as productive of disappointment to the commanders of the Royal Army as it was to General Washington. Neither General Howe nor General Washington understood of what that "disaffection" was generally composed; and partisan writers and partisan orators, from that day to this, have delighted to make that "disaffection" something else than it really was, and to invest the "disaffected," as a class, with characteristics and aims to which, unless in exceptional instances, they were strangers. Had the conservative farmers of Westchester-county—and these were not unlike the great bodies of the farmers, in all the Colonies—been permitted to dissent, quietly, from the policies of both the Home Government and the Continental Congress, and to have approved, quietly, of the spirited opposition to the Colonial policy of the Home Government and of the almost audacious demands for a redress of the grievances of the Colonies, which were made by the General Assembly of the Colony of New York, as they were certainly and generally inclined to do; and had not the aristocratic and haughty leaders of the revolutionary faction, in New York, attempted to secure uniformity of merely political opinions—and those to be only such opinions as they should dictate, by the methods which characterized the bigoted and relentless Clergy, in cases of religious dissent from their Calvinistic Congregationalism, in puritannic Massachusetts and Connecticut—as the those high-toned leaders persistently attempted, it is doubtful if "disaffection" would have been heard of, unless in some individual instances, which would have been harmless because of their insignificance; and it is morally certain that, if the love of home and the sense of wrongs inflicted by the Mother Country and the respect for those bearing authority, which everywhere prevailed, had been permitted to exercise the influences which they would have surely exercised, especially if they had been supported by that forbearance and by that respect for freedom of conscience, in political affairs, and by those appeals for harmony which every Christian man would have employed and none but civilized savages would have declined to employ, New York, if not the entire Continent, would have appeared, in the Autumn of 1776, as she had appeared in the Spring of 1774, before the spirit of factional strife had blighted the hopes of patriots, united, as one man, regardless of family feuds and ecclesiatical differences and social inequalities, demanding and, if needs be, supporting in arms, the Rights and the honor of the Colony and of the Continent. But that controlling faction had other ends than those of the country's welfare in view; and a narrow, bigoted, haughty, and relentless proscription and persecution of those whose political opinions differed from their own, very reasonably caused "disaffection" among the victims, without, however, leading them, to any considerable extent,[1] to strike, in retaliation—they would have been worthy of all which was heaped on them, had they endured that proscription and that persecution, without becoming "disaffected:" it was honorable that, although "disaffected," they declined to take up arms, even in retaliation or self-defence, when those arms, thus employed, would have been employed against their own country.

There does not appear to have been any movement, which is worthy of especial notice, in either Army, on the fifteenth of October; but in the *General Orders* of that day, Colonel Joseph Reed's Regiment was ordered to join the Brigade commanded by General McDougal; and Colonel Hutchinson's Regiment was ordered to join the Brigade commanded by General Clinton. The Regiments commanded, respectively, by Colonels Sargent, Ward, and Chester and by Lieutenant-colonel Storrs, were formed into a Brigade, to be commanded by Colonel Sargent; and the Regiments commanded, respectively, by Colonels Douglass, Ely, Horseford, and by Majors Rogers and Graves, were, also, formed into a Brigade, to be commanded by General Saltonstall. The several Brigades of the Army were formed into Divisions,[2] those commanded, respectively, by Brigadier-generals Heard, Beall, and Weedon were to form the Division to be commanded by Major-general Putnam; those commanded, respectively, by Brigadier-generals Lord Stirling, Wadsworth, and Fellows were to form the Division to be commanded by Major-general Spencer; those commanded, respectively, by Brigadier-generals Nixon, McDougal, and James Clinton, the last commanded by Colonel Glover, were to form the Division to be commanded by Major-general Lee; those commanded, respectively, by Brigadier-generals Parsons, Scott, and George Clinton were to form the Division to be com-

[1] The reader has been, already, informed of what General Howe stated on the backwardness of the Colonists, even of those who had claimed to have been loyal, *in taking up arms* against their own country, (*vide pages* 388, 401, *ante.*) We need not repeat the statements.

[2] It is a noticeable fact, and one which has seriously perplexed those who have attempted to study the history of that period and, very often, has led them astray, that, until the time now under notice, the Regiments of the Army were not, generally, arranged into Brigades and Divisions; and that neither Brigadier-generals nor Major-generals had any specified Regiments under their especial command—they commanded those who were present and on duty, wherever they might happen to be; and it is hardly to be wondered at, th t there was so little of order and discipline in the Army: it is rather remarkable there were as much of them as there appears to have been.

manded by Major-general Heath; those commanded, respectively, by Brigadier-generals Saltonstall, Sargent, and Hand were to form the Division to be commanded by Major-general Sullivan; and the Massachusetts Militia, then serving with the Army, was to be formed into a Division to be commanded by Major-general Lincoln.[1] At the same time, the General, in the most pressing terms, exhorted all Officers commanding Divisions, Brigades, and Regiments, to have their Officers and the men under their respective commands properly informed of what was expected from them, that no confusion might arise in case they should be suddenly called to action, which, there was no kind of doubt, was near at hand; and he hoped and flattered himself that the only contention would be who should render the most acceptable service to his country and his posterity. He also desired that the Officers would be particularly attentive to the mens's Arms and ammunition, that there might be no deficiency or application for Cartridges when they were called into the field.[2]

On Wednesday, the sixteenth of October, General Washington, accompanied by the other Generals, made a careful reconnaissance of the ground at and near Pell's or Rodman's-neck,[3] towards which, it is very evident, his attention had been particularly directed, as the point towards which the next movement of the enemy would probably be directed.[4]

With all the information, concerning "the enemy's "intention to surround" the American Army, which the General had been able to secure; with all the knowledge which his personal and careful reconnaissance of the country had imparted to him; and with all the intelligence concerning "the turbulence of "the disaffected in the upper parts of this State," which the Convention had communicated to him, he re-assembled the Council of War which had met and adjourned on the preceding Sunday,[5] [*October* 13;] and he laid all these matters before it, for its consideration.

That very notable Council was assembled at the Head-quarters of General Lee; and, besides the Commander-in-chief, Major-generals Lee, Putnam, Heath, Spencer, and Sullivan; Brigadier-generals Lord Stirling, Mifflin, McDougal, Parsons, Nixon, Wadsworth, Scott, Fellows, Clinton, and Lincoln; and Colonel Knox, commanding the Artillery, were present—although General Greene was at the Head-quarters of the Army, on Harlem-heights, he was evidently out of humor and was not present.[6] After the Commander-in-chief had communicated to the assembled Generals those letters from the Convention of the State and those "accounts of deserters showing the enemy's "intention to surround" the American Army, to which reference has been made, and after much consideration and debate, the following question was stated: "Whether, (it having appeared that the ob-"structions in the North River have proved insuffi-"cient, and that the enemy's whole force is now in "our rear, on Frog Point,) it is now deemed possible, "in our present situation, to prevent the enemy from "cutting off the communication with the country and "compelling us to fight them, at all disadvantages, "or surrender prisoners at discretion?" With only one dissenting voice, that of General George Clinton, the Council agreed that "it is not possible to prevent "the communication from being cut off; and that "one of the consequences mentioned in the question "must certainly follow." Largely, if not entirely, in deference to the expressed will of the Continental Congress, the Council resolved, however, apparently with entire unanimity, "that Fort Washington be re-"tained as long as possible."[7]

[1] Although General Lincoln was considered and named, in the *General Order* now under notice, as a Major-general, it is probable that that was only his rank in the Militia of Massachusetts, since, in the Council of War, which was held on the following day, [*October* 16,] he was ranked as only a Brigadier-general, and then only at the lower end of the line of Brigadiers.

[2] *General Orders*, "Head-quarters, Harlem Heights, October 15, "1776."

[3] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 71.

[4] The first reconnaissance which the General made, after the enemy's occupation of Throgg's-neck, included "the Necks adjacent," so that he was not ignorant of the character of the ground on and near Pell's-neck; but, on the morning of the sixteenth—probably because of information received, on the preceding day, from some deserters from the fleet, who had been taken to Head-quarters and personally examined by the General, with evident confidence in their testimony, (*General Washington to Governor Trumbull*, "Head-quarters, Heights of Harlem, Octo-"ber 16, 1776,")—another and more minute examination of the ground was made, as stated in the text.

[5] Vide page 409, ante.

[6] *General Greene to Governor Cooke*, "Head-quarters, New-York Is-"land, October 16, 1776."

Singular as it would appear to be, were not the propensity for securing all the honor which belongs to them and as much more as is possible, so generally prevalent among those who have occupied public places, Gordon, who was so largely the exponent of General Greene's opinions and pretensions, made the latter take a leading part, in the Council, in opposing the movement of the Army from Harlem-Heights; but the official *Minutes of the Council* clearly show that General Greene was not present, and, therefore, could not have taken any part in the proceedings of that body, (*Compare the* Proceedings of a Council of General Officers at the Head-quarters of General Lee, October 16, 1776, *with Gordon's* History of the American Revolution, ii., 338.)

[7] *Proceedings of a Council of General Officers held at the Head-quarters of General Lee*, October 16, 1776.

Because of evident errors in the copy of that paper which is printed in Force's *American Archives*, V., ii., 1117, 1118, we have preferred the copy of it, evidently taken from the original manuscript, which appears in Sparks's *Writings of George Washington*, Ed. Boston: 1834, iv., 155, note.

In his evidently new-born zeal, adverse to the military and personal character of General Charles Lee, Bancroft has exposed his entire inability to understand and correctly describe a military movement, whatever his capability of understanding and correctly describing a political movement may be, in what he has written concerning "the origin of "the retirement of the American Army from New York." (*History of the United States*, Edit. Boston: 1866, ix., 175, note; *the same*, centenary edition, v., 440, note.)

In his attempt to take from General Lee everthing of credit for having united with others, in advising that "retirement of the Amer-"ican Army from New York," which is now under consideration, that venerable and distinguished historian has entirely disregarded the action of that Council of War, in which the Commander-in-chief was officially informed, the first time, of the opinions of the General Officers, concerning the further occupation of the Heights of Harlem by the main body of the American Army, on which opinions the *General Orders* for

The several positions occupied by the different portions of the Army, from day to day, have not been noticed, with any degree of particularity, in any of the official documents or publications of that period, as far as we have knowledge; but it is evident that the command of Major-general Spencer was moved from the exterior lines, on the Heights of Harlem, to which it had been ordered on the preceding Monday, [*October* 14,][1] and carried into Westchester-county—the Brigades commanded, respectively, by Brigadier-generals Wadsworth and Fellows were moved to Kingsbridge,[2] probably further northward; and the Brigade commanded by Brigadier-general Lord Stirling, to which the Regiments commanded, respectively, by Colonels Weedon and Reed were added,[3] was pushed forward, first, to the Mile Square and, afterwards, to the White Plains.[4] A portion, if not the whole, of the Brigade commanded by Colonel Glover was evidently moved to support whatever guard there may have been posted on the outlet from Pell's, or Rodman's, neck;[5] two Regiments of the Massachusetts Militia, from the command of Major-general Lincoln, were "sent up the river," [*the Hudson-river,*] "to watch the motions of the ships," [*the* Phœnix, *the* Roebuck, *and the* Tartar, *then lying off Tarrytown,*] "and to oppose any landing of men, that they may attempt;"[6] while the Head-quarters of that small Division and, probably, the two remaining Regiments, were posted on Valentine's-hill,[7] in the Town of Yonkers, one of those ridges which formed, and which still form, a distinguishing feature in the topography of Westchester-county; and, at the time of which we write, the most southerly of those high grounds, extending northerly as far as the White Plains, which were subsequently occupied by detachments of the American Army, while the main body of that Army was laboriously and painfully occupied in its famous retreat, with its baggage and stores, from the Heights of Harlem to the high grounds at the last mentioned-place;[8] and General Heath's Division was posted in a line extending from Fort Independence to Valentine's-hill.[9] It is said, also, that a line of entrenched encampments was also formed, along the high grounds, on the western side of the Bronx-river, from Valentine's-hill, on the South, to Chatterton's-hill, opposite the White Plains, on the North;[10] but by which of the Regiments they were

that "retirement" were largely based, and from the date of which officially expressed opinions, alone, that of "the origin of the retirement of the American Army from New York" can be accurately ascertained.

Surely the historian could not have been sincere when he described the hurried movement of the Regiment commanded by Colonel Smallwood, on the twelfth of October, to oppose the progress of the enemy from Throgg's-neck, as a "retirement of the American Army from New York;" and because the weight of his authorities, in support of his fancy, was confined to a single letter, written by the Adjutant-general of the Army to his wife, on the day after the enemy landed on Throgg's-neck, in which that officer said, "The principal part of this Army is "moved off this island"—a movement from the works on Harlem Heights, which was only for the purpose of holding the enemy in check, and that not, by any means, in fact, approaching a movement of "the "principal part of the Army," nor with either an intimation or a pretense that it was a "retirement of the American Army" from its strong position—without any other testimony whatever to support it, we are constrained to attribute the statement under consideration, either to have been an ebullition of his antipathy against General Lee or one of the reasonable results of his ignorance of what was necessary to constitute a "retirement of the American Army from New York."

It would have been more creditable to the authorial reputation of that venerable writer of history, had he read what General Washington instructed his Secretary to write to the President of the Congress, on the seventeenth of October, the day after the Council had advised him of the inexpediency of holding the Heights of Harlem, with the main body of the Army, on the subject of the "change of our disposition, to counteract the operations of the enemy, declining an attack on our front." Had he read that very simple statement, he would have ascertained that the Commander-in chief was not aware, on the seventeenth of October, that any portion of the Army, at that time, had been "taken from "hence," in the sense of a "retirement of the Army;" that the "change "of the disposition" of the Army had not, then, been made; that that proposed "change of our disposition" was frankly stated to have been "determined" on, in the Council of General Officers, on the preceding day; and that "General Lee, who arrived on Monday, had strongly "urged the absolute necessity of the measure," not yet executed.

[1] Vide page 410, ante.

[2] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 71.

[3] *General Orders*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, HARLEM HEIGHTS, October 17, "1776."

[4] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 74.

[5] The action which occurred on the eighteenth of October, the day after that of which we write, was maintained by the Regiments commanded, respectively, by Colonels Shepard, Read, Baldwin, and Glover, all of them belonging to the Brigade commanded by Colonel Glover, in the absence of General James Clinton.—(*Vide pages* 417–422. *post.*)

[6] *General Washington to Governor Trumbull*, "HEIGHTS OF HARLEM, "15 October, 1776."

[7] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 73.

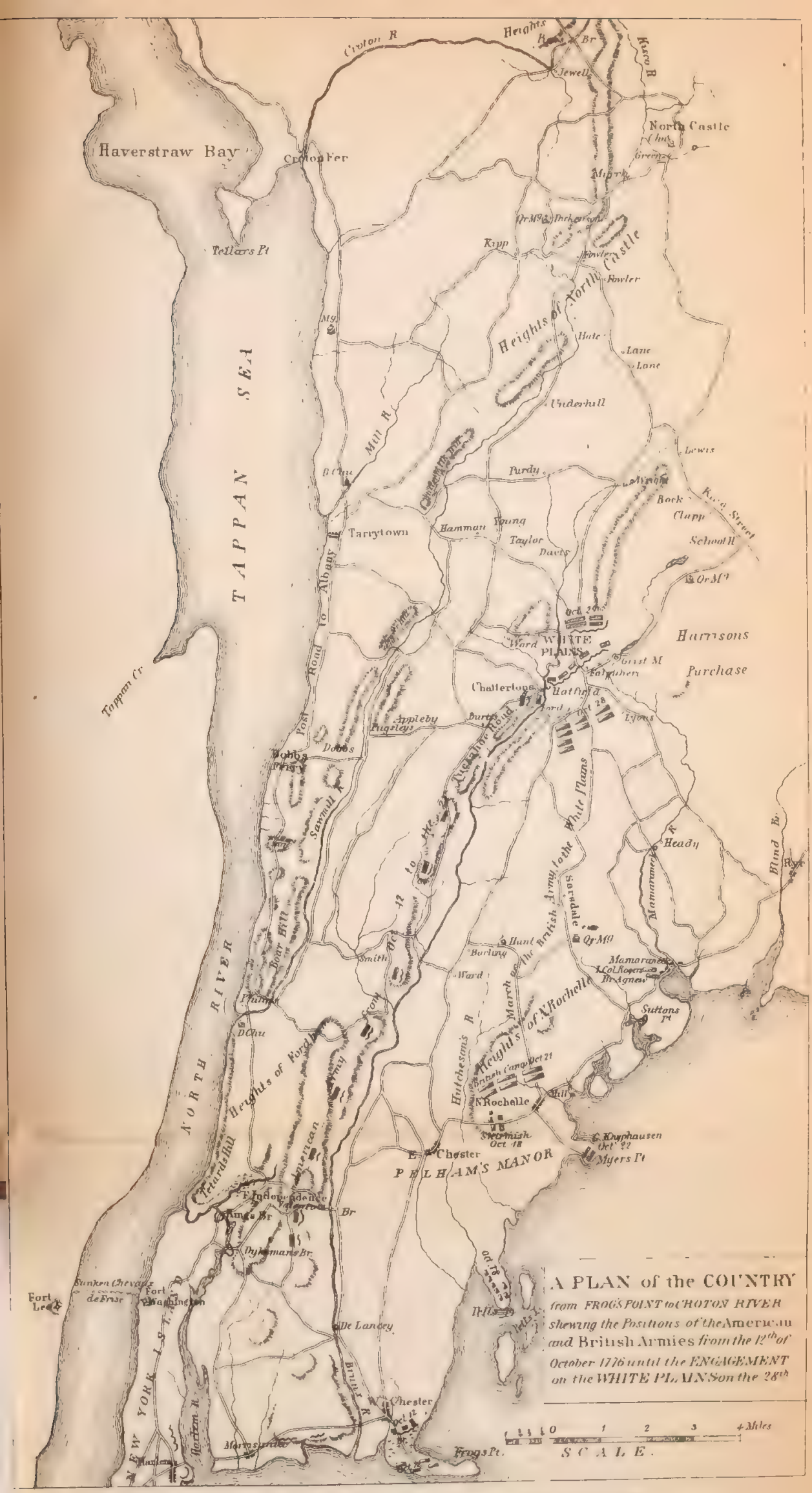
[8] Vide pages 415; 426, 427; 430; etc., post.

[9] The two Regiments of Connecticut encamped on the Harlem-river, belonging to General Parson's Brigade, (*General Orders*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, HARLEM HEIGHTS, October 15, 1776,") were ordered to pass over the new Bridge and join Colonel Swartwout; and, with his Regiment, to form a flank-guard. Of the Brigade commanded by General Parsons, the Regiments commanded, respectively, by Colonels Prescott and Huntington were ordered to occupy Fort Independence; Colonel Ward, with his Regiment, was ordered to Fletcher's, to the eastward of Fort Independence; the Regiments commanded, respectively, by Colonels Tyler and Wyllys, were ordered to form a Reserve; and Captain Treadwell, with a three pounder, and Lieutenant Berbeck, with a howitzer, were attached to the Brigade. Of the Brigade commanded by General Scott, the Regiments commanded, respectively, by Colonels Lasher and Malcolm were ordered to form a Reserve;* Colonel Drake, with his Regiment, was ordered to occupy the Redoubt, in Bates's cornfield; Colonel Hardenberg, with his Regiment, was ordered to occupy the Redoubt, on Cannon-hill; and Lieutenant Fleming and Fenno, each with a three-pounder, were attached to the Brigade. Of General George Clinton's Brigade, the Regiments commanded, respectively, by Colonels Nicolls and Thomas were ordered to form a Reserve; Colonel Pawling, with his Regiment, was ordered to occupy Valentine's cornfield, with Colonel Graham and his Regiment on his left; and Captain Bryant, with a three-pounder, and Lieutenant Jackson, with a six pounder, were attached to the Brigade. (*Division Orders*, "KING'S-BRIDGE, October 17, 1776.")

[10] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November "1776;" Sauthier's *Plan of the Operations of the King's Army under the Command of General Sir William Howe K. B, in New-York and East New-Jersey; A Plan of the Country from Frog's Point to Croton River shewing the positions, etc.; Annual Register for* 1776: *History of Europe*, *177; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 339; Marshall's *Life of George Washington*, ii., 500; etc.

Reference may properly be made, in this place, to the two Maps, named among the authorities referred to, in this instance—one of them drawn

* There are some reasons for supposing that those two Regiments constituted the force left, under Colonel Lasher, for the protection of Fort Independence, when the Division was moved to the White Plains.



A PLAN of the COUNTRY from FROGS POINT to CHOTON RIVER shewing the Positions of the American and British Armies from the 12th of October 1776 until the ENGAGEMENT on the WHITE PLAINS on the 28th

Drawn by S. Lewis from the Original Surveys made by order of General Washington, and published in 1807. Reproduced, in 1885, to illustrate Dawson's Westchester County, New York, during the American Revolution 1774-1783.

constructed and by whom occupied, we are unable to state with certainty, although we suspect that the Massachusetts Militia, commanded by General Lincoln, and the two Brigades of General Spencer's Division, commanded, respectively, by Generals Fellows and Wadsworth, who had been moved from the Heights of Harlem to Kingsbridge, on the seventeenth of October, were the artificers who constructed and the soldiers who occupied that very greatly important line of hastily constructed earthworks.

There had not been much haste displayed in the American Army, in changing its position on the Heights of Harlem, made really strong by the outlay of immense labor, notwithstanding the enemy had completely turned its left flank, occupied a position on its rear, and with the veriest mite of an effort was capable of throwing a strong force across its entire rear, of seizing every line of communication and every strong position, and of forming such a line of offensive operations, covered, on either flank, by the ships off Tarrytown and the fleet off Throgg's-neck, which the Americans, in their generally unknown weakness and poverty of supplies, could scarcely have hoped to overcome. But General Washington had a lingering suspicion that the movement of the enemy to Throgg's-neck was only a feint; that he remained in that unseemly position only to await the proper time when he could quickly embark again, and drop down to Morrisania, on one tide; and that caution was necessary.[1] Besides that caution, in the Commander-in-chief, there was a great scarcity of the means for transporting the Stores and Baggage to another and distant position;[2] and, with commenda-

by Claude Joseph Sauthier, a celebrated Engineer in the service of the King, and published by William Faden, in London, in 1777; the other, drawn by the Engineers of the American Army for, and preserved by, General Washington, and engraved, from the original manuscript, for the illustration of the original edition of Chief-justice Marshall's *Life of George Washington*, published in Philadelphia, in 1804.

As both of these Maps were originally official, one British and the other American; as both were published from the respective manuscripts, as nearly as possible in *fac-simile*; and as both are historical authorities of the highest character, they will be frequently referred to, in our narrative of the Military Operations in Westchester-county; and, in order that our readers may also enjoy the benefits to be derived from a use of them, while reading the story of Westchester-county's revolutionary history, the Publishers have re-produced them, at our request, as nearly in exact *fac-simile* of the original publications, as possible. Sauthier's Map will be found opposite page 227 of this work, *ante*; and General Washington's Map will be found opposite this page of the same.

We may be permitted, however, to call the reader's attention to a singular error which was made in *lettering* the British Map. Where "Philipsburgh," [*Philipsborough*,] or Yonkers, should have been designated the word "Wepperham"—intended for "Neperhan," the name of the stream, popularly known as the "Sawmill-river," at the mouth of which Philipsborough, or Yonkers, stood—has been erroneously inserted; and, instead of designating Tarrytown, not "Terrytown," as situated miles *above* the Pocantico, on which the *upper* Manorhouse of the Manor of Philipsborough yet stands, that noted village ought to have been designated *below* that stream— indeed, the Pocantico is made to appear as if it were the Neperhan, or Sawmill-river; and Dobbs's-ferry and Tarrytown are consequently crowded up, into the immediate vicinity of the Croton-river, although they are several miles below that stream; and all the other lettering of the Map is similarly forced to the northward, unduly, in order that it may be made to correspond with the river-villages.

Probably misled by the errors referred to, in the official Map, the beautiful Map of the same Military Operations, which illustrates Stedman's *History of the American War*, has repeated the mistakes, in all their ugliness; and the first edition of Lossing's *Field-book of the Revolution* perpetuated the unwelcome errors.

[1] *Colonel Harrison to General Heath*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, October 12, "1776;" *Colonel Grayson to the same*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, October 13, "1776;" *the same to Governor Trumbull*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, HARLEM "HEIGHTS, October 15, 1776;" etc.

On the morning of the eighteenth of October, while the enemy was seen in motion to the *eastward* of Throgg's neck, when that fact was communicated to General Washington, by General Heath, the latter was ordered to return to his command, which had been posted with its right at Valentine's and its left at Fort Independence, and to have it "formed, "ready for action, immediately, and to take such a position as might ap-"pear best calculated to oppose the enemy, should they attempt to land "another body of troops on Morrisania, which he thought not improba-"ble;" and General Heath "immediately obeyed the Order." (*Memoirs of General Heath*, 72.)

[2] That scarcity will be evident to the reader of *General Orders* of the seventeenth of October, in which "some Regiments" are ordered "to "move towards them," [*the enemy*,] in which Orders were also included for the government of those Regiments, in the transportation of their Tents and Baggage.

See, also, *Quartermaster-general Mifflin to William Duer*, "MOUNT WASH-"INGTON, October 20, 1776."

Gordon, when describing the movement from Harlem Heights, said, "The movement was attended with much difficulty, for want of Wag-"gons and Artillery horses. When a part was forwarded, the other was "fetched on. This was the general way of removing the Camp-equip-"page and other appendages of the Army. The few Teams which were "at hand, were in no wise equal to the service; and their deficiency "could be made up only by the bodily labor of the men." (*History of the American Revolution*, ii., 339, 340.)

It would be useful, were some one to ascertain and to inform the world of historical literature, just why there was such a remarkable scarcity of Teams, in such an old-settled agricultural community as occupied the lower Towns of Westchester county, in the Autumn of 1776, especially of those Teams which were required by the American Army, by whom that portion of the County had been occupied, during several weeks preceding the date of the retreat from Harlem Heights. There would be some curious revelations of the inefficiency of the Quarter-master-general's Department; but there would, also, be some very much more curious revelations of thefts of horses, by the Officers of the Army, not for their present purposes, but for their use, in the future, after their retirement from the service. Vide *General Orders*, October 31, 1776.

The farmers of Westchester-county were robbed, indiscriminately, not only by the camp followers and the privates of the Army, but by the Officers, including Field-officers;* and, in that work of plunder, the records are singularly ample in their evidence that the plunderers were almost exclusively men and Officers of the Massachusetts and Connecticut Lines.† At a later period than that which is now under consideration, even a Major-general of the Continental Army was confederated with similar thieves; and gave orders on the Paymasters of the Army for

* *The Committee of Safety to the President of the Continental Congress*, "IN COMMITTEE OF SAFETY FOR THE STATE OF NEW YORK, FISHKILL, "November 28, 1776;" *Deposition of John Martine*, "13 November, 1776;" *Deposition of Marmaduke Foster*, "13 November, 1776;" *Petition of Phœbe Oakley*, "2 December, 1776;" *Deposition of Talman Pugsley*, "2 Decem-"ber, 1776;" *Deposition of Ebenezer Burrill*, "2 December, 1776;" *Journal of the Committee of Safety*, "Monday morning, 2 December, 1776;" *the Committee of Safety to General Heath*, "IN COMMITTEE OF SAFETY FOR "THE STATE OF NEW YORK, FISHKILL, December 3, 1776;" *Petition of Inhabitants of Westchester-county*, "WESTCHESTER-COUNTY, December 23, "1776;" etc.

† The Regiment of Massachusetts Artificers, commanded by Colonel Brewer, and the Regiment of Connecticut troops, commanded by Colonel Charles Webb, were especially notorious, as thieves.

See, *General Order for securing Sergeant Tripp and others*, "PEEKSKILL, "11 December, 1776;" *Minutes of Court Martial for trial of Major Austin*, "PHILIPSBURG, November 12, 1776;" *Commitment of Captain Phineas Ford to the Duchess-county Jail*, "BY THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY OF THE "STATE OF NEW-YORK, FISHKILL, January the 1st, 1776;" etc.

ble prudence, a removal of Head-quarters from the strong position which they, then, occupied, was not attempted until every possible preparation for a successful removal of them had been duly made. Every portion of the Army was so disposed, however, that all could be concentrated around Head-quarters, in a short time, should such a movement become necessary, although the enemy was, also, properly and effectively guarded; and, although there was no appearance of haste, in anything which was done, there was, also, abundant evidence that the Commander-in-chief, no longer given away to despondency, was entirely mindful of the great responsibility which, then, rested on him.

While all these anxieties had prevailed throughout the American Army, and while all these precautions were being taken by General Washington, General Howe and the main body of the Royal Army had been quietly encamped on Throgg's-neck. With the exception of a scattering fire across the marsh which separated the Neck from the mainland, which seems to have done no material damage,[1] there does not appear to have been any offensive movement whatever;[2] and there is very little reason for supposing that the entire period of the stay of the Army, at that place, was not duly occupied in the transportation of Stores and Provisions and means for Transportation and what must have been regarded as necessary reinforcements.[3]

It is not an uncommon occurrence for those who are without information, during a War, to condemn what they regard as the tardiness, sometimes as the criminal tardiness, of a commanding General, in the movement of his command on some enterprise on which the faultfinders have rested large, very often unduly large, expectations; and General Howe has not escaped from that very common condemnation. As we have already stated,[4] he has been condemned for having blundered because he occupied Throgg's-neck instead of some more favorable point, on the mainland; but, as we have also shown, whatever of censure there may have been due for having thus blundered in occupying that isolated Neck, if there was any blunder in the case, it belonged to Admiral Lord Howe instead of to the General, his brother. General Howe has been condemned, also, because of his long stay on Throgg's-neck, without having attempted to move from that position, in any direction whatever,[5] but surely no one would have desired him to move into an enemy's country, in the face of an active military force of that enemy, without a Commissariat, without the necessary military Stores which would become necessary in his conduct of the proposed movement into that enemy's country, and without the slightest pretense to the necessary means for transporting even his Officers' baggage, of all of which the first and second detachments had taken comparatively little to the Neck, and of all of which the subsequent and main supplies were held back by adverse winds, which prevented the vessels which bore them from passing through Hell-gate.[6] In addition to the delays in moving the Commissariat, the military Stores, and the Horses and Waggons of the Quarter-master-general's Department,[7] to which reference has been made, some delay was also experienced in moving three Battalions of Hessians, from Staten-island, for the reinforcement of the main body, on the Neck;[8] and thus, in General Howe's own words, "Four or five days had been "unavoidably taken up in landing at Frog's-Neck, "instead of going, at once, to Pell's-point, which "would have been an imprudent measure, as it could

payment of the transportation of the plunder, from the scenes of the thefts to the homes of the thieves and of their accessories, of high or low degree, in the neighboring State of Connecticut.*

[1] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 70, 71.

[2] Judge Jones, in his remarkably accurate *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, (i., 122,) said of General Howe's occupation of Throgg's neck, "here a whole fortnight was spent in doing nothing "(plundering the inhabitants and stealing their horses excepted)." We incline to the belief, however, that General Howe had no communication with the mainland sufficient to enable him to seize horses; and there could not have been much opportunity for plunder, by the troops, unless on the Neck, for the same controlling reason.

The Judge was also evidently in error as to the period of General Howe's occupation of the Neck—he landed, there, on the twelfth of October, and he moved from it, on the eighteenth of the same month, which can hardly be said, with propriety, to have been "a whole fortnight."

[3] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November, "1776."

* *General George Clinton to Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton*, "POUGHKEEP-"SIE, 28 December, 1777."

It is a singular fact that the Major-general referred to in the Note, also inspired the destruction of the White Plains, in which Major Austin also first plundered those whose houses he destroyed. (*Testimony of Sergeant Churchill and Tilley How, on the trial of Major Austin*, as to the robbery, and *Major Austin's Defence before the same Court*, as to the original author of the devastation.)

[4] Vide page 407, ante.

[5] [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 203; Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 210, 211; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 337; Adolphus's *History of England*, Ed. London: 1805, ii., 379; Sparks's *Life of George Washington*, 194; Irving's *Life of George Washington*, ii., 385; etc.

[6] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November, "1776;" *General Howe's Speech before a Committee of the House of Commons*, April 29, 1779; *Annual Register for* 1776; *History of Europe*, 176*; etc.

The adverse winds, which prevented the supplies, etc., from passing Hell-gate, were referred to by *General Howe in his letter to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November, 1776;" and *in those of Lieutenant-colonel Tench Tilghman to William Duer*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, HARLEM HEIGHTS, "October 17, 1776;" *General Washington to the Continental Congress*, "HARLEM HEIGHTS, October 18, 1776;" etc.

[7] "He transported Carriages with him from England; and whatever "more he wanted were procured on Long Island and Staten Island," (Galloway's *Reply to the* Observations of Lieutenant-general Sir William Howe, 9.)

[8] In his despatch to Lord George Germaine, "NEW-YORK, 30 Novem-"ber, 1776," General Howe stated that "three Battalions of Hessians "were drawn from Staten Island;" but in his *Speech before a Committee of the House of Commons*, April 29, 1779, when his conduct, as Commander-in-chief of the King's forces in North America, was under consideration, he stated, without contradiction, that the reinforcement consisted of "the Second Division of Hessians." We have preferred the former statement; because there was, then, only one Brigade of Hessians on Staten Island; and because the "Second Division of Hessians," under General Knyphausen, had not, then, reached America.

"not have been executed without much unnecessary "risk."[1]

Having at length, completely effected his occupation of Throgg's-neck and completely provided for his probable needs, General Howe determined to open his operations in Westchester-county, without further delay; and, at one o'clock in the morning of Friday, the eighteenth of October, the van of the Royal Army, consisting of the Light Infantry and Grenadiers of the British Regiments and a portion, at least, if not all, of the German Chasseurs, was re-embarked, in flat boats, on the western side of the Neck; and, having passed around the Point of Throgg's-neck, was landed on Pell's, or, as it was sometimes called, Rodman's, neck, on the opposite side of Hutchinson's-river, in the Town of Eastchester.[2] The main body of the Army crossed over to the eastern side of the Neck; and, during the day, that, also, with all its various appointments and stores and supplies, was carried over to Pell's-neck.[3]

It does not appear that the movement of the van of the Royal Army was seen by the Americans, through the darkness of the very early morning, notwithstanding one of the best of the Brigades in the American service, that of General James Clinton, then commanded by Colonel Glover of Marblehead, had been posted, as a guard, in front of Pell's-neck, the place of its debarkation; and not until daylight had revealed the similar movement of the main body of the Army, was there any suspicion, among the Americans, anywhere, that such a movement was imminent—indeed, the van had landed and moved up toward the main-land, a full mile and a half, before either of the movements was discovered.[4]

The movement of the main body, in upwards of two hundred boats, formed into four grand divisions and covered by the smaller armed vessels of the Fleet, was discovered, "early in the morning," by Colonel Glover himself; by whom, after he had sent Major Lee, the Brigade-Major, as an express to General Lee, whose Quarters were three miles away from that place, the entire Brigade which he commanded, was called to arms, and moved down the Neck, to oppose the landing of the enemy and to hold him in check, until reinforcements should be sent or other Orders be received.

Although the full strength of the Regiments commanded, respectively, by Colonels Shepard, Read, Baldwin, and Glover—the latter, at that time, commanded by Captain Curtis—was less than eight hundred effective men,[5] the brave fisherman who temporarily commanded the Brigade pushed forward toward the place where the enemy's Light Infantry and Grenadiers and Chasseurs had landed, and where the main body was about to land, although the rough and broken ground over which the Brigade was moved compelled him to leave, on his route, the three field-pieces which he had taken from his encampment. He had not marched more than half the dis-

[1] *General Howe's Speech before a Committee of the House of Commons*, April 29, 1776.

[2] *Admiral Lord Howe to Mr. Stephens, Secretary of the Admiralty*," EAGLE, "OFF NEW-YORK, November 23, 1776;" *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*. "NEW-YORK, November 30, 1776;" Lushington's *Life of Lord Harris*, 81; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 338.

[3] *Admiral Lord Howe to Mr. Stephens, Secretary of the Admiralty*," EAGLE, "OFF NEW-YORK, November 23, 1776;" *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, November 30, 1776;" David How's *Diary*, October 18, 1776: [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 205; *Memoirs of General Heath*, 72; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 338; Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 211; etc.

[4] *Extract of a letter from Mile Square*, [evidently written by General Glover,] *dated October* 22, 1776, in *The Freeman's Journal and New Hampshire Gazette*, Vol. I, No. 27, PORTSMOUTH, Tuesday, November 26, 1776.

[5] The following, from the *General Returns of the Army*, will serve to show the strength of that little detachment, both before and after the spirited little affair which is now under notice:

Regiments.	Com. Officers.	Staff.	Non-com.	Fit for Duty.	Sick, present.	Sick, absent.	On Command.	Furloughed.	Total, rank and file.
September 21, 1776.									
Colonel Shepard's*	19	3	46	208	99	6	200	1	514
Colonel Read's	20	3	31	212	153	8	128	0	501
Colonel Baldwin's	25	5	38	225	147	19	77	0	468
Colonel Glover's	30	3	33	170	43	8	138	0	361
	94	14	148	815	442	41	543	1	1844
October 5, 1776.									
Colonel Shepard's*	19	5	46	204	102	6	200	1	513
Colonel Read's	22	4	46	226	136	8	126	0	496
Colonel Baldwin's	28	5	37	234	122	34	74	0	464
Colonel Glovers	26	3	35	179	30	8	141	0	360
	95	17	164	843	390	56	541	1	1833
November 2, 1776.									
Colonel Shepard's*	20	4	26	227	86	3	186	1	503
Colonel Read's	17	2	34	232	123	7	125	0	487
Colonel Baldwin's	24	4	36	263	106	11	82	0	462
Colonel Glover's	26	3	35	171	20	13	149	0	356
	87	13	131	893	335	34	542	1	1808

* This Regiment was formerly commanded by Colonel Learned, under whom William Shepard was Lieutenant-colonel; but, at the particular request of General Washington, (*Letter dated* "HEAD-QUARTERS, HEIGHTS "OF HARLEM, September 30, 1776,") the latter was promoted to the Colonelcy and the command of the Regiment, by a vote of the Continental Congress, on the second of October, 1776. (*Journal of the Continental Congress*, "Wednesday, October 2, 1776.")

As the Regiment really commanded by Colonel Shepard was often alluded to as "Late Learned's," this explanation becomes necessary, in order to enable the reader to understand the subject, correctly.

tance, however, before his further progress was arrested by the unexpected appearance, on his front, of the advance-guard of the enemy's van, the main body of whom, as we have already stated, had been pushed forward, at an early hour, to occupy the landing-place and, if necessary, to cover the descent of the main body; and who, in the absence of any opposing force of the Americans, had evidently sent out a strong detachment of its force, to see what was to be seen and to take advantage of any favorable circumstances which should be presented, in a movement over the Neck, toward the main-land.

With admirable skill and with a deliberate coolness which would have done honor to a soldier of larger pretensions, Colonel Glover threw forward a Captain, with forty men, to feel of that advanced party of the enemy and, if possible, to mask the attempt to dispose of the main-body of his Brigade, in ambuscade, for the further obstruction of the enemy's advance towards the main-land, which was, also, a part of the Colonel's improvised plan of operations. The plan which was thus admirably devised, on the spur of the moment, by Colonel Glover, was quite as admirably and quite as successfully executed by the soldiers of his command — Colonel Read and his Regiment were concealed behind a stone wall, on the left side of the road; Colonel Shepard's Regiment was concealed behind "a fine double stone wall," on the opposite side of the road, and in the rear of Colonel Read's command; Colonel Baldwin and his Regiment were similarly posted, on the right and in the rear of Colonel Shepard's command; and Captain Curtis, with Colonel Glover's own Regiment, was similarly posted where the field-pieces had been left, some distance in the rear; the Captain and his command who had been thrown out, in front, having, meanwhile, evidently held the enemy's advance in check and successfully masked the very important movements of the Brigade, on their rear.

When the disposition of the Brigade had been thus successfully and satisfactorily effected, Colonel Glover rode forward to the Company whom he had employed as a mask, and personally assumed the command of it—the name of the Captain who had so boldly confronted the enemy and held him in check, before the Colonel had completed the disposition of the main body of the Brigade, behind the very convenient stone walls, on his rear, has not been recorded—ordering it to advance toward the enemy; which was promptly done. When it had marched to "within fifty yards" of the place where the enemy had halted, the latter opened his fire, without, however, inflicting any loss on his assailants; and the latter returned the fire, killing or seriously wounding four of the enemy —"we returned the fire and fell four of them," are the quaint words of Colonel Glover, in his description of the opening of this spirited affair. Five rounds were exchanged by the Americans; and they had sustained a loss of two men killed and several wounded, when the enemy, who had, meanwhile, been largely reinforced, pressed forward, in a charge on the gallant little party. As it would have been useless, under the existing circumstances, to have made any further resistance, Colonel Glover ordered the Captain commanding to fall back, which was done with order and coolness—"I ordered a retreat, "which was masterly well done by the Captain that "commanded the party," are the Colonel's words, descriptive of the retrograde movement—the enemy cheering and pushing forward, in pursuit.

Without supposing, for a moment, that the glory of a complete victory had not been already gained, the Chasseurs and Light Infantry and Grenadiers pressed forward, in column, along the narrow country road, until they approached, "within thirty yards," the heavy stone wall, on their right flank, behind which the Regiment commanded by Colonel Read, was concealed; when the latter rose and, from behind its substantial breastwork, poured into them a full and destructive fire. Without attempting to even return the fire, the advancing column broke and fell back and awaited the support of the main body, some portion of whom had evidently effected a landing; while Colonel Glover and his concealed command patiently and hopefully awaited a renewal of the movement.

An hour and a half are said to have passed, before the enemy again advanced, when, with what were supposed to have been four thousand men, strengthened with seven pieces of artillery, he again appeared, keeping up, as he advanced, a constant and noisy but entirely harmless fire, and approached the heavy stone wall, on his right flank, behind which Colonel Read and his men, made more confident by the result of their earlier success, were securely crouched, in complete readiness to receive him. The advancing column seems to have learned nothing from the lesson which the Americans had taught the advance, earlier in the morning; and, with an appearance of bravado, it moved forward, in the midst of the smoke of its own uselessly expended gunpowder, as if there were not an enemy within a day's march of it, until it had approached within fifty yards of the first line of the ambuscade, when Colonel Read and his command arose, as they had arisen when the advance had approached, earlier in the day, and threw on it a deliberate and destructive fire. The suddenness of the attack and the evident strength of its sheltered assailants brought the advancing column to a sudden halt; and it is said that the Americans maintained their ground until they had thrown seven well-directed volleys into the closed ranks of the enemy, by whom, meanwhile, the fire was returned "with "showers of musquetry and cannon-balls," as Colonel Glover has stated, concerning it.

Having thus bravely maintained his ground, until a retreat had become necessary, Colonel Read fell back, without returning to the roadway, until he had

passed the left flank of the Regiment commanded by Colonel Shepard, who had remained, in concealment, on the opposite side of the road, during the entire morning; and there, covering Colonel Shepard's left flank, the Regiment was re-formed, and rested on its arms.

The enemy evidently misunderstood the character of the retreat of Colonel Read and his brave command—like the Officer commanding the detachment, in the morning, he appears to have supposed that he had repulsed the Americans; and that nothing remained to be done, except to gather the fruits of his success—and he cheered and pushed forward, along the narrow roadway, until the head of his column had advanced within easy gun-shot distance from the second line of the ambuscade, on his left flank, where Colonel Shepard and his command were concealed, as we have said, behind "a fine double stone wall;" when the latter sprang to their feet, and, from behind their all-sufficient shelter, poured into him a well-directed and effective fire. The column was again brought to a sudden and unexpected halt; and a long-continued and well-sustained fire was kept up, by each of the belligerent parties—it is said that seventeen volleys were fired by the Americans; and that the enemy's line was broken, "several times, once, in "particular, so far that a soldier of Colonel Shep-"ard's" [*Regiment*] "leaped over a wall, and took a "hat and canteen off of a Captain that lay dead on "the ground they retreated from."

But the disparity of numbers between the opposing forces was so very great that prudence dictated a retreat of the two Regiments who had so successfully held the enemy in check; and Colonel Glover ordered them to fall back and re-form and rest on their arms, in the rear of the third line of the ambuscade, behind which the Regiment commanded by Colonel Baldwin was concealed.

The advancing column of the enemy was again put in motion; but the record of the events of the day make no mention of any mere waste of ammunition nor of any shouts of exultant success; and it is evident that it moved forward, soberly and cautiously, as was becoming, in view of the heavy losses which it had already sustained and of those to which it was predestined. It had not proceeded far before Colonel Baldwin and his command arose from their concealment, behind the third line of the ambuscade; and, suddenly and unexpectedly, they delivered a destructive fire, into the head of the column. It is said, however, that, in this instance, the ground was much in favor of the enemy, enabling him to bring his artillery to bear on the Americans; and that the opposition of the latter was, in consequence of those disadvantages, neither as spirited nor as effective as that which had been made by Colonels Read and Sheperd. The Americans were compelled to retreat "to the bottom of "the hill," or high ground on which the ambuscade was formed; through a brook, the bridge over which had been previously taken up, by Colonel Glover; and up the slope, on the opposite side of the brook, to the place, on the high ground, where Captain Curtis and Colonel Glover's Regiment and the three field-pieces were posted.

It appears that the enemy did not pursue the retreating Americans, but contented himself, until late in the day, with a continued fire of his artillery, over the little valley and the brook, the Americans, of course, returning it—the latter, without sustaining any loss whatever from the enemy's fire; while the former evidently sustained very little, if any, from the Americans' fire on him.

The Americans having been in front of the enemy, from an early hour, in the morning, all the day, without food or drink, "at dark," they fell back, three miles, and bivouaced—"after fighting all day, with-"out victuals or drink, lay as a picquet, all night, the "heavens over us, and the earth under us, which was "all we had, having left all our baggage at the old "encampment we left in the morning," are Colonel Glover's words, concerning that portion of his Brigade's movements—and, on the morning of Saturday, the nineteenth of October, they marched to the Mile Square, on the western side of the Bronx, in the Town of Yonkers.[1]

The strength of the Brigade commanded by Colonel Glover has been already stated, in detail, from official sources;[2] and, because Colonel Glover would not have left the encampment and all the baggage and stores of the Brigade without a sufficient guard, there is an evident truthfulness in his statement that he carried from his encampment only "about seven "hundred and fifty men and three field-pieces." But, in the same connection, it must be remembered that the two Regiments commanded, respectively, by Colonel's Read and Shepard, sustained almost the entire attacks of the enemy—Colonel Baldwin fell back, without having sustained any other than an artillery-fire; and Captain Curtis only saw the enemy, in the distance, on the other side of the valley—and that, therefore, the number of Americans who were actually engaged did not, probably, exceed four hundred rank and file. The strength of the enemy who was actually engaged has not been stated by any of the foreign authorities; and we can do no more than state the facts which are well-authenticated, and to draw our conclusions from them. It is known that the detachment of the Royal Army which was first moved to Pell's-neck was composed of the Light

[1] We have depended, in this statement of the spirited action at Pelham, on Colonel Glover's homely description of it, contained in a letter, dated at "MILE-SQUARE, October 22, 1776," which was evidently written for the eye of a friend, although it very soon found its way into the newspapers, from one of which—*The Freeman's Journal and New Hampshire Gazette*, Vol. I., No. 27., PORTSMOUTH, Tuesday, November 26, 1776—we made our copy. Force copied it, with some unimportant variations, in his *American Archives*, V., ii., 1188, 1189; but we have preferred to use the contemporary edition.

[2] Vide page 417, ante.

Infantry and Grenadiers of the Army;[1] and if the Chasseurs of the German auxiliaries were also included, as more than one of the authorities have stated,[2] and as was more than probable, the previously large force of the detachment was very largely increased. The advance-guard from that detachment was said to have been only thirty men;[3] and these were met and held in check by a Captain and forty men. These, naturally enough, fell back on the main body, not on that of the Army itself, but on that of the detachment which had been moved from Throgg's-neck, in advance of the main body of the Army; and, since that detachment had been thus sent forward, in advance, for the express purpose of holding back any force of the Americans who should incline to obstruct the landing of the main Army, there can be no reasonable doubt that almost the entire force of the detachment was moved forward, against Colonel Glover and his command. In the absence of official Returns, the number of men actually included in that detachment can be only surmised; but the Light Infantry and Grenadiers of the entire British Army, added to the Chasseurs and other Light Infantry and the Grenadiers of the German mercenaries—the Chasseurs taking with them their light regimental fieldpieces—could have been scarcely less than four thousand men, the number stated by Colonel Glover.

The losses sustained by the Americans, in this action, were six men killed,[4] and Colonel Shepard and twelve men wounded;[5] those of the British were three men, killed, and Lieutenant-colonel Musgrave, commanding the First Battalion of Light Infantry, and Captain Evelyn, of the Fourth Regiment of Foot, and twenty men, wounded;[6] those of the Chasseurs, on whom, in such mixed detachments as that under notice, the severest losses usually fell, have not been stated; but they were said to have been, and they probably were, very severe.[7]

It does not appear to have been pretended that General Lee gave any Order or any support to Colonel Glover, notwithstanding the latter despatched his Major of Brigade to the General, with information of the approach of the enemy to Pell's-neck, before he ordered his command to move down the Neck, to oppose the enemy's progress;[8] and, in truth, nothing whatever has been recorded of the doings of General Lee, on that eventful eighteenth of October. It is said, on the other hand, that, early in the morning of that day, the Officer commanding the Regiment which guarded the pass to Throgg's-neck, by way of the causeway and bridge, from the Village of Westchester, suspected the enemy was preparing to move from the Neck, and sent an express to General Heath, with the information; that the latter ordered one of his Aide's to gallop to Valentine's, near whose house General George Clinton and his Brigade were posted, with Orders that the Brigade should be formed, "instantly;" that General Heath reached Valentine's "by the time the Brigade was formed," and ordered the Officer in command "to march with the utmost expe-"dition, to the head of the causeway, to reinforce "the troops, there, himself moving on with them;" that, while on the march, another express met General Heath, informing him that the entire force of the enemy was in motion, and seemed to be moving towards the ford, at the head of the creek which separated Throgg's-neck from the mainland; that the

[1] Lushington's *Life of Lord Harris*, 81.

See, also, *Extract from a letter from Fort Lee*, dated October 20, 1776, in *The Pennsylvania Journal*, No. 1768, PHILADELPHIA, Wednesday, October 23, 1776; Sauthier's *Plan of the Operations;* etc.

[2] *Extract from a letter from Mount Washington*, dated October 23, 1776, in *The Pennsylvania Journal*, No. 1769, PHILADELPHIA Wednesday, October 30, 1776; *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 "November, 1776;" Sauthier's *Plan;* etc.

[3] *Colonel Glover's letter, dated*, "MILE-SQUARE, October 22, 1776."

[4] We are not insensible that Colonel Glover, in his letter of which so much use has been made, in the preparation of this narrative, stated that *eight* were killed; but the official Returns, referred to, below, clearly indicated that only *six* were killed—no Returns of the Wounded having been made, only the Killed can be noticed.

The Return of the Regiment commanded by Colonel Read shows that, of that Regiment, Samuel Cole, of Captain Pond's Company, Daniel Deland, of Captain Warren's Company, and Ezekiel Fuller, of Captain Peters's Company, were killed. (*A Return of the Killed, Missing*, etc., without date, in Force's *American Archives*, V., ii., 718.)

The Return of Colonel Shepard's Regiment shows that, of that Regiment, Sergeants James Scott and Charles Adams and Private Thaddeus Kemp, all of them of Captain Bolster's Company, were killed. (*A Return of the Killed, Taken, and Missing of the Third Regiment, commanded by Colonel Shepard*, etc., "NORTH-CASTLE, November 19, 1776.")

The Return of Colonel Baldwin's Regiment shows that that Regiment sustained no loss, on the day under consideration. (*Return of the Killed, Wounded, Prisoners, and Missing in the Brigade commanded by Gurdon Saltonstall, Esq.* "NORTH-CASTLE. November 19, 1776.")

The Return of Colonel Glover's Regiment shows that that Regiment, commanded by Captain Curtis, on the occasion now under consideration, sustained no loss—it was not under the enemy's fire. (*A Return of the Officers and Privates Killed. Missing, and Taken, in the Fourteenth Regiment, etc.*, "CAMP, NORTH CASTLE, November 19, 1776.")

[5] *Colonel Glover's letter*, "MILE SQUARE, October 22, 1776."

[6] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November, "1776."

[7] It was not the practise, when this skirmish occurred, to notice, in detail, the operations of the German mercenary troops, in the despatches of the Royal Commander-in-chief to the Home Government; and the losses sustained by those troops, in whatever actions they were engaged, were seldom, if ever, included in the detailed Reports of Casualties which were sent to and published by the Government, at London. The Reports of the operations and the casualties of those troops were made to the several sovereign Princes, Electors, etc., of whom those troops were, respectively, subjects; and, except in some few instances, when individual enterprise has unearthed some of them, the text of those Reports and much of the official correspondence remain in their original repositories, unopened and seemingly, uncared for.

The reports of deserters and other unofficial reports made the total loss, including both British and German, from eight hundred to a thousand men; and it is difficult to make one believe that four hundred Americans, familiar from their childhood with the use of firearms, sheltered by ample defences from which they could fire deliberately and with their pieces rested on the tops of their defences, could have possibly fired volley after volley, into a large body of men, massed in a closely compacted column and cooped up in a narrow country roadway, without having inflicted as extended a damage on those who received their fire, as deserter after deserter, to the number of more than half a dozen, on different days, without any connection with each other, severally and separately declared had been inflicted on the enemy's advance, on the occasion now under consideration.

[8] *Colonel Glover's letter dated* "MILE SQUARE, October 22, 1776."

Brigade was immediately halted, the men were ordered to prime and load their pieces, and the rear Regiment was ordered "to file off by the left and to "march, briskly, to reinforce the Americans, at the "pass, at the head of the creek;" that, while the Brigade was thus halted, General Washington rode up, inquired and was informed of "the state of things;" ordered General Heath to return, immediately, evidently with all the troops who were with him, and to have the entire Division which he commanded formed, ready for action, and to take such a position as should appear to be best adapted for holding the enemy in check, if he should attempt to effect a landing at Morrisania, which the Commander-in-chief "thought not improbable;" and that such a disposition as was thus ordered, was promptly made of the three Brigades commanded, respectively, by Brigadier-generals Parsons, Scott, and George Clinton, of whom the Division commanded by Major-general Heath was then composed.[1] Indeed, notwithstanding the evident movement of the main body of the enemy, from Throgg's-neck, to the eastward, the controlling suspicion, to which we have already alluded,[2] that the real intention of General Howe was to deceive General Washington and, instead of making Pell's-neck or some other point further to the eastward the base of his operations, to effect a landing at Morrisania; to move from that point, as his base; and to take the Americans, on the Heights of Harlem, on their left flank or on their rear, induced General Washington to do little more, during that day, [*Friday, October* 18,] than to watch the movements of the enemy; to extend his line of detached parties, along the high grounds on the western bank of the Bronx-river, northward, as rapidly as the enemy should show an inclination to move, in force, in that direction; to continue the Head-quarters of the Army on the Heights of Harlem; and to hold the main body of that Army in constant readiness to move in whatever direction it should become necessary to confront and oppose the enemy. On Colonel Glover and on his Brigade, therefore, during that eventful Friday, rested the great responsibility—a greater responsibility than either the Colonel or his command had any knowledge of—of being the only armed force which was in front of the Royal Army, opposing the progress of the latter into the interior of Westchester-county; and of being the only force, of any kind, which, on that day, fired a shot on the advancing column of that Army—how well that opposition to the enemy's advance was directed and how entirely successful it was, in that opposition, have been already told and need not be repeated. Not until the dusk of the evening, nor then, until after Colonel Glover and his exhausted command had fallen back, three miles, in the direction of Dobbs's-ferry, did the powerful advance of the Royal Army venture to cross the little valley over which it had been cannonaded, by the Americans, during a large portion of the day;[3] and after its progress toward the mainland was thus resumed, it made no attempt to pursue the retreating Americans, contenting itself, on the contrary, with quietly moving eastward, toward New Rochelle, where it also bivouaced. and rested from the anxieties and the dangers to which it had been exposed,[4] the main body of the Army, meanwhile, lying on its arms, at the place of debarkation, during the whole of that day and the following night,[5] if, indeed, it did not do so until the twenty-first of October.[6]

The great service which Colonel Glover and his command had thus performed, and the great skill and the equally great bravery which they had displayed, in the discharge of that very important duty, were favorably noticed, officially, at that time;[7] and,

[1] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 72.

[2] Vide pages 408, 409, 415, ante.

[3] *Colonel Glover's letter*, "MILE SQUARE, October 22, 1776."

[4] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November, "1776."

[5] "On the 18th, our army re embarking, proceeded along the coast "about six miles further, in their boats, and then re-landed at Pell's "Point, and lay on our arms that night." ([Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 205.)

[6] We are not insensible of the fact that General Howe, in his despatch to Lord George Germaine, dated "NEW-YORK, 30 November, 1776," said "the main body advanced, immediately, and laid, that night," [*Friday, October* 18,] "upon their arms, with the Left upon a creek "opposite to East Chester and the Right near New Rochelle;" and that Sauthier's *Plan of the Operations of the King's Army* confirmed the statement. But General Washington's Manuscript *Plan of the Country* took no notice of any such occupation of the mainland, as was thus stated, previously to the twenty-first; Captain Hall, who was in the Royal Army, made no mention whatever of any movement of that Army, during the intervening period, except of that of the advance, who encountered General Glover, (*History of the Civil War in America*, i., 205;) and Stedman, who is said to have been inspired by General Sir Henry Clinton, in his *History of the American War*, (i., 212,) was equally silent, on that subject. Colonel Harrison's letter to William Duer, "CAMP ON VALENTINE'S-HILLS, October 21, 1776"—"Since his "Excellency's letter of yesterday, nothing of importance has transpired, "unless the marching of the enemy, to-day, from Eastchester towards "New Rochelle, is considered in that light"—General George Clinton's *Information relating to the Enemy*, dated "October 21, 1776," in which the enemy was said to "now lay from where they first landed, extended "about one mile East of New Rochelle;" and General Washington's despatch to the Continental Congress, dated "HEAD-QUARTERS, WHITE-"PLAINS, 25 October, 1776," all clearly indicated that such a movement of the main body of the King's Army was not made on the eighteenth; and nobody has pretended that Colonel Glover confronted the entire Royal Army and held it in check, during the whole of the day, as he must have done, had that Army moved from Pell's-neck, on that day. We prefer to believe, therefore, that, although the advance and, possibly, some other detachments of that Army may have moved and occupied the country between Hutchinson's-river and New Rochelle, on the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth of October, "the main body" remained on Pell's-neck, until the twenty first, as stated, indirectly, by Hall and Stedman, confirmed by the testimony of General Washington.

Bolton, in his *History of Westchester-county* (original edition, i., 444; *the same*, second edition, i., 695,) informed his readers, that, "on the "eighteenth of October, 1776, Lord Howe, the British commander, took "post in the village" of New Rochelle; but it is very likely that "Lord "Howe," who was Admiral of the Fleet, remained on board one of the vessels-of-war—he, certainly, was not at New Rochelle, on the day of the debarkation of the Army, on Pell's-neck.

[7] "The next day, Gen. Lee (under whose command we are) came "and publickly returned his thanks to Colonel Glover and the Officers "and soldiers of his command, for their noble spirited and soldier-like "conduct, during the battle; and that nothing in his power should be

from that time until the present, with more or less minuteness and precision, they have been noticed by those, in Europe as well as in America, who have written of the events of the Campaign, in Westchester-county, in the Autumn of 1776.[1]

It is said, with some degree of probability, that, on the morning of the twentieth of October, the second day after the enemy occupied Pell's-neck, General Washington employed Colonel Rufus Putnam, an Officer and an Engineer in whom much confidence

"wanting to serve those brave Officers and men." (*Extract of a letter from* "CAMP AT MILE SQUARE IN EAST CHESTER," dated 23 October, 1776, in *The Freeman's Journal or New-Hampshire Gazette*, Vol. I., No. 25. PORTSMOUTH, Tuesday, November 12, 1776.)

General Washington conveyed his sense of the merit of Colonel Glover and his command, in these words:

"GENERAL ORDERS.

"HEAD-QUARTERS, HARLEM HEIGHTS, October 21, 1776.

"(*Parole*, HEATH.) (*Countersign*, SULLIVAN.)

"The hurried situation of the General, for the two last days, having "prevented him from paying that attention to Colonel Glover and the "Officers and soldiers who were with him, in the skirmish, on Friday "last, that their merit and good behaviour deserved, he flatters himself "that his thanks, though delayed, will, nevertheless, be acceptable to "them, as they are offered with great sincerity and cordiality. At the "same time, he hopes that every other part of the Army will do their "duty with equal duty * and zeal, whenever called upon; and that "neither dangers, difficulties, nor hardships will discourage soldiers en "gaged in the cause of Liberty, and contending for all that freemen "hold dear and valuable."

[1] David How, in his homely *Diary*, under that date, [*October* 18,] noticed the engagement, in these words: "18. The Regulars Landed above "Frogg's point on the main Land. Our people fought Them Killed a "great many Both sides we have not The Particulars as yet." *Lieutenant-colonel Tench Tilghman to William Duer*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, KING'S "BRIDGE, October 20, 1776," made a passing and complimentary allusion to the affair: *General Washington, through his Secretary, to the Continental Congress*, "KING'S BRIDGE, October 20, 1776, half-after one o'clock, "P.M.," gave a brief and complimentary account of the skirmish; an *Extract of a letter from Fort Lee, dated* "October 20, 1776," and published in *The Pennsylvania Journal*, No. 1768, PHILADELPHIA, Wednesday, October 23, 1776, and by General Force, in his *American Archives*, V., ii., 1130, gave a very good and generally correct account of it; another *Extract of a letter from Fort Lee, dated* "October 20," and published in the same newspaper, on the following Wednesday, also gave a good, brief description; an *Extract of a letter from an Officer*, dated "NEAR NEW "ROCHELLE (IN THE VICINITY OF NEW-YORK) October 20, 1776," made a brief and exaggerated allusion to it; an Editorial article, in a Newport newspaper of the twenty-first of October, copied by *The Freeman's Journal or New-Hampshire Gazette*, Vol. I., No. 24., PORTSMOUTH, Tuesday, November 5, 1776, and by General Force, in the *American Archives*, V., ii., 1174, contained a statement of the skirmish, giving the command to General Lee and making other serious errors; some *Information relating to the enemy, communicated to the New-York Convention*, evidently by General George Clinton, on the twenty-first of October, 1776, gave a brief description; an allusion which was made to it, with the report of a deserter as to the enemy's loss, may be seen in an *Extract of a letter from Fort Lee*, dated "October 22," and published in *The Philadelphia Evening Post*, Vol. II., No. 276, PHILADELPHIA, Saturday, October 26, 1776; with the letter, evidently written by General Glover, dated "MILE SQUARE, October 22, "1776," and published in *The Freeman's Journal and New-Hampshire Gazette*, Vol. I., No. 27, PORTSMOUTH, Tuesday, November 26, 1776, and by General Force, in the *American Archives*, V., ii., 1188, 1189, the reader is already acquainted; an *Extract of a letter from Mount Washington*, dated October 23, 1776, written by an eye-witness of the engagement, and published in *The Pennsylvania Journal*, No. 1769, PHILADELPHIA, Wednesday, October 30, 1776, confirmed the statement that the loss was largely sustained by the German troops; and informed that deserters stated the entire loss, British and German, to have amounted to "more "than eight hundred men, killed and wounded;" a brief reference was made to the skirmish, in an *Extract of a letter from East Chester*, dated October 23, published in *The Freeman's Journal or New-Hampshire Gazette*, Vol. I, No. 24, PORTSMOUTH, Tuesday, November 5, 1776; an excellent and very full description, evidently written by one who participated in the fight, appeared in an *Extract of a letter from Camp at Mile Square in East Chester*, dated 23 October, 1776, which was printed in *The Freeman's Journal or New-Hampshire Gazette*, Vol. I., No. 25, PORTSMOUTH, Tuesday, November 12, 1776, whence it was re-printed by Frank Moore, in his *Diary of the American Revolution*, i., 326, 327; *General Howe's despatch to Lord George Germaine*, dated "NEW-YORK, 30 November, 1776," contained the official report of the skirmish; Captain Hall, in his *History of the Civil War in America*, (i., 205,) made mention of it, stating, also, that the Light Infantry lost "about thirty killed and wounded," without making the slightest allusion to either the Grenadiers or the German troops; Stedman, in his *History of the American War*, (i., 211, 212,) described the skirmish, very briefly, stating "thirty-two were killed and wounded on "the side of the English," without alluding to that of any of the other troops; Judge Jones, in his *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, (i., 122,) made only a general reference to it, among a number of skirmishes in Westchester-county, and his Editor, de Lancey, made no mention of it; Gordon, in his *History of the American Revolution*, (ii., 339,) gave a singularly inaccurate description, making General Lee the commander, in person, without naming Colonel Glover, in any way; General Heath, in his *Memoirs*, (72, 73,) mentioned it with some particularity, but without alluding to Colonel Glover, in connection with it; Judge Marshall, in his *Life of George Washington*, (ii., 499,) briefly alluded to it; Ramsay, in his *History of the American Revolution*, (Edit. London: 1791, i., 308, 309,) gave the personal command to General Lee, without alluding to Colonel Glover; Mrs. Warren, in her *Rise and Progress of the American Revolution*, (i., 327,) grouped all the operations of the Armies, while *en route* to the White Plains, without making special mention of either; Adolphus, in his *History of England*, (Second edition, ii., 380,) made honorable mention of Colonel Glover and of the engagement; Sergeant Lamb, of the Royal Welsh Fusileers, in his *Journal of Occurrences during the late American War*, (Edit Dublin: 1809; 127,) made honorable mention of it, giving the personal command to General Lee; Paul Allen, in his *History of the American Revolution*, (i., 511, 512,) also gave the command to General Lee, requiring, however, the "whole force of the "British, in solid columns," to overcome the handful of Americans; Morse, in his *Annals of the American Revolution*, (Edit. Hartford: 1824, 262,) mentioned it, incidentally, giving the personal command to General Lee; Ramsay, in his *Life of George Washington*, (Sixth edition, 46,) did no more than to casually allude to the entire series of affairs, without particularly mentioning either of them; Dunlap, in his *History of New York*, (ii., 80,) did the same, honorably mentioning all, without selecting either, for special praise; Lossing, in his *Pictorial Field-book of the Revolution*, (original edition, ii., 820,) found room for no more than two lines of description of this gallant affair, which was a part of his subject: although he had devoted eight pages to Christopher Columbus and fourteen to Sir Walter Raleigh, Captain John Smith, and Pocahontas, which, certainly, had no connection with that subject, the American Revolution; and, in those two lines, he committed a singularly important error; Irving, in his *Life of George Washington*, (Edit. 1856, ii., 385, 386,) gave an excellent little notice of it; Bancroft, in his *History of the United States*, (original edition, ix., 177, and in *the same*, centenary edition, v., 441,) while he had been singularly profuse in what had no bearing whatever on the history of the United States, dismissed the subject in less than four lines; Dawson, in his *Battles of the United States*, (i., 177,) made only an incidental allusion to it, instead of appropriating a Chapter of his work to that special subject, as he should have done; Colonel Carrington, in his *Battles of the American Revolution*, (235,) made honorable mention of the affair; the local historian, Bolton, in his *History of Westchester-county*, (original edition; i., 153, and in the *same work*, second edition, i., 245,) probably alluded to this engagement, when in each instance, he devoted two lines and a half to the subject, in the course of which, however, in each instance, the reader was gravely informed that the Royal Army was, at that time, "under Lord Howe," the Admiral commanding the Fleet. In other parts of his work, (original edition, i., 546–548; second edition, ii., 73, 74,) he presented copies of what General Heath and two of the letter-writers had written on the subject, without a single additional word, where something of description of localities, if nothing else, would have been more than ordinarily useful. *The Annual Register for* 1776: *History of Europe*, *176; Murray, in his *Impartial History of the War in America*, (Edit. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, sine anno, ii., 175); *The History of the War in America*, (Ed. Dublin: 1779, ii., 193);

* Thus printed.

was justly reposed, to make a personal reconnaissance of the enemy's strength and position.[1] It is said that, in the discharge of that service, Colonel Putnam was accompanied by Adjutant-general Reed and a guard of twenty men. It is said, also, that, from the heights of Eastchester, they saw a small body of the enemy, near the Church, in that village, but could learn nothing from the inhabitants, as the houses were all deserted. The Adjutant-general is said to have left Colonel Putnam, at that place, to attend to other duties; and that the latter requested him to take back the guard, as he thought he could succeed better, in what he had to do, by himself. It is said, also, that Colonel Putnam then disguised himself, and set out for the White Plains, a place which he had never visited; nor did he know the road which led to it. Immediately afterwards, he came to a road which turned off, to the right, and which he followed, a short distance and until he came to a house, where a woman informed him that the road he was then on led to New Rochelle; that the enemy was there; and that the latter had posted a guard, at a house, then in sight. Returning to the roadway from which he had diverged, he continued his journey towards the White Plains, and had approached "within three or four miles of that place,"[2] when he saw a house, with men about it, only a short distance from him. Before he advanced, he carefully examined the men, with his field-glass; and having ascertained that the house was a Tavern and that the men were not British soldiers, he went forward; called for some oats for his horse; and, sitting quietly down, listened to the conversation of the assembled countrymen, whom he discovered to be Whigs. From these, Colonel Putnam ascertained that a large body of the Royal Army was lying near New Rochelle, which was about eleven miles distant from the White Plains, with good roads and an open, level country between the two places; and that at the Plains, was a large quantity of American Stores, guarded by only about three hundred Militia. He ascertained, also, that a detachment of the enemy was posted near Mamaroneck, only seven miles distant from the White Plains; while, on the other side, was the Hudson-river, on which were half a dozen armed vessels of the King's Fleet, within seven miles from the same place; and he understood, at once, that the principal Magazine of Provisions for the American Army, which General Washington had ordered to be brought to the White Plains, for the greater security of it, was enclosed, on three sides, by the King's forces, and was within easy striking distance from either of those three positions. Colonel Putnam waited no longer, at the Tavern, and proceeded no further, on the road towards the White Plains; but, turning his horse towards the Bronx-river, westward from Ward's Tavern,[3] where he then was, over Ward's Bridge, he hastened back to Head-quarters, "with his "all-important discoveries." It appears that Colonel Putnam and the Adjutant-general had passed over the same ground, in the morning; and the former was surprised, therefore, when he approached the high ground, westward from the Bronx-river, to see that it was occupied by armed men; but he ascertained with his field-glass that they were Americans; and when he reached the encampment, he found it was the Brigade commanded by Brigadier-general Lord Stirling, of Major-general Spencer's Division, who had been pushed forward, in advance of the main Army, during that day, to occupy that very important pass and to fortify it.[4]

After Colonel Putnam had refreshed himself and his horse at the Head-quarters of the Brigade—as Lord Stirling was a *bon vivant* and an extravagant liver, the weary Colonel was, undoubtedly, well-refreshed—he set out for Head-quarters, by way of Yonkers, a road on which he had not previously traveled; and as it was dark, and because the country over which he was to pass was largely inhabited by those who were unfriendly to the Americans, rendering it hazardous for him to make inquiries, his journey was peculiarly dangerous. It is said, however, that he reached Head-quarters, in safety, about nine o'clock; that he was received by General Washington, who heard his verbal Report and examined the sketch of the country which he made for the illustration of the Report and

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d' Auberteuil, in his *Essais historiques et politiques sur la Revolution de l' Amérique Septentrionale*, (Edit. a Bruxelles: 1782, ii., 38); Andrews, in his *History of the War with America, France, Spain, and Holland*, (Edit. London: 1786, ii., 243–245); Soulés, in his *Histoire des Troubles de l' Amerique Anglaise*, (Edit. Paris: 1787, i., 342–345); Chas and Lebrun, in their *Histoire politique et philosophique de la Revolution de l' Amerique Septentrionale*, (Edit. Paris: An ix., 183); Colonel Humphreys, in his *Essay on the Life of Major-general Israel Putnam*, (Edit. Boston: 1818, 126, 127); Pitkin, in his *Political and Civil History of the United States*, (Ed. New Haven: 1828, i., 379); Sparks, in his *Life of George Washington*, (Edit. Boston: 1842, 194); Lossing, in his *Seventeen hundred and seventy-six*, (Edit. New York: 1847, 207); Hildreth, in his *History of the United States of America*, (First Series, iii., 154); Hamilton, in his *History of the Republic of the United States of America*, (i., 129, 130)—where the enemy is made to force himself over the causeway leading from Throgg's-neck to the village of Westchester; Greene, in *The Life of Nathanael Greene*, (Edit. New York: 1867, i., 236–238); Ridpath, in his *Popular History of the United States of America*, (Edit. New York: 1880, 313); although all of them made mention of the movement of the Royal Army from Throgg's neck, made no mention whatever, of this spirited and important skirmish.

Disregarding those who made no mention of Colonel Glover and his brave command, the reader will find in the character and number of those who did recognize and describe the achievements of those brave men, on that eighteenth of October, sufficient evidence of the great importance which those achievements possessed and the great influence which they secured, both in America and in Europe, both of which are our sufficient warrant for devoting both labor and space, in our presentation of them to our readers, in as complete and as accurate a form as possible.

[1] *Memoir of Colonel Rufus Putnam*, in Hildreth's *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of the Early Settlers of Ohio*, 61–63.

[2] Probably between the present villages of Tuckahoe and Scarsdale, near the line of the Harlem Railroad.

[3] The position of that noted Tavern may be ascertained by a reference to the *Plan of the Country from Frog's Point to Croton River*, opposite page 415, ante: if we are correctly informed, the property is now owned and occupied by Hon. Silas D. Gifford, recently County Judge of Westchester-county.

[4] Vide page 414, ante.

to show the relative positions of the several bodies of the King's forces and the Magazine, at the White Plains; that the General was surprised that the Army was so greatly imperiled, "complaining, very feelingly, "of the gentlemen of New York, from whom he had "never been able to obtain a plan of the country, "and saying that it was by their advice he had or- "dered the Stores to the White Plains, as a place of "safety;" that General Greene and General George Clinton were called in, to vouch for the accuracy of the sketch; that Colonel Putnam "was charged with "a letter to Brigadier-general Lord Stirling, and "ordered immediately to his Camp, which he reach- "ed, by the same route, about two o'clock;" that, "before daylight, the Brigade was in motion, in full "march for the White Plains, where it arrived, about "nine o'clock, on the morning of the twenty-first of "October;" and that "thus was the American Army "saved by an interposition of Providence, from a "probably total destruction."

While these various movements were in progress, and while his attention to the great events which were passing immediately before him must have been close and constant, General Washington's interest in the future was not neglected. He determined, therefore, to establish a Magazine of Provisions, to the northward of the Highlands and "remote from the North River;" and the Quartermaster-general of the Army was instructed to ascertain the opinions of William Duer and Robert R. Livingston, on the subject; and, in the mean time, the former of the two, who was never absent when any opportunity for making money was presented, was ordered by the Quartermaster-general to purchase, without the slightest limitation of prices or any check whatever, as to qualities or quantities or places or times of delivery, thirty thousand bushels of Grain, one-half of it to be Corn and the other half to be Oats, one thousand tons of Hay, and five hundred tons of Rye-straw—as Robert R. Livingston was to be consulted concerning the places where all these should be delivered, it is very clear that the Quartermaster general intended that large liberty, in the expenditure of the public monies, which he had authorized, should be exercised within the Manor of Livingston, where that family and its adherents would enjoy the benefits to be derived from that questionable source, instead of expending those monies within those other portions of the State where the dominant party possessed no interest, although the former was perfectly secure from loss and the latter, very largely, were exposed to the inroads of the enemy. Instructions were also given, also without limitation, for the purchase of Horses and Oxen; and if they could not be purchased, the lucky agent was authorized to hire them, "at the most rea- "sonable rates."[1] It was for the purpose of making such opportunities as these, that the dominant faction had revolted; and in such hands as those of William Duer and the Livingstons, such opportunities never failed to be made useful, always to themselves and sometimes to the State and the Country.

There was ample reason, however, for the anxiety of General Washington, concerning Provisions for the supply of the Army, since, at the time when he ordered the establishment of a Magazine, in the upper part of Duchess-county, there were not more than fifteen hundred barrels of Flour and two hundred barrels of Pork, at Kingsbridge and on the Heights of Harlem; and there were very few live Cattle, of any kind, collected, at any place within the neighborhood of the Army. As the enemy had the control of the navigation on the Hudson-river, as well as of that on the Sound, there could not be any transportation of the much-needed supplies, by water; and the great scarcity of teams, growing more and more evident, day by day, rendered the prospect of a transportation, by land-carriage, of what would become necessary for the maintenance of the Army, exceedingly discouraging, especially since the enemy had indicated his intention to cut off the lines of communication by land, as well as those by water. The General was necessarily led, therefore, to concentrate whatever of supplies he had, at the White Plains; to request and entreat that every possible exertion should be made to have large quantities of Provisions carried to the interior parts of the country, out of the reach of the enemy, and with the utmost expedition; and to inform the Commissary-general of the Army that a failure to effect these would, he feared, he was certain, be productive of the fatal consequences attending on mutiny and plunder, adding, significantly, "indeed, the latter "will be authorized by necessity."[2]

With such testimony as this, and there is an abundance of other testimony which is even stronger in its terms, the honest historian of these events finds great difficulty in reconciling the facts with the persistent assertion that the War of the Revolution was originated by the great body of the Colonists arising, *en masse*, for the protection of their several properties and homes and families from outrages threatened or inflicted by a foreign tyrant; that it was conducted by that same great body of people, through agencies of its own appointment and under its control, always unselfishly and with nothing else than the common weal in view; and that the willing hands and the patriotic hearts of the entire body of the people were in accord with the patriotism of the Army which it had created, which it was sustaining with all which it possessed, and on which, alone, all its hopes for security, for happiness, for prosperity, and for peace, were rested. Surely, where mutiny and plundering were officially threatened in default of

[1] *Quartermaster-general Mifflin to William Duer*, "MOUNT WASHINGTON, "October 20, 1776."

[2] *General Washington to Colonel Joseph Trumbull, Commissary-general of Provisions*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, KING'S BRIDGE, October 20, 1776."

contributions, forced contributions, demanded and expected, there could not have been much sympathy between the Army and the body of the people; and, surely, in that condition of the popular feeling, the Army can scarcely be said, in truth, to have been fighting for the cause of the country, at large, but, on the contrary, as Armies have always fought, at the expense of the body of the people, of the working-bees of the hive, for the promotion, only, of the private ends and the private aims and the private interests of an individual or of a family or of a faction or of a party, neither of them a producer nor anything else than a cumbrance and a burden on those who have labored.

It will be seen, from General Washington's anxiety concerning his supplies and concerning the lines of communication between the Army and the country, and from other evidence, that he was becoming convinced that the enemy intended to take New Rochelle for the base of his proposed operations, and, from that place, by way of the White Plains, to form his command, in a line, to the Hudson-river,[1] at Tarrytown—a plan of operations, as we have already stated,[2] which was formed, after due consideration, before General Howe had left the City of New York, as will have been seen in the disposition of the *Phœnix*, the *Roebuck*, and the *Tartar*, off Tarrytown, to cover the objective point, the right of the proposed new line, of the Army,[3] and in the selection of Mill's-creek, or New Rochelle-harbor, as the base of his operations, the left of the proposed line,[4] and, because of that new-born conviction, as early as noon, on the twentieth of October, the entire military force, except the Regiments which were intended to garrison Fort Washington, was drawn into Westchester-county; every height and pass and advantageous ground, between New Rochelle and the Hudson-river, was occupied by an American force sufficiently strong to hold it, temporarily;[5] the Head-quarters of the Army were removed from Harlem Heights to Kingsbridge;[6] and, although there are no direct testimonies on the subject, it is very evident that, at least as early as the close of the twentieth of October, the proper dispositions for the movement of the main body of the Army—the garrison of Fort Washington and a guard at the barracks, at Fort Independence, only excepted—to the high grounds, to the northward and eastward of the White Plains, had, also, been entirely completed.

On the twentieth of October, Lieutenant-colonel Harcourt, with the greater portion of the Sixteenth Regiment of Light Dragoons—the other portion of the Regiment having embarked on a transport which had not come into port—and the whole of the Seventeenth Regiment of Light Dragoons, joined General Howe; and, on the next day, [*October* 21, 1776,] thus strengthened, the Right and Center of the Royal Army were moved to a position, about two miles to the northward of New Rochelle, on the road to the White Plains, Lieutenant-general Heister occupying the ground which had been thus abandoned, with one Brigade of British and two Brigades of Hessians, constituting the Left of the Army;[7] and, early in the morning of that day, the Queen's Rangers, a Corps of Loyalists commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Rogers, were detached and pushed forward, to take possession of Mamaroneck,[8] the last-named of which places was

[1] See, also, *General Washington, through his Secretary, to the President of the Continental Congress*, "KING'S BRIDGE, October 20, 1776, half-after one "o'clock, P. M."

[2] Vide page 231, ante.

[3] Vide page 229, 230, ante.

We are not insensible that Bancroft, (*History of the United States*, original edition, ix. 177; centenary edition, 1876, v., 441,) said it was as early as his fifth day on Throgg's-neck, that General Howe "gave up the hope of "getting directly in Washington's rear;" and that, in consequence of that disappointment and at that time, "he resolved to strike at White "Plains." Little credit is given to General Howe and the very able Officers whom he commanded, by any one who can really suppose they would open a Campaign, or even a series of important movements, without having, previously, formed a plan, as carefully and as intelligently constructed as possible, for the general guidance of the operations of the Army; and if from nothing else, the selection of Tarrytown and New Rochelle-harbor, as the two extremes of the proposed line, while the Army was yet unknown on Throgg's-neck, might have indicated to a less experienced reader than the venerable ex-Secretary of War, that the proposed line from New Rochelle, by way of the White Plains, to Tarrytown, was vastly more, in the military operations of the Royal Army, than a sudden inspiration which sprung up to cheer the disappointed General, when, on the sixteenth of October, the latter is alleged to have given up all hope of getting in the rear of the Americans—the whole of it a finely constructed creation of the venerable historian's peculiarly lively and poetical imagination.

There is an abundance of testimony showing that General Howe's original purpose was to take Tarrytown and New Rochelle, as the extremes of his proposed lines; and, because the venerable historian did not appear to have been governed by it, preferring, rather, to pay deference to a phantom of his own creation, it must have been that he did not understand it. Whatever it may have been which inspired the historian, however, what he wrote, on the subject under notice, is not historical, although it bears the name of History.

[4] Vide page 231, note 7, ante.

[5] *General Washington, through his Secretary, to the Congress*, "KING'S "BRIDGE, October 20, 1776, half-after one o'clock, P.M."

[6] Sparks, (*Writings of George Washington*, iv., 152, note,) said, "Head-"quarters remained at Haerlem Heights, as appears by the *Orderly Book*, "till the twenty-first;" and the *Orderly Book* of both the twentieth and the twenty-first of October gives weight to his statement. But, because the entire military force, except the garrison of Fort Washington, had been moved into Westchester-county as early as noon, on the twentieth; because General Greene had found Head-quarters, "near King's Bridge," on the evening of the nineteenth, (*Letter to the Continental Congress*, "CAMP AT FORT LEE, (LATELY FORT CONSTITUTION,) October 20, 1776;") because Lieutenant-colonel Tench Tilghman, one of the General's Aids, had addressed a letter to William Duer, dated "HEAD-QUARTERS, KING'S "BRIDGE, October 20, 1776;" because Colonel Harrison, the General's Secretary, had addressed a letter to the President of the Continental Congress, dated "KING'S BRIDGE, October 20, 1776, half-after one o'clock, "P.M.;" and because General Washington, himself, had addressed a letter to Colonel Joseph Trumbull, Commissary-general of Provisions, dated, "HEAD-QUARTERS, KING'S BRIDGE, October 20, 1776," we prefer to consider the *Orderly Book*—which was in evident disorder, from the eighteenth until the twenty-third (only a single entry appearing in it, during that long interval)—and, necessarily, Doctor Sparks, to have been in error; and that Head-quarters were really at or very near to Kingsbridge, as early as the afternoon of the nineteenth.

[7] Sauthier's *Plan of the Operations of the King's Army*.

[8] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November, "1776;" [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 205; Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 212; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 339; Sauthier's *Plan of the Operations of the King's Army; Plan of the Country from Frog's Point to Croton River*; etc.

shamefully abandoned by the Americans who were posted there, on the approach of the enemy; and that, "not for want of numbers, but for want of a "good Officer to lead the men." [1]

When the intelligence of the enemy's movements, on the twenty-first of October, was received at Head-quarters, which had been removed to Valentine's-hill, General Washington was absent, on a tour of inspection.[2] Evidently aroused by the information which he had received, on the preceding evening, from Colonel Putnam, he had left, early in the morning of that day, to visit the posts on the left of the American line and at the White Plains; and when the express arrived with the very important intelligence of the enemy's movements, it was immediately transmitted to him, by his Secretary, Colonel Harrison,[3] although he was evidently quite well informed of those movements, even of that towards Mamaroneck,[4] from other sources of intelligence.

While the General was at the White Plains, on that tour of inspection, [*October* 21, 1776,] he personally examined the Stores which had been accumulated at that place, and renewed his earnest entreaties[5] with the Commissary-general of Provisions to supply the posts in that vicinity, in time, with Flour and Beef, for present use; to form other Magazines of Provisions, "in secure places, removed from the wa- "ter, in Connecticut and at such others as were men- "tioned in my last, and circumstances may direct."[6] From the same place, the General ordered the Officer in command, at Mamaroneck, to make the best stand he could, with the troops under his command, against the enemy; and told him of his intention to order an attack on the enemy's flank [7]—how little the General thought that, at that very time, the Officer whom he was thus addressing had shown himself to be only a contemptible poltroon.[8] At the same time, he ordered Colonel Lachlan McIntosh, who was then in Connecticut, with two Regiments of Massachusetts troops, preparing to make a movement against the enemy, on Long Island, to suspend that proposed expedition, and, with Lieutenant-colonel Livingston, who was in the same State, with a considerable force, to march, immediately, towards Byram-river—that which forms the boundary between the States of New York and Connecticut, near the Sound—and to receive orders, on his arrival at the river, from Brigadier-general Lord Stirling, then at the White Plains, for the disposition of the men under his command.[9]

While the Commander-in-chief was thus employed, on the extreme left of the American line, General Howe having been equally active, during the same period, only a few miles distant,[10] the extreme right of that line, at Kingsbridge, was, also, the scene of bustle and active preparation for a movement—Orders had been issued for the movement of the Division commanded by Major-general Heath, then occupying the grounds around Kingsbridge and, thence, northward, to Valentine's-hill, to the extreme left of the proposed line, in the new position, to the northward and eastward of the White Plains, which had been selected for the immediate occupation of the Army.[11] That movement, as we have said,[12] had evidently been determined on, at least as early as during the preceding night, after the return of Colonel Putnam, and was not consequent on either the movement of the Royal Army, during the same morning, or the observations of General Washington, on his tour of inspection; but there was, evidently, some cause for the eight hours of delay, beyond the hour appointed for the movement of the Division;[13] and the extreme scarcity of Teams, for any purpose, as we have already stated,[14] which was producing great anxiety and trouble, throughout the entire Army, may have caused the delay.

The Division commanded by Major-general Heath, as we have said, (except General George Clinton, with the Regiments commanded, respectively, by Colonels Nicolls, Pawling, Graham, and Swartwout,) was ordered to move, left in front, at eight o'clock in the morning, if possible: the advance-guard was to consist of one hundred men, taken from General Scott's Brigade; and was to be followed by the heavy artillery, of which two heavy iron twelve-pounders were to be moved with that Division: the column was to follow, in platoons or by file, the six and three-pound guns to be moved between the first and second and between the third and fourth Regiments of each Brigade: each Regiment was ordered to throw out a flank-guard: and General Parsons was ordered to

[1] *General Washington to Colonel Lachlan McIntosh of Georgia*, "WHITE- "PLAINS, October 21, 1776;" *Lieutenant colonel Tilghman to William Duer*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, VALENTINE'S-HILL, 22 Oct., 1776."

[2] *Colonel R. H. Harrison to William Duer*, "CAMP ON VALENTINE'S- "HILLS, October 21, 1776;" *the same to the Continental Congress*, "HEAD- "QUARTERS, VALENTINE'S-HILL, October 21, 1776;" *Memoirs of General Heath*, 73, 74.

[3] *Colonel R. H. Harrison to William Duer*, "CAMP ON VALENTINE'S- "HILL, October 21, 1776."

[4] *General Washington to Major Zabdiel Rogers*, "WHITE-PLAINS, Octo- "ber 21, 1776."

[5] "I have no reason, either from information or observation, to alter "my opinion of yesterday, and, therefore, again and again entreat your "every exertion to supply these posts, in time, with Flour and Beef for "present use," were his words.

[6] *General Washington to Colonel Jos. Trumbull, Commissary-general of Provisions*, "WHITE-PLAINS, October 21, 1776."

[7] *General Washington to Major Zabdiel Rogers*, "WHITE-PLAINS, Octo- "ber 21, 1776."

[8] *General Washington to Colonel McIntosh*, "WHITE-PLAINS, October "21, 1776."

[9] *General Washington to Colonel McIntosh*, "WHITE-PLAINS, October 21, "1776."

[10] Two miles from New Rochelle, say nine miles from the White Plains.

[11] *Division Orders*, "KING'S BRIDGE, October 21, 1776."

[12] Vide page 249, ante.

[13] The Division was ordered to march from the left, near Valentine's, "if possible, at eight o'clock, this morning," (*Division Orders*, "KING'S "BRIDGE, October 21, 1776:") it was not until "about 4 o'clock, P.M. "our General's Division moved from above Kingsbridge," (*Memoirs of General Heath*, 73).

[14] Vide page 239, ante.

furnish a rear-guard of fifty men. Each of the Brigades of the Division was to have a wagon-load of Tools, which was ordered to be moved with the heavy artillery. A number of the Spears which were at Fort Independence was to be loaded on each wagon, with the Tools; and Colonel Thomas and Colonel Drake were respectively ordered to send to each of the Regiments of the Division, a Guide, who was well acquainted with the road to the White Plains and with the vicinity of that place. It was ordered, in case the Division should be attacked, while on its march, that the line should be instantly formed; with the reserves at one hundred paces distant, in the rear; with the light artillery as it was posted on the march; and with the heavy artillery posted on the nearest commanding height and covered by the Regiment commanded by Colonel Prescott. General George Clinton, with all the Regiments of his command, except the Westchester-county Regiment commanded by Colonel Thomas, was ordered to remain where he was then posted, until the afternoon, and to forward all the Stores, Provisions, etc., which would not be required for the use of the detachment which was to be left in the barracks, in Fort Independence; after which he was to move his Brigade, on the Albany road, as far as Dobbs's Ferry, where he would receive his Baggage, etc., from the boats on which they had been forwarded; and to join the Division, at the White Plains, without delay. A detachment of six hundred men, under the command of Colonel Lasher, was ordered to remain, near Kingsbridge, until further orders—two hundred and fifty of the number were to occupy the barracks of Colonel Thomas's Regiment; fifty were to be posted in Colonel Swartwout's regimental barracks; fifty were to be posted in General Scott's Brigade barracks; fifty were to occupy the regimental barracks of Colonel Prescott; fifty were to occupy the barracks of Colonel Pawling's Regiment; fifty were to be posted in the barracks of Colonel Nicoll's Regiment; and the remaining fifty were to be posted in the barracks of Colonel Graham's Regiment—and it was also ordered to mount the proper guards and pickets; and to establish alarm-posts, in the different works. The guards then posted at Morrisania were to be called in, during the evening of that day, and to follow the Division, on the following morning; and a small guard, evidently to be supplied from the detachment at Fort Independence, was to be continually posted on the high grounds, toward Morrisania, for the security of the detachment.[1] All these specific Orders, which were evidently issued much earlier than eight o'clock in the morning, were unquestionably obeyed, as far as they could be obeyed, with entire precision and promptitude; but, nevertheless, it was not until about four o'clock, in the afternoon of that October day, that the Division was enabled to move; not until eight o'clock in the evening, that it passed Headquarters, on Valentine's-hill; and, after a tedious and wearisome night-march, not until four o'clock, on the following morning—that of Tuesday, the twenty-second of October—that it reached Chatterton's-hill, the last of the line of entrenched works, near the village of the White Plains. During the same day, General Heath moved the Division to the high ground, to the northward of the little village; and, there, it evidently rested from the fatigue which was consequent on the laborious movements of the preceding thirty-six hours.[2]

It will be seen by the reader, that the Division which was thus pushed forward, to the White Plains, was in light marching order, evidently taking with it no more than the personal Baggage of the Officers and men; that it was pushed forward, with all possible expedition, if it may not properly be said to have been by a forced march; and that it was not halted on its line of march, until it had reached Chatterton's-hill. It had moved along the roadway leading to the White Plains, behind and under cover of the line of entrenched camps, stretched along the high grounds, westward from the Bronx-river, from Valentine's-hill, on the South, to the White Plains, on the North, which had, already, been thrown up and occupied,[3] and it reached the Plains and rested on the high grounds, at that place; and it was subsequently moved into the

[1] *Division Orders*, "KING'S BRIDGE, October 21, 1776."

[2] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 73–75.

[3] Sauthier's *Plan of the Operations of the King's Army; Plan of the Country from Frog's Point to Croton River;* Dawson's *Military Retreats through Westchester-county, in* 1776, 35–37; etc.

We are not insensible of the fact that, in this instance, the greater number of those who have preceded us, in writing of that military retreat of the Americans, have maintained that those defensive works were thrown up by the retreating Army, on its march to the White Plains, instead of by detachments moved forward, for that specific purpose, before the retreat of the main body, from Kingsbridge, had been fully determined on. Among those from whom we have thus dissented, are the despatch of General Howe to Lord George Germaine, "NEW-YORK, "30 November, 1776;" *Annual Register for* 1776: History of Europe, *177; *History of the War in America*, Dublin: 1779, i., 194; [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 207; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 339; Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 212; Marshall's *Life of George Washington*, ii., 500; Andrews's *History of the War*, ii., 244; Murray's *Impartial History of the War in America*, ii., 177; Ramsay's *History of the American Revolution*, i., 309; Morse's *Annals of the American Revolution*, 263; Sparks's *Life of George Washington*, 195; Irving's *Life of George Washington*, ii., 384, 385; Hamilton's *History of the Republic*, i., 130; Lossing's *Pictorial Field-book of the American Revolution*, ii., 821; Carrington's *Battles of the American Revolution*, 236, etc.; but we have preferred the testimony of *Division Orders* for the movement of the troops, the narrative of the movement which was written by the Major-general commanding the Division, the official Maps of the movement drawn by both the American and the Royal Engineers, and our own well-settled convictions of the improbability that the main Army had been employed in throwing up entrenchments or that its laborious retreat to the Plains was made more laborious by continuous halts for the purpose of throwing up earthworks, for any purpose. When the retreat was originally determined on, the necessity for a prompt and immediate occupation of the new-selected position was too evident to admit of any such halts, for any such purposes; and, in the great scarcity of Teams for the removal of the Stores and Baggage and Artillery, which required the men to take the places of beasts of burden, in dragging and carrying what needed to be transported, the main body of the Army needed no additional labor, nor is it in the slightest degree probable that any such additional labor was really imposed on it.

position which had been appointed for it, on the extreme left of the proposed line of the Army, its left resting on a "deep hollow, through which ran a small "brook,[1] which came from a mill-pond,[2] a little above."[3] On the eastern, or opposite side, of that "deep hol-"low," "there was a very commanding ground," from which the Division could have been enfiladed;[4] and the ground occupied by the Division, descended, gradually, from the extreme left to the right of the line.[5]

On the high ground, on the opposite side of the "deep hollow," General Heath posted the Regiment of New York troops commanded by Colonel William Malcolm, and Lieutenant Fenno of the Artillery, the latter with a field-piece, with instructions to occupy a position in the skirt of the wood which covered the upper portion of the high ground, "at the South brow "of the hill;" and there, that covering party remained, until the American Army retreated into the high grounds of Northcastle.[6]

While the Division commanded by General Heath was thus hurrying, by a forced march, towards the White Plains, during the night of the twenty-first of October, another portion of the American Army was engaged in a brilliant dash on the enemy's outpost, at Mamaroneck.

It will be remembered that, on the twenty-first of October, when the Right and Center of the main body of the Royal Army were moved forward to a position between New Rochelle and the White Plains, the Queen's Rangers, a select body of Loyalists, commanded by the celebrated partisan, Lieutenant-colonel Robert Rogers,[7] were pushed forward to Mamaroneck, which they had occupied early in the morning of that day.[8]

It will be remembered, also, that while General Washington was at the White Plains, on the twenty-first of October, he had received information of that occupation of Mamaroneck; and that he had determined to make an attack on the Queen's Rangers who were posted there.[9] In accordance with that determination and with Orders which were undoubtedly issued by General Washington,[10] General Lord Stirling, who had reached the White Plains, with his command, during the morning of that day, detached Major Green, with one hundred and fifty men from the First and Third Virginia Regiments, and Colonel John Haslet, with six hundred men from his own—the Delaware—and other Regiments, with orders to fall on the Rangers, during the coming night. The movement was made with good judgment and ability; the Rangers were entirely surprised, through the carelessness of their sentries; and, as was stated by an Officer in the Royal Army,[11] they were "very roughly "handled." In consequence of the bad conduct of the guides whom Colonel Haslet had employed,[12] however, the success was not as complete as it probably would have been, had the guides done their duty properly. As it was, Colonel Haslet and his gallant command handled the Rangers "very roughly," killing and wounding a considerable number;[13] carrying back, to the White Plains, thirty-six prisoners,[14] and

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[1] Then and now known as the Mamaroneck-river.

[2] Then known as "Horton's pond:" now known as "St. Mary's "Lake."

[3] The entire property included in this portion of our narrative, is now owned by Charles Deutermann, Esq.

[4] Now forming a portion of what is known as "The Underhill "Farm."

[5] This description of the ground occupied by the Division commanded by General Heath, has been taken, largely in his own words, from his *Memoirs*, evidently written by himself, page 75. For our statements concerning the present names and owners of the several properties referred to, we are indebted to the Hon. J. O. Dykman, Judge of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, and a resident of the White Plains.

[6] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 75.

[7] The Queen's Rangers, subsequently so widely known, had been raised in Connecticut and the vicinity of New York, for the duties which their name implied; and, at the time of which we write, they were commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Robert Rogers, who had so much distinguished himself as a partisan, on the frontiers, during the War with France. They were "all Americans, and all Loyalists."—(Simcoe's *Journal of the Operations of the Queen's Rangers*, 18.)

These Rangers were said, by the biographer of their distinguished Commandant, of a later period, to have been "disciplined, not for parade, but "for active service. They were never to march in *slow* time; were directed "to fire with precision and steadiness; to wield the bayonet with force "and effect; to disperse and rally with rapidity. In short, in the in-"structions for the management of the Corps, its commander seems to "have anticipated the more modern tactics of the French Army."—(*Memoir of Lieutenant colonel Simcoe*,—Simcoe's *Journal of the Operations of the Queen's Rangers*, viii.)

[8] *General Washington to Colonel Lachlan McIntosh, of Georgia*, "WHITE-"PLAINS, October 21, 1776;" *the same to Major Zabdiel Rogers*, "WHITE-PLAINS, October 21, 1776;" *Extract of a letter from a General Officer, dated* "MOUNT WASHINGTON, October 23, 1776;" *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November, 1776;" [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 205; Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 212; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 339; Sauthier's *Plan of the Operations of the King's Army; Plan of the Country from Frog's Point to Croton River;* etc.

[9] Vide page 250, ante.

[10] In Lieutenant-colonel Tilghman's letter to his father, dated "VAL-"ENTINE'S-HILL 4 MILES FROM KINGSBRIDGE 22 October 1776," it is expressly stated that "the General"—by which term he referred to General Washington, whose Aide-de-Camp he was and with whom he had been, while the Commander-in-Chief was at the White Plains—"detached "Major Green * * * to fall upon Rogers in the Night, which they "did," etc.

[11] [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 205.

[12] Lieutenant-colonel Tilghman, in the letter to his father, to which we have already referred, stated that "had not the Guides posted Haslet "wrong the whole party consisting of 400 must have fallen into our "Hands;" and Colonel Haslet, in his Letter to General Cæsar Rodney, dated "October 28, 1776," said, "had not our guides deserted us on the "first outset. he and his whole party must have been taken."

See, also, *General Washington, through his Secretary, to Governor Trumbull*, "CAMP ON VALENTINE'S-HILL, October 22, 1776."

[13] In Lieutenant-colonel Tilghman's letter to his father, already mentioned, it is said "they counted 25 killed in one Orchard, how many got "off wounded we dont know;" and in Colonel Haslet's letter to General Rodney, already referred to, it was said, "his Lieutenant and a number "of others were left dead on the spot."

[14] *Lieutenant-colonel Tilghman to his father*, "VALENTINE'S-HILL 4 MILES "FROM KINGSBRIDGE, 22 October, 1776;" *Colonel Haslett to General Rodney*, "WHITE-PLAINS, October 28, 1776;" etc.

A list of thirty-one of those prisoners may be seen in Force's *American Archives*, V., ii., 1203; but the evident slaughter of the names has made that record useless to every one who is unacquainted with the names of

including, among the trophies of their bravery, "a "pair of Colors, sixty stand of Arms, and a variety of "plunder,"[1] among the latter of which were "a good "many Blankets."[2] On the side of the Americans, "three or four were left, dead, and, about fifteen were "wounded, among the latter, Major Green, of the "Second Virginia Regiment, wounded in the shoul- "der, and Captain Pope, who acted as Major, and "behaved with great bravery, wounded in the leg."[3] General Lord Stirling is said to have been "so highly "pleased with the success of the expedition, that he "thanked Colonel Haslet and his command, pub- "licly, on the parade."[4]

On the twenty-second of October, General Howe strengthened his outpost, at Mamaroneck, which Colonel Haslet had so rudely assaulted, during the preceding night, by moving the Sixth Brigade of British troops, commanded by Brigadier-general Agnew, to that place;[5] and, on the same day, Lieutenant-general Knyphausen, with the Second Division of the Hessians and the Regiment of Waldeckers, numbering eight thousand men, who had arrived at New York, on the eighteenth,[6] landed on Myers-point, now known as Davenport's-neck, near New Rochelle,[7] to which place they had been taken, from the City of New York, on the flatboats of the Army.[8]

As all intercourse between the City of New York and the Army, which was so exceedingly important, depended on the King's troops and Navy being masters of the Sound, armed vessels were stationed, at short distances from each other, from Hell-gate to New Rochelle; and every possible assistance was afforded by Admiral Lord Howe, to facilitate the movements of the Army commanded by his brother. Indeed, in the words of one of the best-informed writers of the history of those operations of the King's Navy, himself an Officer of the Army and a personal witness of what he described, "a vigor "and exertion, unequalled in any former expedi- "tion, prevailed through all classes in the Navy, "extinguishing jealousies, and banishing all those "ideas of pre-eminence and rank that sometimes sub- "sist between the Fleet and the Army; and which

families of whom they were probably members. As many of them appear to have been of Westchester-county origin, we append the list, corrected as far as we have been able to correct it:

*Joseph Dean,	*Jonathan Austin,
*Stephen Law,	Francis Basley,
*Elijah Carle,	James Sharp,
*John Angevine,	Solomon Parent,
*Joseph Carle,	Jonathan Eddy,
Walter Brown,	*Stephen Travis,
Gilbert Myers,	*James Cannady,†
*Frederic Devoe,	*Moses Travis,
David Lawrence,	Abraham Brown,
*James Angevine,	*Elnathan Appleby,
John Charlick,	Jedediah Davis,
Jeremiah Wood,	Jacob Cadwell Burr,
Reuben Stivers,	James Melson, [*Nelson?*]
*David Travis,	Noah Brown,
John Worden,	William Washburn.
*Elijah Bartow,	

[1] *Colonel Haslet to General Rodney*, "WHITE-PLAINS, October 28, 1776."

[2] *Lieutenant-colonel Tilghman to his father*, "VALENTINE'S-HILL, 4 MILES "FROM KINGSBRIDGE, 22 October, 1776."

[3] *Colonel Haslet to General Rodney*, "WHITE-PLAINS, October 28, 1776."

[4] Those who shall desire to learn more of this affair are referred to *General Washington's letter to Governor Trumbull*, "CAMP ON VALEN- "TINE'S-HILL, October 22, 1776;" *the same, to the Continental Congress*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, WHITE-PLAINS, 25 October, 1776;" *Extract of a letter from Fort Lee*, dated "October 22," in *The Philadelphia Evening Post*, Vol. II., No. 276, "PHILADELPHIA, Saturday, October 26, 1776;" *Extract of a letter from a General Officer*, dated "MOUNT WASHINGTON, "October 23, 1776," in *The Pennsylvania Journal*, No. 1769, "PHILADEL- "PHIA, Wednesday, October 30, 1776," and in Force's *American Archives*, 5th V., ii., 1203; *Abram Clark to Colonel Dayton*, "ELIZABETHTOWN, October "26, 1776;" *Extract from a letter published by the Continental Congress*, in *The Pennsylvania Journal*, No. 1770, "PHILADELPHIA, Wednesday, "November 6, 1776;" *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW- "YORK, 30 November, 1776;" [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 205; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 339; *Memoirs of General Heath*, 74, 75; etc.

Bolton, in his *History of Westchester-county*, (original edition, i., 311; second edition, i., 499) prefixed to General Heath's mention of this affair (except the date, which the latter had correctly stated,) the singular information that it occurred on "the day previous to the battle at White "Plains," [*October* 27,] and that the command of the Americans was held by Colonel Smallwood, of the Maryland Line of the Continental Army.

Bancroft, in his *History of the United States*, (original edition, ix., 178; centenary edition, v. 442,) regarded the Rangers as only "a picket of "Rogers's Regiment of Rangers," notwithstanding General Howe had described it, definitely, as a detachment of the entire "Corps of Ran- "gers," not a portion of it, only, which had been sent forward, "to take possession of Mamaroneck;" and no one, of either Army, considered it as only a picket, or it would not have been mentioned in the despatches of both the Generals commanding nor have found a place on either of the official Maps of the Campaign.

[5] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, November 30, "1776;" [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 205; Sauthier's *Plan of the Operations of the King's Army; A Plan of the Country from Frog's Point to Croton River;* etc

[6] "NEW-YORK, October 21, 1776. On Friday sixty-five sail of vessels, "under convoy of the Diamond and Ambuscade, with the second divis- "ion of the Hessians and one thousand Waldeckers, under the command "of the Generals Knyphausen and Schmidtz, and a number of recruits for "the British troops, in all about eight thousand effective men, arrived "off Sandy-Hook. They sailed from Plymouth Sound, the 27th of July. "In the fleet are several victuallers and vessels laden with draught- "horses for the train and baggage of the Army." (*The New-York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, No. 1304, NEW-YORK, Monday, October 21, 1776.)

See, also, *Lord George Germaine to General Howe*, "WHITEHALL, 21 "June, 1776."

[7] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, November 30, "1776;" [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 206; Sauthier's *Plan of the Operations of the King's Army;* Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 339; *Plan of the Country from Frog's Point to Croton River;* etc.

Bolton, in his *History of Westchester-county*, (original edition, i., 440; second edition, i., 688) said General Knyphausen landed on Myers-point, or Davenport's neck, "ten days previous to the battle of White-Plains," [*October* 18,] the day on which he had reached Sandy-hook; and in the first of the two editions, he cited, as his authority, Stedman's *History of the American War*, in which there is not the slightest mention of the date of the debarkation of the Division, beyond the fact that it was after the twenty-first of October, seven days before the action on Chatterton's-hill.

[8] Admiral Lord Howe to Mr. Stephens, Secretary to the Admiralty, "EAGLE, OFF NEW-YORK, November 23, 1776."

*Those who are thus designated (*) were, probably, of Westchester-county families.

†James Cannady was one of the Bedford Company who had served throughout the Campaign of 1775, under Colonel James Holmes, (*ride page* 101, *ante.*)

"have too often fatally contributed to national "dishonor."[1]

During the following night, [*Tuesday, October* 22,] the Division of the American Army which was commanded by Major-general Sullivan reached the White Plains,[2] and, probably, occupied a position in the proposed new line of the Army, on the right of that already occupied by the Division commanded by Major-general Heath; although we have not found any information, on that subject, among the contemporary authorities.[3]

While General Sullivan and his command were thus moving towards the White Plains, a raid was made from the Regiment which occupied the entrenched Camp at Mile-Square, in which a Corporal and two Privates, with the approval of the Colonel, "went out to see what they could pick up," and succeeded in bringing in "a number of fat Cattle," without pretending, however, that they had belonged to the King's Army;[4] and, on the afternoon of the following day, [*Wednesday, October* 23,] the same small party went out, again, but in a different direction—"going "directly to the rear of the Hessian Camp," [*near East Chester,*] "they went into a house where they "washed for the Officers, and were bringing off three "tubs of Shirts, when the man of the house informed "the Camp." The marauders were, of course, compelled to retreat; but, meeting some of their comrades,—probably the party referred to in the following paragraph,—they rallied, drove back their Hessian pursuers, killed the Major who commanded the latter —from whom they took his Commission and ten guineas, in money—and a number of others, and captured three prisoners,[5] evidently securing to themselves, also, very great credit.

During the same day, [*Wednesday, October* 23,] Colonel Glover, commanding the Brigade of whom Brigadier-general James Clinton was the commander —the same who had distinguished themselves on the preceding Friday—sent out a party, mostly composed of men belonging to his own Regiment, to see what was to be seen and do what they could do. It is said that that Scouting-party met a body of the enemy and attacked it, killing, as has been already stated, twelve Hessians—one of them a Field-officer, on horseback—and taking three prisoners, besides the horse of the Officer who was killed; with the loss of one man, of Colonel Baldwin's Regiment, who was mortally wounded.[6]

On the same day, [*Wednesday, October* 23,] the Head-quarters of the Army were established "on the "Plain, near the cross-roads," at the White Plains.[7]

During the entire period succeeding the determination to move the main body of the American Army from the Heights of Harlem to the White Plains, there were the most active preparations to secure a successful retreat, throughout every portion of the Army. It is said the Mortars, some of the Cannon, a portion of General Washington's Baggage, and some of the Sick had been taken to the western side of the Hudson-river, before that determination was made;[8] on the morning of the twenty-second, the Sick who had not been sent over the Hudson-river, were sent

[1] [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 206.

[2] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 75.

[3] It is one of the singular portions of the history of that eventful Campaign, that the only mention which we have found, concerning General Sullivan's services, as Major-general commanding one of the great Divisions of the American Army, in Westchester-county, is that merely incidental remark, by General Heath, to which we have referred. There appears, also, in the manuscript papers of General Sullivan, which we have carefully examined, personally, next to nothing on the subject; there is nothing in the carefully-prepared *Memoir* of him, by his faithful biographer, Hon. Thomas C. Amory, which throws the faintest light on the subject; and Mr. Amory, whom it is our privilege to number among our oldest and dearest personal friends, is entirely unable to afford the slightest information.

In view of the fact that he was placed in command of a great Division of the Army, while older and more pretentious Major-generals were left in less important positions, it cannot be pretended that that silence was produced by any want of respect for either his military character or his military services.

[4] *Extract of a letter from* "CAMP AT MILE-SQUARE IN EASTCHESTER," dated "23 October, 1776," published in *The Freeman's Journal or New-Hampshire Gazette*, Volume I., Number 25, PORTSMOUTH, Tuesday, November 12, 1776.

[5] Ibid.

In Lieutenant colonel Tench Tilghman's letter to William Duer, dated "HEAD-QUARTERS, WHITE-PLAINS, October 23, 1776," the narrative was differently told, giving the entire credit for the insignificant affair to General Lee, as was usually done, in such cases, and stating that it occurred on the evening of the twenty-second; and an *Extract of a letter from Head-quarters*, published, officially, by the Congress, "October 25, "1776," and copied into *The Pennsylvania Journal*, No. 1770, PHILADELPHIA, Wednesday, November 6, 1776, stated that the affair occurred on Wednesday, the twenty-third of October, as stated in the text; that the supporting party belonged to Colonel Hand's Regiment of Riflemen, instead of to Colonel Glover's Regiment; that the Americans buried ten of the Hessians, on the field; and that the only loss sustained by the Americans was "one lad wounded, supposed mortally." *A letter from a Gentleman in the Army, dated* "CAMP NEAR THE MILLS, ABOUT "THREE MILES NORTH OF THE WHITE PLAINS, November 1, 1776," published in Force's *American Archives*, V., iii., 473, stated that "our people "buried thirteen Hessians left dead on the field;" that "one wounded "Lieutenant was taken;" that, "although we had not one man killed "on the ground," we had "six or eight wounded, but one, it is thought, "mortally;" and that the Major's Commission was found on the ground; "but whether it belonged to any of the slain or to some Officer "who might be wounded and carried off, they could not determine."

[6] Colonel Glover's letter, dated "MILE-SQUARE, October 22,* 1776," published in *The Freeman's Journal and New-Hampshire Gazette*, Vol. I., No. 27, PORTSMOUTH, Tuesday, November 26, 1776.

[7] Doctor Sparks, in the *Writings of George Washington*, iv., 152, note; *Memoir of General Heath*, 75.

Compare, also, *Lieutenant-colonel Tilghman to the New York Convention*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, VALENTINE'S-HILL, October 22, 1776," with *the same to William Duer*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, WHITE-PLAINS, October 23, 1776."

[8] *Extract of a letter from Fort Lee*, dated "October 20, 1776," published in *The Pennsylvania Journal*, No. 1769, PHILADELPHIA, Wednesday, October 30, 1776.

See, also, *General Washington to General Greene*, "WHITE-PLAINS, "November 7, 1776;" *General Washington to General Lee*, "PEEKSKILL, "November 12, 1776;" etc.

*The structure of this letter clearly indicates that it was written by instalments—that it was commenced on the twenty-second, and received additions on the next day, on the succeeding Sunday, and after the engagement on Chatterton's-hill, which occurred on the following Monday.

This is stated in explanation of the seeming discrepancy in the date of the letter and that of the affair which is under notice.

to the White Plains, reaching that place on the following morning;[1] and the Commander-in-chief "was "almost the whole time on horseback,"[2] his Correspondence[3] and even the Orderly-books of the Army[4] clearly indicated that his personal supervision of the entire movement and of all which pertained to it was unstintingly given.

It is not now known when General Lee and his Division commenced its laborious march, towards the White Plains;[5] but it "was attended with much dif- "ficulty, for want of Wagons and Artillery-horses. "The Baggage and Artillery," it was said,[6] "were "carried or drawn off by hand. When a part was "forwarded, the other was fetched on. This was the "general way of removing the Camp-equipage and "other appendages of the Army. The few Teams "which were at hand, were no wise equal to the ser- "vice; and their deficiency could be made up only "by the bodily labor of the men." Sometimes, the toiling column was in open view of the enemy, and at no considerable distance from him; and it is not explained why he did not disturb it, which he did not, although he could have easily done so, and have captured the greater number of the Cannon, Wagons, Horses, etc., which the American Army possessed. Surely the little tree-fringed Bronx did not offer any serious obstruction: surely the entrenched Camps behind which the heavily laden column was slowly marching, and which were abandoned when the column reached them, those who had occupied them falling in and increasing the strength of the moving force, did not intimidate him: rather let it be supposed that General Howe's well-settled, well-supported policy of exposing his men, in assaults on entrenchments, only when the objects to be attained by such assaults were adequate to the loss of men, in such assaults—"not wantonly to commit His Majes- "ty's troops, where the object was inadequate," was his own description of it—controlled him, as it had done in Brooklyn, while the King's Army was on Long Island. It appears, however, that General Lee varied his duties by throwing a party of his command, over the Bronx, during the night of Wednesday, the twenty-third of October, in order to beat up the outposts of the enemy; and one of these, near Ward's Tavern, between Tuckahoe and Scarsdale, and occupied by two hundred and fifty Hessians, was successfully attacked, early in the following morning, [*Thursday, October* 24,] ten of the number having been killed, and two taken prisoners;[7] and it has been stated that, reciprocally, a dash was made on the rear of the slowly moving column, somewhere in the line of march, in which, among other losses, General Lee and Captain Alexander Hamilton, the latter of the New York State Artillery, lost their Baggage.[8] The column reached the White Plains, however, on Saturday, the twenty-sixth of October, with very little loss of either Stores or Troops.[9] The movement of eight thousand men, with a train of one hundred and fifty Wagons, which "filled the road for four "miles," and with Artillery,[10] under such peculiar circumstances, with such a scarcity of the means for transportation, and in the face—often, within half a

[1] How's *Diary*, October 22 and 23, 1776.

[2] Sparks's *Writings of George Washington*, iv., 524.

[3] The twenty-second of October afforded the only letter in his published Correspondence, between the fifteenth of October and the sixth of November; and Doctor Sparks, who conducted his *Writings* through the Press, stated, in explanation, "the unsettled state of the Army, "for several days succeeding the date of this letter," [*that of the sixth of November,*] "allowed very little leisure to the Commander-in-chief "for writing."—(*Writings of George Washington*, iv., 157, note.)

[4] In the published *Orderly-books* of the Army, there does not appear a single entry, not even of a Parole and Countersign, between the eighteenth and twenty-fifth of October.

[5] It must have been as early as the twenty second, since the column had reached Ward's Bridge, now Tuckahoe, early on the morning of the twenty-fourth, (*Memoirs of General Heath*, 76;) it was still on its march, on the twenty-fifth, (*Colonel R. H. Harrison to the Continental Congress*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, WHITE-PLAINS, 25 October, 1776;") and did not join the main body of the Army, at the White Plains, until the twenty-sixth, (*Memoirs of General Heath*, 75;) possibly, not until the twenty-eighth. (*General Glover's letter*, dated "MILE-SQUARE, October "22, 1776.")

[6] Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 339, 340.

[7] Editorial in a Hartford newspaper, October 28, copied in *The Freeman's Journal and New-Hampshire Gazette*, Volume I., Number 24, PORTSMOUTH, Tuesday, November 5, 1776; *Memoirs of General Heath*, 76.

[8] Hon. James A. Hamilton, of Dobbs's-ferry, in a conversation with us, many years ago, told us that his father, Captain Alexander Hamilton, lost his Baggage, on the march of General Lee's command from Harlem Heights to the White Plains; and *The Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser*, No. 1209, LONDON: From Saturday, December 21, to Tuesday, December 24, 1776, contains a letter from Westchester, dated November 10, 1776, and carried to England by the *Fowey*, in which it was stated, "Upon landing at New-Rochelle, we found the church full of Salt.* Our "troops advanced to this place where we took General Lee's baggage."

In the same number of the same newspaper, another letter "*from an "Officer in Gen. Howe's Army, in the Province of New York,*" dated "Nov. 11, 1776," is printed, in which it is said, "A little beyond West "Chester some of our people found a pipe of wine, directed for General "Lee, and nine puncheons of rum, which the General ordered to be "staved, lest the soldiers should get drunk."

[9] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 76; Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 212; Marshall's *Life of George Washington*, ii., 502.

Colonel John Glover, in the letter from which we have learned so much of this Campaign, and who was with General Lee, stated, evidently erroneously, that the column did not reach the White Plains until ten o'clock on Monday morning, the twenty eighth of October, after having marched during the whole of the preceding night, (*Colonel Glover's letter*, dated "MILE-SQUARE, October 22, 1776," published in *The Freeman's Journal and New-Hampshire Gazette*, Volume I., Number 27, PORTSMOUTH, Tuesday, November 26, 1776;) but the *Letter from a Gentleman in the Army, dated* "CAMP NEAR THE MILLS, ABOUT THREE MILES NORTH OF "THE WHITE PLAINS, November 1, 1776," reprinted in Force's *American Archives*, V., iii., 471–474, stated that "General Lee reached the Plains, "and marched out, westward, between the main body of the Army and "the river," [*that is, he occupied the right of the line, between General Sullivan's command and the Bronx-river.*] "This was on the 25th and "26th of October," the author of the letter added. The official *Plan of the Country from Frog's Point to Croton River* and Sauthier's *Plan of the Operations, etc.*, each stated that the column was not in motion after the *twenty-seventh* of October.

There is abundant evidence, within Colonel Glover's own letter, that he was in error, two days, in this particular statement.

[10] *Colonel Glover's letter*, dated "MILE-SQUARE, October 22, 1776."

* That Salt is said to have been owned by the State of New York. It was very valuable; and the loss of it was also noticed in the American records of that period.

mile and in open sight—of an active, powerful, well-supplied, and well-disciplined enemy, with very little, if with any, loss,[1] was a feat which reflected and continues to reflect, the highest honor on both the General in command and the men whom he commanded. The entire Army, except the troops who had been left on Mount Washington and at Kingsbridge—about fourteen hundred at the former, and six hundred at the latter—was, then, concentrated at the White Plains,[2] awaiting and preparing for the great events which were rapidly approaching.

The White Plains, the place which appeared to have been designated by both the great opposing powers, as if by mutual consent, for that on which the great questions then pending between Great Britain and the united States of America were to be determined by the arbitrament of Arms, the County-seat of the ancient County of Westchester, is situated on the upper extremity of a fine plain, about twenty-six miles from the City of New York. At the time of which we write, the Village was composed of a considerable number of comfortable dwellings, scattered along the sides of two or three roads which converged at that place, two Taverns, a Presbyterian Meeting-house and a Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, and the Court-house of the County, within which, probably, all the County-offices were, also, sheltered. About three quarters of a mile westward from the principal roadway of the unpretentious little Village, flowed the small stream which was, then, as it is, now, called "The Bronx-river," forming the western boundary of the plain referred to, and separating it from "The "Manor of Philipseborough;" to the Northwest and Northeast of the Village, respectively, were bold and sometimes abrupt elevations, united by less elevated ground with a gradual descent toward the Village, the whole forming the northern boundary of "the "White Plains," below; and beyond those flanking elevations and that intervening high ground, to the northward of the Village, and not more than a mile distant from the northern extremity of it, in the Town of Northcastle, was the high and rocky ground which is, now, so well known, in history, as that to which the American Army swung back, after the action on Chatterton's-hill.[3]

The site of the encampment which the American Army occupied was on the high grounds, northwestward and northeastward from the Village, and the lower grounds between them; with covering positions, on either flank. A temporary line of works had been previously constructed along the northerly line of the road which extended from the Meeting-house of the Presbyterian-church, past the house of Jacob Purdy, to the Bronx-river[4]—that road which connected the White Plains with Dobbs's-ferry; but the entrenchments which were thrown up for the defence of the Army, occupied a line from the Bronx-river, at a point which was nearly opposite to the residence of the late William Roberts, on the right; over the summit of the hill which is to the northward of the Harlem Railroad Station, then owned by 'Squire Jacob Purdy, more recently by his son, Jacob, and now by numerous owners, eastward, over properties more recently owned by the younger Jacob Purdy, Daniel Dusenberry, and Alexander C. Tompkins—those of Jacob Purdy being now owned by numerous persons; those of Daniel Dusenberry, by his children; and those of Alexander C. Tompkins, by his widow—to the Post-road, which was the principal street of the Village. Occupying the Post-road was a strong earthwork, some small remains of which, bearing an old howitzer, *en barbette*, may still be seen, opposite to the residence of Mrs. Tompkins, already referred to; and, eastward from that central earthwork, up the gradual slope, over properties recently owned by Leonard Miller, John Fisher, the widow of James Fisher, and Henry Willetts—those of Leonard Miller being now owned by his two sons; those of John Fisher, by numerous persons; and those of Henry Willetts, by Charles Deutermann—to what was then known as Horton's-pond, now known as "St. Mary's "Lake," of which mention has been already made.[5] The right flank of the line was covered by the Brigades commanded, respectively, by Generals McDougal and Lord Stirling;[6] and its left was covered by

[1] "You are misinformed as to the quantity of Provisions we have lost. "When General Lee removed, he was obliged to leave eighty or ninety "barrels of Provisions, of all kinds, for want of Wagons."—(*Lieutenant-colonel Tench Tilghman to William Duer*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, WHITE-"PLAINS, October 27, 1776.")

Bancroft, in his *History of the United States*, (original edition, ix., 179; *the same*, centenary edition, v., 443,) said "sixty or seventy barrels of "Provisions" were lost. We have heard of no other loss, except that of General Lee's Baggage and Wine.

[2] *Colonel R. H. Harrison to the Continental Congress*, "HEAD-QUAR-"TERS, WHITE-PLAINS, 25 October, 1776."

[3] Our own knowledge of the ground, as it was, more than thirty years ago, forms the groundwork of this description; and we have been favored, further, in our work of describing the topography of that vicinity, with the assistance of our valued friend of many years, Hon. Lewis C. Platt, formerly Surrogate of the County, and with that of our not less esteemed friend, Hon. J. O. Dykman, Justice of the Supreme Court, both of whom are old residents of the Village, and perfectly familiar with the ground.

[4] Very much more importance has been recently attached to this evidently temporary line of defence than it was entitled to enjoy. It was probably thrown up by the small body of Militia who had occupied that position, as a guard of the Stores which had been accumulated at that place, while the main Army occupied the Heights of Harlem; but the subsequent occupation of the ground, which has been described in the text, by the main Army, was followed by the construction of a line of works, on the high ground, on the rear of that temporary line, the last-named of which was abandoned on Saturday, the twenty-sixth of October.*

[5] This description of the line of defences occupied by the American Army, at the White Plains, was originally prepared, more than thirty years ago, with great care, from every authority which was then known to us and from information derived from aged people who have since passed away; and the present ownership of the several properties over which the line extended has been ascertained and communicated to us by Hon. Lewis C. Platt and Hon. J. O. Dykman, to whom we have already gratefully referred.

[6] "I now snatch an opportunity by the Post of informing you that

* "26—We Have ben a moveing our Tents to the top of the Hill th s "Day."—(David How's *Diary*, October 26, 1776.")

the Brigades commanded, respectively, by Generals George Clinton, John Morin Scott, and Samuel H. Parsons, the two former having been posted near the Purchase,[1] and the latter at the head of King-street, near Rye pond.[2]

On the twenty-seventh of October, the small force which had been left in Fort Independence, when General Heath's Division was moved from near Kingsbridge to the White Plains,[3] was ordered to remove the Cannon and Stores from that post to Fort Washington; to burn the several Barracks which had been erected, there, with so much difficulty and at so great an expense; and, "with all possible dispatch," to move, by way of the Albany post-road, as far as Dobbs's-ferry, to the White Plains;[4] and, on the following day, without having removed the Cannon, three hundred stand of Small-arms, five tons of Bar-iron, and "a great quantity of Spears, Shot, Shells, "etc., too numerous to mention," which were within or near the Fort, and all of which were recklessly abandoned,[5] that small command, numbering not more than four hundred effective men,[6] joined the main body of the Division,[7] on the left of the line, at the White Plains. The enemy, who had occupied the entire lower portion of Westchester-county, since the American forces had been concentrated at the Plains, occupied the position, on the evening of the day on which Colonel Lasher had abandoned it.[8]

At the time of which we write, judging from *The General Returns of the Army*, dated on the third of November, the Army commanded by General Washington, in person, was composed, nominally, of about twenty-five thousand, four hundred, and fifty men, of whom about twelve thousand and fifty were sick, on independent commands, or on furlough; leaving only about thirteen thousand, four hundred, rank and file, present and fit for duty.[9] The supply of Provisions, as the reader has been already informed,[10] was exceedingly scanty;[11] the Medicine-chest was almost destitute of both instruments and drugs;[12] and Clothing was a luxury in which very few could comfortably indulge themselves.[13] The troops, as we have already stated,[14] were dispirited and, often, disaffected;

"General McDougal's Brigade, of which the Maryland Regulars is "a part, having laid in the woods for three nights," [*preceding the day of the action on Chatterton's-hill, that is to say, on the nights of the twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, and twenty-seventh of October,*] "two miles from this "place, and to the right of the main body, as a covering party, was or-"dered to advance along the road, about a mile, near a place called the "Mile-stone, and there take post, which was accordingly done." (*Letter to a Gentleman in Annapolis, dated* "WHITE-PLAINS, October 29, 1776," re-printed in Force's *American Archives*, V., ii., 1284.)

[1] "I am so closely confined to my post, on the left of the whole, as not "to have been a quarter mile West from this for four days past. Near "three thousand of the enemy, yesterday and the evening before, filed "off to the left, and were seen advancing towards King's street and the "Purchase road. . . . Our lines were manned all night, in con-"sequence of this; and a most horrid night it was to lay in cold "trenches. . . . I have only time to add that I am with usual "health, though in no better lodging than a soldier's tent, with our old "friend General Scott." (*General George Clinton to John McKesson*, "CAMP NEAR WHITE-PLAINS, October 31, 1776.")

[2] "On the same evening," [*October* 23,] "Col. Tyler's, Huntington's, and "Throop's Regiments, of General Parson's Brigade and of our General's "Division, moved, and took post at the head of King-street, near Rye-"pond."—(*Memoirs of General Heath*, 75, 76.)

[3] Vide pages 251, ante.

[4] *General Heath to Colonel Lasher*, "WHITE-PLAINS, October 27, 1776;" *General Greene to General Mifflin*, "FORT LEE, October 27, 1776;" *Memoirs of General Heath*, 79, 80.

[5] *General Greene to General Washington*, "FORT LEE, October 29, "1776."

[6] *Colonel Lasher to General Heath*, "CAMP AT KING'S BRIDGE, October "26, 1776."

[7] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 79, 80.

[8] *Colonel Lasher to General Heath*, "CAMP AT KING'S BRIDGE, October "26, 1776."

[9] *The General Returns of the Army*, dated on the third of November, six days after the action on Chatterton's-hill, showed an aggregate of twenty-five thousand, two hundred, and seventeen, "rank and file," including the Matrosses of ten Companies of Artillery and excluding, of course, the Commissioned Officers, the Staff, and the Non-commissioned Officers of the Army. Adding to these, those who had been killed and missing during the period which had intervened between the time of which we write and the date of the *Returns* referred to, in which occurred the action on Chatterton's-hill and all the other military operations in the vicinity of the White Plains; and it will be seen that, when the Army occupied the high grounds, to the northward of that Village, excluding the Sick, those who were on Commands, and those who were absent, on Furloughs, the effective force was only thirteen thousand, four hundred, and four, "rank and file."

[10] Vide pages 248, 250, ante.

[11] "His," [*General Washington's,*] "apprehensions are exceedingly "great lest the Army should suffer much for want of necessary supplies "of Provisions, especially in the article of Flour. From the best in-"telligence he is able to obtain, there is not more, in Camp and at "the several places where it has been deposited, than will serve the "Army longer than four or five days, provided the utmost care and "economy were used in issuing it out; but from the waste and em-"bezzlement, for want of proper attention to it, as is reported to him, "it is not probable that it will last so long."—(*Colonel Robert H. Harrison, Secretary of General Washington, to Colonel Joseph Trumbull, Commissary-general of Provisions* "WHITE-PLAINS, November 1, 1776.")

[12] "We want Medicine, much: none can be had, here. Our sick have" [*been*] "and are suffering extremely."—(*Colonel Smallwood to the Council of Safety of Maryland*, "PHILIPSE'S HEIGHTS, October, 1776.")

"I wrote a hasty letter, some time ago, requesting from the State "of New York, that they would allow me the remainder of the "stock of Medicines purchased for the use of the State, of which they "were so good as to allow me one-half, early in the Summer, for the "use of the Army. The demand for Medicines is very great; and we "cannot procure a sufficiency, at any rate."—(*Doctor John Morgan, Medical Director of the Army, to John Jay*, "NORTH-CASTLE, October 28, "1776.")

A letter from Doctor John Pine, of the Maryland Line, to James Tilghman, of Annapolis, dated, "CAMP AT WHITE-PLAINS, November 7, "1776," contains a detailed statement of the entire destitution of the Army, and of the consequent sufferings of the sick and wounded.

[13] "The Rebel Army are in so wretched a condition, as to Clothing and "Accoutrements, that I believe no Nation ever saw such a set of tatterde-"malions. There are few Coats among them but what are out at "elbows; and in a whole Regiment there is scarce a pair of Breeches. "Judge, then, how they must be pinched by a Winter Campaign."—(*Letter from an Officer of the Sixty-fourth Regiment to his friend in London*, "NEW-YORK, October 30, 1776," re-printed in Force's *American Archives*, V., ii., 1293, 1294.)

"We are requested by the Generals of our State to inform you of the "absolute necessity our troops are in for want of Clothing."—(*Charles D. Wilt, Robert Harper, and Lewis Graham to the President of the New York Convention*, "WHITE-PLAINS, October 24, 1776.")

"The Colonel and Major Barber came here, last evening; and the "Regiment is now within a few miles of this place, marching with "cheerfulness; but great part of the men [*are*] barefooted and bare-legged." (*Richard Stockton to Abram Clark*, "SARATOGA, October 28 "1776.")

[14] Vide pages 223, 224, ante.

the term of service of very many of them had nearly expired;[1] and, very largely, that short term was made very much shorter by shameful desertions.[2] There was no harmony of sentiment, no common feeling of patriotism, no sympathy with each other as fellow-countrymen engaged in a common cause, in any portion of the Army. The Eastern troops were stigmatized as, generally, nothing else than a mass of speculating poltroons, for which, very often, there was abundant reason;[3] and they, reciprocated the ill-feeling of those from the Middle and Southern States, by branding them as "Aristocrats" and "Maccaronis"—the former of the two sobriquets in allusion to the distinctions of rank which were maintained among those troops, so different from the practice of the New Englanders; the latter, in contemptuous reference to the Regiments, from the Middle and Southern States, who were uniformed, well-equipped, and properly disciplined[4]—adding fuel to the flame of discord, which, on more than one occasion, required all the good judgment and determination of which the Commander-in-chief was master, to prevent a serious outbreak.[5]

It will be remembered that, on Monday, the twenty-first of October, the Right and Centre of the Royal Army were moved to a position, on the road leading to the White Plains, about two miles to the northward of New Rochelle; and that Lieutenant-general Heister, with the Left of the Army, consisting of one Brigade of British and two Brigades of Hessian troops, moved forward and occupied the position which had been thus abandoned.[6] It will be remembered, also, that, on the same day, Lieutenant-colonel Rogers, with the Corps of Loyalists known as "The Queen's "Rangers," was detached from the main body of the Army, and pushed forward to take possession of Mamaroneck,[7] where, on the following night, he and his command "were roughly handled," by a party of Americans who had been despatched from the White Plains, for that purpose;[8] which led General Howe, on the following day, [*Tuesday, October* 22,] to move the Sixth Brigade of British troops, commanded by Brigadier-general Agnew, to sustain that important post.[9] It will be remembered, also, that, on Sunday, the twentieth of October, the Royal Army was strengthened by the addition of a portion of the Sixteenth and the whole of the Seventeenth Regiments of Light Dragoons, the former commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Harcourt, an Officer of great merit;[10] and that, on Tuesday, the twenty-second of October, it was further strengthened by the arrival, at New Rochelle, of Lieutenant-general Knyphausen, with the Second Division of Hessians and the Regiment of Waldeckers.[11]

Taking counsel of his experience, General Howe ordered Lieutenant-general Heister, with the Left of the Army, to join in the movement; and, on Thursday, the twenty-fourth, and on Friday, the twenty-fifth, of October, the main body of the Royal Army was moved from the positions on which it had rested, for several days, towards Scarsdale.[12] It moved in two

[1] Many of the troops were enlisted to serve only until the first of December; and the terms of service of the greater portion of the remainder would expire on the last day of December, ensuing.—(*General Washington to the President of the Congress*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, AT COLONEL "MORRIS'S HOUSE, 18 September, 1776;" etc.)

[2] *General Washington to the Officers and Soldiers of the Pennsylvania Association*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, NEW-YORK, 8 August, 1776;" *the same to the President of the Congress*, "NEW-YORK, 2 September, 1776;" *General Schuyler to General Gates*, "SARATOGA, October 30, 1776;" etc.

[3] The following is a specimen of a multitude of such testimonials of the speculative propensities of the New England troops, in the Army of the Revolution, and of their too frequent dishonesty in their operations, which are accessible to every one. Every careful student can command many such evidences; but this, written by the Commissary-general of Provisions of the Continental Army, himself a Connecticut-man, to his father, Jonathan Trumbull, who was, then, the Governor of Connecticut, will be sufficient, for the purposes under consideration.

"NORTH-CASTLE, 4th December, 1776.

"HONOURED SIR:

"Enclosed I send you Returns of some of the Regiments of Con-"necticut Militia under command of Major General Wooster, such as "I can get; though I have called and called again and again for them, "I believe there are but one of them really true, that is Major Brins-"made's, who seems to be the honestest man. The fact is, they can't "make their Weekly and Provision Returns agree; for this reason, "they have made a number of Brevet Officers. They doubt whether "these Officers will be allowed extra rations: to avoid that, they re-"turn so many more men as to cover the extra rations of those Offi-"cers. You'll see by adverting to the Returns, that some Companies "have more Officers than Privates, at best; but not content with that, "and instead of sending home the Officers who have very few men, "almost none, and turning over those few men into other Companies, "they add Brevet Officers, not only to pick the pockets of the pub-"lick, here, but, also, those Brevet Officers are to be dismissed from "the Militia Rolls, at home; and, in a few times more being called "forth, there will be no Militia left in the State.

"These things I thought it my duty to report to you, as the char-"acter of the State is at stake; and how the Officers who have done "these things will get along, here, I don't know, as we now make "Weekly Ration Returns as well as Returns of the Army, by which "they must be discovered. The consequence is bad to the Officers; how-"ever, they must take their fate.

"I am sorry to have the character of the State suffer by such conduct "of its Officers.

* * * * * * * * *

"I am, honoured Sir, your dutiful Son,

"JOS. TRUMBULL.

"Governour TRUMBULL."

We have seen no evidence that either General Wooster or Commissary-general Trumbull took any steps for either the arrest of the offenders or a suppression of the offences.

[4] Reed's *Life of Joseph Reed*, i., 239–242; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 304, 317, 324, 331, 333–335; Marshall's *Life of George Washington*, ii., 473, 474; etc.

[5] *General Orders*, "NEW-YORK August 1, 1776;" Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 304; etc.

[6] Vide page 249, ante.

See, also, *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30th "November, 1776;" [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 205; etc.

[7] Vide page 249, ante.

[8] Vide pages 252, 253, ante.

[9] Vide page 253, ante.

[10] Vide page 249, ante.

[11] Vide page 253, ante.

[12] Information was received, at the White Plains, as early as two o'clock on Thursday afternoon, [*October* 24,] that the Royal Army had struck its tents, on its position near New Rochelle, "early this morning;" and that it was, then, "advancing from that to this place, along the common "road."—(*General George Clinton to John McKesson, Secretary to the New-York Convention*, "WHITE-PLAINS, October 24, 2 P. M., 1776.")

columns, with great caution ;[1] and, on the twenty-fifth of October, when the heads of the columns reached Scarsdale, after their two days' march, they were halted; and the Army encamped in a line which was parallel with the Bronx-river and with the line of march, on the opposite side of that little stream, on which General Lee, with his heavily laden column, was transporting the Baggage and Stores of the American Army, to the White Plains[2]—in many places, the two were not more than a mile distant from each other ; and, in one place, if not in others, the toiling Americans were directly within sight of their powerful enemy.

The object of General Howe, in halting at Scarsdale, with his Right within four miles of the American lines, at the White Plains, and of remaining encamped at that place, without making a movement, of any kind, during nearly three days, was not understood by those, in Europe, who were inclined to condemn his conduct, as Commander-in-chief of the Army, before the Parliament and the country ; and the evidently studied silence, on that subject, which the General maintained, was not calculated to quiet, nor even to lessen, the fault-findings of those who were his political and personal enemies. But, whatever may have been thought and said of his failure to cross the Bronx and to attack the heavily laden column commanded by General Lee, the maxims of military science, at that time, forbade a movement towards the White Plains, then, leaving his left flank and his rear exposed to the three Divisions commanded, respectively, by Generals Lee, Spencer, and Lincoln.[3] There was a possibility that the separation of those three Divisions from the main body of the Army might have enabled him to attack the Americans, *en detail*, and to overcome them more completely than if they had been in one body ; but he had excellent evidence of the vigilance and the enterprise of those who were nearest to him ; and his ruling principle, to avoid an unnecessary exposure of his men evidently led him to the safe conclusion that, in such a series of undertakings on the divided forces of the Americans, if more than one attack on them were to be made, the last one of the series should be that on that portion of the American Army which, then, occupied the entrenched Camp, at the White Plains, a conclusion in which he would have been entirely sustained by every intelligent soldier, of that period, in Europe or in America.

Notwithstanding the silence of General Howe, concerning his purpose in moving his command to Scarsdale, instead of to the White Plains, there is reason for supposing that it was done for the purpose of cutting off the column commanded by General Lee, before it could join the main body ; that preparations for the movement, on the following morning, were made on the afternoon and evening of the day of the arrival of the Royal Army, at Scarsdale; and that it was prevented by the withdrawal of the column which it was intended to attack, from its designated route, into a road which was further westward, so that, when the time came for the attack, General Lee, by a forced march, during the night, was several miles nearer to the main body of the Army, and entirely beyond the reach of General Howe.[4]

In his letter to the President of the Congress, dated "HEAD-QUARTERS, "WHITE-PLAINS, 25 October, 1776," Colonel Robert H. Harrison, General Washington's Secretary, stated that "about two o'clock this afternoon, "intelligence was brought to Head-quarters, that three or four detach- "ments of the enemy were on their march, and had advanced within "about four miles of this place. It has been fully confirmed, since, by "a variety of persons, who have been out to reconnoitre."

If General Clinton did not make a mistake in the date of his letter, of which we have no evidence, the movement of the Royal Army was commenced on Thursday, [*October* 24 ;] and the letter of Colonel Harrison clearly indicated that it had already reached Scarsdale, within four miles of the Plains, before the movement was known at Head-quarters, at two o'clock in the afternoon of the following day, [*Friday, October* 25.]

The failure of General Washington to obtain information of the movements of the King's troops, of which so many instances have been seen, was nowhere more evident than in the instance now under consideration– one of the reasonable results of the outrages to which the inhabitants had been subjected, by both the Congresses and the Committees, on the one hand, and by the unrestrained thieves, among both the Officers and the Privates of the Army whom General Washington commanded, on the other.

[1] "General Howe thought it necessary to proceed with great circum- "spection. The progress was slow ; the march of the Army, close ; the "encampments, compact and well-guarded with artillery ; and the most "soldier-like caution used, in every respect."—(*Annual Register for* 1776 : History of Europe, 177.)

"The British continued moving up, but with great caution, their rear "scarcely advancing, when they came to encamp again, much further "than where the advance had moved from."—(*Memoirs of Major-general Heath*, 76.)

"The caution of the English General was increased by the evidences "of enterprise in his adversary. His object seems to have been to avoid "skirmishing, and to bring on a general action, if that could be effected "under favorable circumstances ; if not, he knew well the approaching "dissolution of the American Army, and calculated, not without reason, "to derive from that event nearly all the advantages of a victory. He "proceeded, therefore, slowly. His marches were in close order ; his "encampments compact, and well guarded with artillery ; and the ut- "most circumspection was used, not to expose any part which might be "vulnerable."—(Marshall's *Life of George Washington*, ii., 501.)

[2] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November, "1776 ;" Sauthier's *Plan of the Operations*, etc.; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 340 ; etc.

[3] Other instances of that peculiar caution were seen, at the White Plains, three days after the instance now under notice, when the main body of the Army was halted, until the Americans had been driven from Chatterton's-hill, and, most disastrously to the Americans, in the following year, when the fruits of the victory, at Germantown, were lost by the halt of the main body, in order to dislodge a handful of the Royal Army who had occupied and who held the Chew mansion.

[4] In a letter which was written by an Officer of the Royal Army, dated on the tenth of November, and printed in *The Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser*, No. 1209, LONDON : From Saturday, December 21, to Tuesday, December 24, 1776, will be found our authority for what we have said of the purposes of General Howe, of his preparations for carrying out those purposes, and of the cause of his disappointment ; and a reference to the letter of Colonel Glover, with which our readers are already familiar, ("MILE-SQUARE, October 22, 1776,") there is an ample confirmation of each of the statements—the Colonel erroneously stated that the Royal Army was moved from New Rochelle, on Sunday, the twenty-seventh of October, instead of on Friday, the twenty-fifth of that month, and so continued to be two days too late, in each of his subsequent statements ; but, in all else, his statements of the movement of General Howe ; of the discovery, by General Lee, of the purpose to cut him off from the main body of the Army ; of the consequent *detour* of the column, into the Dobbs's-ferry road ; of its forced night-march ; and of

At length, all the necessary preparations having been completed, early in the morning of Monday, the twenty-eighth of October, the Royal Army struck its tents, in the encampment, at Scarsdale, which it had occupied since the preceding Friday; and, in two columns, right in front, it moved towards the White Plains.[1] The right column, which was composed mostly of British troops, was commanded by Lieutenant-general Sir Henry Clinton;[2] the left column, with whom was General Howe,[3] was composed mostly of German troops, and was commanded by Lieutenant-general Heister.[4]

The American pickets were driven in, by the Light Infantry, of the right column, and by the Chasseurs, of the left column;[5] and when the moving columns reached Hart's-corners—now known by the name of Hartsdale—they encountered a body of New England troops, composed of a "part of General Wadsworth's "Brigade, with some other Regiments,"[6] the whole under the command of Major-general Spencer,[7] and numbering not far from twenty-six hundred Officers and effective men,[8] whom General Washington had sent out, to hold the enemy in check. These were posted, advantageously, "on the old York road," it is said;[9] and it is also said that when the left column of the Royal Army "had advanced within musket-shot "of our troops, a full discharge of musketry warned "them of their danger. At first, they," [*the Hessians*,] "fell back; but, rallying again, immediately, and the" [*right*] "column of British troops having advanced "upon our" [*General Spencer's*] "left, it became nec-"essary" [*for him*] "to retire;"[10] taking the opportunity, "occasionally," to form behind the stone walls, on the line of his retreat, and to annoy those who pursued him[11]—it has been said, however, that the flight of that large detachment was hastened by the appearance, on its front, of the British Light Dragoons;[12] and that the retreat was not such an one as reflected credit on its discipline, as soldiers, or on its bravery, as men.[13] A large portion, if not the whole, of the detachment, terror-stricken and without any appearance of order, sought "the ford"—a shallow portion of the Bronx-river, apparently a short distance below the present railroad-bridge, between Hartsdale and the White Plains—closely pursued by Colonel Rall, with the Brigade, composed of the Regiments of Lossberg, Knyphausen, and Rall, whom he commanded;[14] and, having passed the little stream, the cowardly fugitives found refuge in the neighboring

its arrival at the White Plains, at ten o'clock on the following morning, were in entire harmony with what was stated by the British Officer, through *The Middlesex Journal*.

[1] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November, "1776;" [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 207; Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 212; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 340; Marshall's *Life of George Washington*, ii., 503; etc.

[2] Sauthier's *Plan of the Operations*, etc.; Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 212; etc.

[3] Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 212; Marshall's *Life of George Washington*, ii., 503; etc.

[4] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November, "1776;" Sauthier's *Plan of the Operations*, etc.; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 340; etc.

Very singularly, Marshall, (*Life of George Washington*, ii., 503,) stated that the left column was commanded by Lieutenant-general Knyphausen, who had not left the Second Division of German troops, whom he commanded, which was, then, at New Rochelle.

[5] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November, "1776;" [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 207; Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 212; Marshall's *Life of George Washington*, ii., 503; etc.

[6] *Extract of a letter from a Gentleman in the Army, dated* "CAMP NEAR "THE MILLS, ABOUT THREE MILES NORTH OF WHITE-PLAINS, November "1, 1776," re-printed in Force's *American Archives*, "V. iii., 473, 474.

We have learned from the *Returns of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing*, on that day, of Regiments who are known to have taken no part whatever in the subsequent action on Chatterton's-hill, of what Regiments that force who met the King's troops, near Hart's-corners, was composed: it contained the Regiments commanded by Colonels Silliman, Selden, Sage, and Douglass—the latter commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Arnold—all of them of the Brigade commanded by General Wadsworth; the Regiment commanded by Colonel Chester, of the Brigade commanded by Colonel Sargent; the Regiments commanded by Colonels Baldwin, Douglass, and Lieutenant-colonel Ely, of the Brigade commanded by General Saltonstall; and the Regiments commanded by Colonels Holman and Smith, of the Brigade commanded by General Fellows. All these made *Returns of Casualties* sustained by them, on that occasion: how many other Regiments there were, whose bashfulness forbade the making of any Returns, we have not ascertained.

[7] *Letter from a Gentleman in the Army*, "CAMP NEAR THE MILLS, ABOUT "THREE MILES NORTH OF WHITE-PLAINS, November 1, 1776;" *Memoir of Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge*, prepared by himself, at the request of his children, 13; etc.

[8] We are not insensible of the fact that "a Gentleman in the Army," from whose letter, dated "CAMP NEAR THE MILLS, ABOUT THREE MILES "NORTH OF WHITE-PLAINS, November 1, 1776," we have already made extracts, stated that the command of General Spencer, on the occasion under notice, "consisted, in the whole of five or six hundred men;" but, on the third of November, five days after the engagement, the same Regiments reported an aggregate strength of four thousand, seven hundred, and ninety-six, of whom five hundred and sixty Officers, non-commissioned Officers, and Musicians, and two thousand and seventy-six Privates "fit for duty," were present. (*General Return of the Army in the service of the United States*, November 3, 1776.) We have determined, therefore, that the effective strength of the Regiments, on the occasion under notice, before they were met by the enemy, was not far from twenty-six hundred men, as we have said in the text.

Lieutenant-colonel Tench Tilghman, one of the Aides of General Washington, in a letter to his father, dated "WHITE-PLAINS, 31st Octo-"ber, 1776," said, "On Monday morning we rec[d] Information that the "Enemy were in Motion and in March towards our Lines, all our Men "were immediately at their Alarm Posts and about 2000 detached to give "the Enemy as much annoyance as possible on their approach;" and Brigade-major Tallmadge, of the Brigade commanded by General Wadsworth, himself present and a participant in the affair, stated, (*Memoir of Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge, prepared by himself*, 13,) that it was "a detachment of 2000 or 3000 men;" both of which statements, from those who were entirely competent to make them with accuracy, go far to confirm what we have more definitely stated in the text.

[9] *Memoir of Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge*, prepared by himself, 13.

[10] *The same*, 13, 14.

[11] *The same*, 14.

[12] Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 340, 341, 343.

[13] Brigade-major Tallmadge's description of the retreat, leaves no room for questioning the accuracy of our statement, in the text.

[14] It was that Brigade, commanded by the same Colonel, Rall, who was captured at Trenton, in the following December; and we have ascertained the Regiments of whom it was composed, from the despatch of General Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated "NEW-YORK, December "29, 1776," announcing that disaster to the Royal Army, to the Home Government.

In the despatch of General Washington to the Congress, dated "HEAD-"QUARTERS, NEWTOWN, 27th December, 1776," the Regiment of Lossberg is called the Regiment of Landspatch. We have preferred to follow General Howe, as our authority, in this instance.

hills of Greenburgh,[1] and were reported among the "Missing," which, in that Army, too often, afforded a resting-place for the name and the fame of a coward and poltroon.[2] In the instances now under consideration, many of these bashful New Englanders purged themselves of some portion of the reproach produced by their cowardice, by returning, as they found opportunities, in small parties,to the Camp, at the White Plains,[3] exemplifying the truth of the old couplet:

"He who fights and runs away,
"Will live to fight, another day;"

while their Hessian pursuers, probably checked in their further progress by their discovery of the troops on Chatterton's-hill, of whom the reader will learn more, hereafter, occupied a position on the high ground, westward from the Harlem Railroad, between Chatterton's-hill and the present railroad-station, at Hartsdale.[4]

An amusing incident connected with that disgraceful retreat of General Spencer's command, was related by Major Benjamin Tallmadge, then Brigade-major of General Wadsworth's Brigade and, himself, one of the fugitives—subsequently better known in connection with the detention of Major André. After having described the retreat of the detachment of Americans and the pursuit by the Brigade of Hessians, the rush of the former for the ford and the anxiety of the fugitives to pass the river, he said, "They," [*the Americans,*] "immediately entered the river and ascended "the hill; while I, being in the rear and mounted on "horseback, endeavored to hasten the last of our "troops, the Hessians being then within musket-"shot. When I reached the bank of the river, and "was about to enter it, our Chaplain, the Rev. Dr. "Trumbull, sprang up, behind me, on my horse, with "such force as to carry me, with my accoutrements, "together with himself, headlong into the river. This "so disconcerted me, that, by the time I reached the "opposite bank of the river, the Hessian troops were "about to enter it, and considered me their prisoner," in which, however, they reckoned without their host, since he watched for an opportunity, and escaped, by way of what have been more recently known as "the Mill-lane" and the road to Dobbs's-ferry, conveying to General Washington, at Head-quarters, information of the situation of the troops, on the opposite bank of the river.[5]

On the left of the line of march of the Royal Army and on the western bank of the Bronx-river, which flowed through a marshy valley of some extent, at its base, arose the bold and rocky height which was known, then, and is still known, as "Chatterton's-hill." It is one of the range of high grounds, on the western side of the Bronx, on which the line of entrenched encampments had been thrown up by detachments from the American Army, the latter then occupying the Heights of Harlem, for the purpose of preventing the enemy from crossing the Bronx and closing the line of communication between the Army and the country—the same line of defensive works, indeed, which subsequently covered the retreat of the Army, from Harlem Heights to the White Plains—and it extended, northwardly, to within a short distance from the American lines—the latter on the opposite side of the little stream and of the marshy intervale—and really, to some extent, it commanded the right and centre of them.[6] It had been occupied, and an earthwork of small pretensions had been thrown up, on it, probably by the Regiment of Massachusetts Militia, commanded by Colonel John Brooks, then of General Lincoln's Division and subsequently Governor of Massachusetts;[7] and, on the morning of Monday, the

[1] Indeed, they were among those hills as soon as they had passed the Bronx, at the ford; and, there, they found safety, for a few days, as we shall see, hereafter.

Irving facetiously remarked, (*Life of George Washington*, ii., 393,) they "scattered themselves among the hills, but afterwards returned to "Head-quarters."

[2] It is amusing to see Connecticut-men claim that *these* poltroons were those who fought the Battle and defended Chatterton's hill, without alluding to any other troops, unless without giving them credit for having done anything worthy of notice. (*Letter from a Gentleman in the Army*, "CAMP NEAR THE MILLS, ABOUT THREE MILES NORTH FROM THE "WHITE PLAINS, November 1, 1776;" Hinman's *Historical Collection, of the part taken by Connecticut, during the War of the Revolution*, 91; etc.

[3] Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 343; etc.

[4] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November, "1776;" Sauthier's *Plan of the Operations*, etc.; [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 208; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 340; etc.

[5] *Memoir of Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge*, prepared by himself, 14.

[6] Our personal knowledge of the ground is our authority for this description of it.

Stedman, in his *History of the American War*, (i., 214,) attempted to qualify that fact—"it rose so gradually from the Bronx," he said, "that "its crest was not within random cannon-shot, as was proved by many "of our Battalions lying upon it, on their arms, the whole evening after "the action;"—but, nevertheless, those who know the entire ground, composing Chatterton's-hill and its dependencies, will fully sustain us, in what we have said, in the text, on that subject.

[7] Because a portion of General Lincoln's Division, with all of that of General Spencer, had been detached from the main body of the Army, and sent forward, with orders to occupy all the high grounds, between Valentine's-hill and the White Plains, and to strengthen them with entrenchments; and because the Regiment commanded by Colonel Brooks formed a portion of one of the Divisions who were thus detailed to occupy and to strengthen those high grounds; and because we have not found the slightest allusion to the Regiment commanded by Colonel Brooks, in any of the descriptions of the movements of troops, at any time previous to the attack on Chatterton's-hill, by the Royal troops; and because we cannot find any Order, from Head-quarters, for any other occupation of Chatterton's-hill, until the morning of the twenty-eighth of October, when Colonel Haslet, with his well-tried command, was ordered by General Washington "to take possession of the hill beyond our lines "and the command of the Militia Regiment there posted," (*Colonel Haslet to General Rodney*, "November 12, 1776,") when a Regiment of Militia, whose subsequent conduct clearly identified it as that commanded by Colonel Brooks, was found in possession of the ground—all these reasons lead us to the conclusion stated in the text.

We are not insensible that words employed by Colonel Harrison, in his letter to the President of the Congress, dated "WHITE-PLAINS, 29 "October, 1776," have been construed to mean that troops had been sent down, on the morning of the twenty-eighth of October, "with a view of "throwing up some lines," on Chatterton's-hill; and that the biographer of Colonel Rufus Putnam, (*Memoir of Colonel Rufus Putnam*, in Hildreth's *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of the Early Settlers of Ohio*,

twenty-eighth of October, General Washington ordered Colonel Haslet, with his Regiment of Delaware troops, and General McDougal, with his Brigade, the latter composed of the Regiment of New York troops whom he had formerly commanded, the Regiment of the same Line who was commanded by Colonel Ritzema, the Regiment of Maryland troops whom Colonel Smallwood commanded, and the Regiment of Connecticut troops commanded by Colonel Charles Webb, to occupy the same position.[1]

It appears that Colonel Haslet's command was the first of the reinforcements to reach the hill;[2] and it is very probable that it was either that Regiment or that commanded by Colonel Brooks or both, together, on the summit of the high ground, on his right, which led Colonel Rall to check his Hessian Regiments, in their pursuit of the fugitive New Englanders, and to occupy the position on the high ground, nearer to Hartsdale, to which reference has been made, whence he could move, if such a movement should become expedient, on the right flank and rear of whatever force of the Americans should occupy Chatterton's-hill—a movement, by the way, since it was evidently made by Colonel Rall, on his own impulse, which reflected great credit on the military abilities of that subsequently unfortunate Officer.[3]

While Colonel Rall was thus engaged, on the left of the enemy's line of march, the two columns continued their movements toward the American lines, "as if they meant to attack us, there," as General Washington's Secretary subsequently described the movement[4]—indeed, General Howe subsequently stated that "an assault upon the enemy's "right, which was opposed to the Hessian troops, "was intended."[5] The Army was formed, evidently, for a general movement on the right and center of the American lines, with its right resting on the road which led from the White Plains to Mamaroneck, about a mile from the center of the former, and its Left on the Bronx-river, about the same distance from the extreme right of the American entrenchments;[6] and what appeared to have been the decisive hour in which the future of America was to be determined, by the arbitrament of arms, had, at length, been reached. But the bright designs of God, concerning America, were widely different from those of men; the future of those thirteen new-born members of the community of nations, in His purposes, was not dependent on the result of an assault on the improvised lines of defense, on the high grounds, in the vicinity of the White Plains; and the powerful arm which was already uplifted and ready to strike a crushing blow on that which God had predestinated for other ends, was restrained by an unseen power, a power before which the King of Great Britain and all his Armies were as nothing, by the same power which had restrained the same arm, uplifted, at Gravesend and before Brooklyn, at Kip's-bay and on Throgg's-neck—the handful of American troops, on the summit of Chatterton's-hill, a phantom which seemed to augur ill for the left flank and rear of the Royal Army, was seen by General Howe; the further advance of the main body, toward the American lines, was stayed: the uplifted arm fell, without having struck the blow which was intended; the right and center of the American line remained, unharmed; and another opportunity for the determination of the great dispute, between Great Britain and America, was lost, never to be be regained.

64,) has stated that, on that morning, that Engineer had been ordered to that hill, to superintend the construction of some more important entrenchments. But there is nothing inconsistent with either of these statements, if not distorted, in what we have written concerning the probable pre-occupation of Chatterton's-hill, by the Regiment of Massachusetts Militia commanded by Colonel John Brooks.

It is very evident that whatever defensive works there may have been on the hill, at the time of the engagement, if there were any, they afforded no shelter for the men.—(*Lieutenant-colonel Tilghman to William Duer*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, WHITE-PLAINS, October 29, 1776.")

See, also, *Lieutenant colonel Tilghman to his father*, "WHITE-PLAINS, 31 "October, 1776."

[1] *Colonel Haslet to General Cæsar Rodney*, "November 12, 1776;" *Returns of the Brigade commanded by General McDougal*, November 3, 1776; etc.

[2] *Colonel Haslet to General Cæsar Rodney*, "November 12, 1776."

As the Delaware Regiment commanded by Colonel Haslet, was of the Brigade commanded by General Lord Stirling, and was ordered by General Washington "to take possession of the hill and the command of "the Militia Regiment there posted; which was done," of which there has been no question; and since the Brigade which was commanded by General McDougal subsequently moved up the same hill, which no one has ever pretended to deny, it is not evident why Colonel Carrington, (*Battles of the American Revolution*, 240,) without the slightest authority to sustain him, made a special attempt to belittle Colonel Haslet, individually, and as an Officer—he could not belittle his doings nor those of his command, on that field—because, in his Report of the action, to General Rodney—the only Report from an actual participant in the affair, which has come down to us—he described, in detail, his own and his gallant Regiment's portions of the doings on that historically important occasion.

[3] "Colonel Rall . . . took possession of it, with great alacrity, to "the approbation of Lieutenant-general Heister, who was acquainted with "this movement by Sir William Erskine," the Quartermaster-general of the British Army.—(*General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, "30 November, 1776.")

It will be seen, from that paragraph, that the action of Colonel Rall, in thus occupying a position on the right flank of the Americans who were occupying Chatterton's-hill, received the favorable notices of both the British and the German Generals, commanding: we shall see, hereafter, how important that action was, in the subsequent engagement.

[4] *Colonel Robert H. Harrison to the President of the Congress*, "WHITE-"PLAINS, 29 October, 1776."

[5] *Speech of General Howe before a Committee of the House of Commons*, April 29, 1779—Almon's *Parliamentary Register*, Fifth Session, Fourteenth Parliament, xii., 324; *Narrative of Lieutenant-general Sir William Howe*, 6.

[6] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30th Novem-"ber, 1776;" Sauthier's *Plan of the Operations*, etc.; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 340; etc.

Stedman stated, (*History of the American War*, i., 214,) that "the "Right wing of the British did not extend beyond the center of the "American Army," which is in harmony with what General Howe had stated concerning the distance of his Right from the American lines—he referred to the center, without having made the slightest allusion to the left, where General Heath was posted. Stedman continued: "That "part of the enemy's position," [*the American center*,] "did not seem to "be considered: all the attention of the British Commander being fixed "on another part of the field"—as we have already seen, "an assault "upon the American right, which was opposed to the Hessian troops, "was intended;" and the British troops were to have been spared, for other services, elsewhere.

The force, on the summit of Chatterton's-hill, which had thus, insensibly, arrested the progress of the Royal Army, in its movement against the Right and Center of the American lines, was, of course, that of whom we have already made mention—the Regiments commanded, respectively, by Colonels Brooks and Haslet, the Brigade commanded by General McDougal not having reached the hill; and against that small force, the Hessian Artillery, from the Plain, on the opposite side of the Bronx, not far from the present railroad-station, at the White Plains, opened a vigorous fire,[1] with no other effect, however, than the wounding of one of the Militia, which so greatly alarmed his comrades that the entire Regiment "broke, and fled, and were not rallied, without much "difficulty."[2] Soon after the cannonade was commenced, General McDougal and his command reached the hill-top; and the command of the entire force devolved on and was assumed by that very inexperienced Officer. After several changes, in the positions of the several Regiments, the line was formed, with the Regiment of Massachusetts Militia, commanded by Colonel Brooks, sheltered by a stone wall, and supported by the Regiment of Marylanders commanded by Colonel Smallwood—the latter, the remains of that fine body of "Maccaronies," so called by the New Englanders, whose gallant conduct, at the Battle of Long Island, had won the admiration and sorrow of General Washington, and which has been generally honored in history—on the extreme right, confronting Colonel Rall and his Brigade, who were resting on their arms, on the summit of the adjacent hill, further to the southward. On the left of the Marylanders, was posted the Delaware Regiment, proud of its name of "The Blue Hen's Chickens," whom Colonel Haslet commanded: the remainder of General McDougal's Brigade, composed of the First Regiment of the New York Line, formerly commanded by Colonel McDougal, at that time, by one of its Captains, whose name was not recorded; the Third Regiment of the same Line, commanded by Colonel Rudolphus Ritzema; and the Regiment of the Connecticut Line, commanded by Colonel Charles Webb, occupying the left of the very feeble line[3]—with the exception of the Regiment commanded by Colonel Brooks, no portion of that force was composed of Militia: all, except that Regiment, were Continental troops.[4] The Company of New-York Artillery, with two small field-pieces, commanded by Captain Alexander Hamilton and forming a portion of the Brigade commanded by General McDougal, was, also, present; but history has not recorded the name of the Officer who, then, commanded it.[5]

The cannonade of the little party, on Chatterton's-hill, was continued by the Hessian Artillerists, without cessation, while the General Officers, it is said,[6] assembled in Council, without having dismounted; and it is probable that the noisy demonstration, so very characteristic of Germans, in their use of gunpowder, was continued, with unabated ardor, until the movement of their companions in arms, up the steep and rugged hill-side, of which the reader will learn more, hereafter, obliged the gunners to suspend their operations.[7]

"Upon viewing the situation," in deference to the

[1] *Lieutenant-colonel Tilghman to William Duer*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, "WHITE-PLAINS, October 29, 1776;" *the same to his father*, "WHITE-"PLAINS, 31 October, 1776;" *Colonel Robert H. Harrison to Governor Trumbull*, "WHITE-PLAINS, November 2, 1776;" *Colonel Haslet to General Cæsar Rodney*, "November 12, 1776"; etc.

[2] *Colonel Haslet to General Cæsar Rodney*, "November 12, 1776."

[3] *Colonel Haslet to General Cæsar Rodney*, "November 12, 1776;" Captain Hull's unpublished *Memoir of his Revolutionary Services*, quoted in Campbell's *Revolutionary Services and Civil Life of General William Hull*, by his daughter, 54, 55; etc.

[4] Colonel Carrington, (*Battles of the American Revolution*, 240,) was at some pains to introduce Colonel Morris Graham, of the New York Militia, and to place his name where it would appear among those of Colonels commanding Regiments who had occupied and defended Chatterton's-hill; but no other writer than he has thus honored Colonel Graham, himself unworthy of any such authorial favor; and, besides, Colonel Carrington could have easily ascertained that Colonel Graham's command was a portion of the Brigade commanded by General George Clinton, who was posted on the extreme left of the American line, not far from two miles from Chatterton's-hill.

No one has pretended that the Adjutant-general of the Army was on Chatterton's-hill, on that eventful Monday; but he must have been there, if Colonel Carrington is correct, since it was he who accused Colonel Graham of cowardice, on which Colonel Carrington has based his favor to the bashful New-Yorker.

[5] It is a notable fact that, notwithstanding all which has been written, in these latter days, of the great services of that Company, of which contemporary writers were entirely silent, the name of the Officer who was in actual command, on Chatterton's-hill, was not mentioned by any one, of that period, who wrote concerning the Battle.

There is a tradition that, a short time before the date under consideration, Captain Hamilton was in the City of New-York, then in possession of the King's Army; and there is, certainly, written evidence, over his own signature, that he was in the same City, on the sixth of November, eight days after the Battle: it is possible, therefore, that, because the command was not in the official commander, on the occasion under consideration, the name of the actual commander was not regarded as worthy of being recorded.

[6] "I saw their General Officers, on horseback, assemble in Council." —(*Colonel Haslet to General Cæsar Rodney*, "November 12, 1776.")

[7] There is, evidently, considerable exaggeration in what was written of that cannonade, by "a Gentleman in the Army," in his letter, already resorted to, dated "CAMP NEAR THE MILLS, ABOUT THREE MILES NORTH "OF THE WHITE PLAINS, November 1, 1776;" but we make room for it. "The scene was grand and solemn; all the adjacent hills smoked, as "though on fire, and bellowed and trembled with a perpetual cannonade "and fire of field-pieces, howitz, and mortars. The air groaned "with streams of cannon and musket-shot; the air and hills smoked and "echoed, terribly, with the bursting of shells; the fences and walls were "knocked down, and torn to pieces; and men's legs, arms, and bodies "mingled with cannon and grape-shot, all round us. I was in the ac-"tion, and under as good advantages as any one man, to observe all that "passed, and write these particulars of the action from my own observa-"tion."

A very near connection, by marriage, of our own family, then living where what was, lately, Hall's Tavern, at Hall's-corners, now known as Elmsford, on the road leading from the White Plains to Tarrytown, told us, many years ago, that he heard that severe cannonade, and saw the smoke occasioned by it, and very clearly remembered it; and, as may be reasonably supposed, under such circumstances, he regarded it as something more than ordinarily terrible.

What we have said concerning the extent of time thus occupied by the Hessian Artillerists, in their cannonade of the Americans, was authorized by Colonel Haslet, in his letter to General Rodney, already referred to; by Campbell's *Revolutionary Services and Civil Life of General William Hull*, 54; etc.

standard military maxim, of that period, which required the immediate removal of everything which might, possibly, jeopardize a flank or the rear of a column, no matter how insignificant it might otherwise be; and, undoubtedly, with the concurrence of the impromptu Council, of which mention has been made, General Howe determined to dislodge the Americans who had occupied Chatterton's-hill, before he proceeded further, in his movement against the main body of the American Army, then within its line of entrenchments, and awaiting his evidently intended assault. With that purpose in view, the main body of the Royal Army was ordered to rest on its arms, on the Plain, within a mile, and in open sight, from the American lines; orders were issued for a Battalion of Hessians to pass over the Bronx-river,[1] supported by the Second Brigade of British troops, composed of the Fifth, Twenty-eighth, Thirty-fifth, and Forty-ninth Regiments of Foot, commanded by Brigadier-general Leslie; and by the Brigade of Hessians, composed of Linsing's, Mingerode's, Lengereck's, and Kochler's Regiments of Grenadiers and his own Regiment of Chasseurs, commanded by Colonel Donop—the last mentioned Brigade to be taken from the right of the Army, where it had been posted —for the purpose of assaulting the position on Chatterton's-hill, in front; and Colonel Rall was ordered to move the Brigade which he commanded, on a charge, on the right of the Americans, simultaneously with the movement of the Hessian forlorn-hope and its supporting parties, on their front.[2]

The appearance of the Royal Army, as the main body was thus halted, with detachments moving towards the Bronx, for the proposed assault on Chatterton's-hill, was thus described by an eye-witness, himself an Officer among the Americans who were, then, awaiting the assault on their position: "Its appearance was truly magnificent. A bright autumnal "sun shed its full lustre on their polished arms; and "the rich array of dress and military equipage gave an "imposing grandeur to the scene, as they advanced, in "all the pomp and circumstances of War, to give us "battle;"[3] and, with the main bodies of the two armies, each resting on its arms, anxious spectators of the scene,[4] the Battalion of Hessians which had been designated for the forlorn-hope, in the proposed assault, and the British Regiments who had been detached for its support, moved, steadily, toward the Bronx, in front of the hill, on their mission of death.

It is probable that the little river, where the assaulting party attempted to pass it, was deeper than elsewhere, above or below that place, as it has been, during the entire period of our personal knowledge of the locality; and the Hessian forlorn-hope, consequently, found "some difficulty in passing" the stream;[5] but it struggled successfully, and evidently reached the opposite bank without having sustained any loss, the Twenty-eighth and Thirty-fifth Regiments of British Foot, followed by the Fifth and Forty-ninth Regiments of the same arm of the service, and, subsequently, by the Brigade of Hessians commanded by Colonel Donop,[6] finding "a place most practica-"ble"—probably "the ford," where the fugitive New Englanders and their Hessian pursuers had passed the river, earlier in the morning, was the more practicable place referred to[7]—hastening forward, in the

[1] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "New-York, 30 November, "1776."

General Howe did not state which particular Battalion of Hessians was thus employed; and we have not found, in any of the contemporary authorities, anything which throws any light on the subject.

Bancroft, who has enjoyed unusual opportunities for acquiring information on the subject of the German mercenaries, has said, (*History of the United States*, original edition, ix., 181; centenary edition, v., 444,) that that forlorn-hope was composed of the Lossberg Battalion; but if, as he has conceded on another page, that Battalion was a portion of the Brigade commanded by Colonel Rall, it was, already on the western bank of the Bronx, and in position; and it is not to be supposed that it would have been withdrawn from that important position to the eastern bank of the river, by way of the ford, and then moved to the western bank, again, at a place where the depth of water made the passage much more difficult, as a forlorn-hope; while it could have acted as such a forlorn-hope, had that been desired, by simply marching up the Mill-lane, and climbing up the side of the hill, without the unnecessary labor and risk of passing and re-passing the river.

That Battalion of Hessians who formed the forlorn-hope continues to be, to us, a subject on which we need and seek for further information, especially since it was definitely and very reasonably stated in *The Annual Register for* 1776, (History of Europe, *178,) that it was one of the Battalions of the Brigade commanded by Colonel Donop; in which *The History of the War in America*, Edit. Dublin, 1779, (i., 195), concurred, both of which statements are in entire harmony with our own conclusions, on that subject, at the present time.

[2] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "New-York, 30 November, "1776."

The Regiments of which the Second Brigade was composed were named in General Howe's despatch to Lord Germaine, above mentioned, and in the *Return of the Killed, Wounded, etc.*, of the Brigade, in the action: those of which the Brigade commanded by Colonel Donop was composed may be seen in the same *Return*, as well as in the *Report of the distribution of the Army*, made by General Howe.

[3] Captain William Hull, quoted in *The Revolutionary Services and Civil Life of General William Hull*, by his daughter, 54.

Concerning the same subject, General Heath, who was on the opposite extremity of the line of the main body, wrote, (*Memoirs*, 78,) "The sun "shone bright; their arms glittered; and, perhaps, troops were never "shown to more advantage, than these now appeared."

[4] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "New-York, 30 November, "1776;" [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 208, 209; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 341; Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 215; etc.

[5] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "New-York, 30 November, "1776."

See, also, *The Annual Register for* 1776, History of Europe, *178; *History of the War in America*, Edit. Dublin: 1779, i., 195, etc.

[6] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "New-York, 30 November, "1776."

See, also, *The Annual Register for* 1776, History of Europe, *178; etc.

It is very probable that it was that accidental separation of the Regiments composing the support of the Hessian forlorn-hope, and the consequent assault on the Americans in three distinct movements, which led Captain Hull, (in Campbell's *Revolutionary Services and Civil Life of General William Hull*, 55,) to suppose the assault had been originally ordered to be made, in that manner.

[7] In what manner the assaulting party crossed the Bronx-river has been made the subject of the speculations of several modern writers, led and, probably, inspired by the unscrupulous John C. Hamilton, (*History of the Republic of the United States*, i., 133,) who said the Hessian forlorn-hope "refused to wade the tangled stream; and a temporary bridge was begun" and, finally, completed,—of which bridge, he related several incidents,

order in which we have named them, for the support of the shivering, half-drowned Germans, who were undoubtedly waiting, on the western bank of the stream, for their co-operation.

When the movement of the assaulting party, toward the ford, was seen from the summit of the hill, Colonel Haslet applied to General McDougal for the two field-pieces, in order that a fire might be opened on the advancing column; but General McDougal spared only one of the two guns; and that was so poorly appointed that the Colonel was obliged, personally, to assist in dragging it along the rear of his Regiment, to the place where he desired to post it. While it was being thus slowly dragged along the rear of the line of Americans, it is said that a shot from the Hessian guns struck its carriage, scattering the shot, etc., and leaving a wad of tow blazing in the middle of the *debris*. With the exception of a single man, who "was prevailed upon to tread out the blaze and col-"lect the shot," "all the Artillery-men fled," leaving Colonel Haslet and the field-piece entirely unsupported; but it appears that some of these later fugitives returned; made a couple of discharges on the enemy; and then retired, "with the field-piece," not to be seen again, until after they were securely quartered, with the main body of the Army, within the lines, on the other side of the river.[1]

The Twenty-eighth and Thirty-fifth Regiments were the first portion of the supporting party who succeeded in crossing the river;[2] and they moved from the ford, along the road which has more recently been known as "The Mill-lane," extending between the base of Chatterton's-hill and the bank of the Bronx, until they had reached a point which was opposite to the right of the American line, on the top of the hill,[3] when they faced to the left and, with the shivering Hessians on their front, they climbed up the steep and rugged hill-side, in good order and with the greatest steadiness,[4] the fire of the Hessian Artillerists, on the opposite side of the river, at least that portion of it which was directed against the American right, having been suspended, in order that they might not be exposed to unnecessary danger.[5]

On that portion of the American line which was exposed to that assault, on its front, as well as to the movement of the Hessian Brigade commanded by Colonel Rall, who had been ordered to charge on its right flank, simultaneously with the movement on its front,

of each of which his father's Company of Artillery and his father were, invariably, the principal subjects.

Such a speculation would require little reflection, in order to show its improbability to any one; but Lossing, (*Field-book of the Revolution*, original edition, ii., 822;) Irving,* (*Life of George Washington*, ii., 392;) and others having followed that leader, and repeated his errors. But General Howe's despatch to Lord George Germaine left no room for doubting, and clearly indicated that the troops forded the stream; Sauthier's *Plan of the Operations*, etc., (the British official Map,) clearly indicated that the Royal troops crossed the river at "The Ford," designated on the Map; *The Plan of the Country from Frog's Point to Croton River*, (General Washington's Map,) did the same, also designating the "Ford;" *The Annual Register for* 1776, (History of Europe, 178,*) clearly understood the river was forded; Stedman, in his *History of the American War*, (i., 214,) said, "A part of our left wing passed the ford, which was "entirely under command of our cannon;" Sergeant Lamb, of the Welsh Fusileers, in his *Journal of Occurrences during the late American War*, (page 126,) said the entire assaulting party, whom he described, in detail, "marched down and crossed the ford;" Doctor Andrews, in his *History of the War*, (ii., 245,) stated the assaulting party "marched down "to the ford, and crossed it;" General Heath, an eye-witness of the movement, stated, in his *Memoirs*, (page 78,) that "a part of the left col-"umn, composed of British and Hessians, forded the river," etc.; Chief-justice Marshall, in his *Life of George Washington*, (ii., 504,) with General Washington's papers before him, clearly knew nothing of any bridge, constructed by the Royal Army; and Doctor Sparks, also with the papers of General Washington before him, in his *Life of George Washington*, (page 196,) after having described all the troops who had been ordered to make the assault, said, "they forded the Bronx, and "formed in good order on the other side;" and we prefer to follow our own convictions, that no bridge was constructed by the Royal Army, on that occasion, especially since those well-considered convictions are so amply sustained by such unquestionable authorities.

With the story of the bridge, other similarly groundless stories for which that phantom bridge had afforded foundations, notwithstanding the effect with which they have been related by their inventor, also vanish as the reader will shortly see.

* Mr. Irving, subsequently, explained to us, personally, how he had fallen into the error; and requested us to pay no respect to the erroneous statements, contained in his work, concerning them.

[1] *Colonel Haslet to General Cæsar Rodney*, "November 12, 1776."

Among the creations of John C. Hamilton's very able but very unscrupulous pen was one, based on the story of the bridge which we have already noticed, concerning the Artillery Company of which his father, Alexander Hamilton, was the Captain, and what he assumed to have been the wonderful services of that Company, on the occasion now under notice.

As we have already stated, (*vide page* 439, *ante*,) there are very grave doubts concerning Captain Hamilton's presence, with the Company, on Chatterton's-hill, on the eventful day of the Battle; and it is of questionable propriety, therefore, to identify him with the shortcomings of his command, so graphically portrayed by Colonel Haslet, in his letter to General Rodney, to which we have referred, in the text—shortcomings which were certainly such as reflected nothing else than disgrace on both the body of the Company and the Officer who was in command, on that occasion, whomsoever he may have been.

Generals Washington, Howe, Cornwallis, Robertson, and Heath, and Captains Harris and Hall, all of whom witnessed the action and described it, and Gordon, Stedman, Marshall, and Sparks, all of them standard historians, whose advantages for acquiring accurate information were in nowise neglected, were uniformly and rigidly silent on the subject of the alleged services of Captain Hamilton's Company of Artillery; while the adverse testimony of Colonel Haslet, which we have stated in the text, supported, in a great measure by that of Captain Hull, the latter concerning the other of the two pieces and those who manned it, on the extreme left of the line, (Campbell's *The Revolutionary Services and Civil Life of General William Hull*, 54,) leaves nothing, concerning that Company, on that occasion, to which the admirers of Alexander Hamilton can refer, with any pleasure, the pretensions of his son, to which we have referred, to the contrary notwithstanding.

[2] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November, "1776;" *The Annual Register for* 1776, History of Europe, 178*; *History of the War in America*, Edit. Dublin: 1779, i., 195; etc.

[3] Sauthier's *Plan of the Operations of the King's Army*, etc.

General Heath, an eye-witness, said, that, after they had "forded the "river," they "marched along, under the cover of the hill, until they "had gained sufficient ground to the left of the Americans, when, by "facing to the left," etc.—(*Memoirs*, 78.)

[4] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November, "1776;" *The Annual Register for* 1776, History of Europe, 178*; etc.

General Heath, who witnessed the movement, said that, "by facing "to the left, their column became a line, parallel with the Americans, "when they briskly ascended the hill. . . . —(*Memoirs*, 78.)

[5] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 78, 79.

were posted, as we have already stated, the Regiment of Massachusetts Militia commanded by Colonel Brooks, sheltered behind a stone wall and supported by the remains of the Maryland Regiment commanded by Colonel Smallwood,[1] and, probably, by the Third Regiment of New Yorkers commanded by Colonel Ritzema;[2] and, against these, the two assaulting parties simultaneously directed their overwhelming power. There was no Artillery to hurl destruction on either of the assailants: since, by that time, the Delaware Regiment, immediately on their left, was confronted by the Fifth and Forty-ninth Regiments, who had also crossed the river and were climbing the hill-side, "zealous to distinguish themselves," there was no support for the hard-pressed "Maccaronis" and their New York comrades: and nothing else than their own resolute wills and their strong arms and their not generally trusty and always ill-supplied muskets were there, to support those less than eleven hundred Officers and Privates in their approaching struggle with two well-disciplined, well-armed, well-commanded British Regiments, besides the Hessian forlorn-hope, on their front, and three equally well-disciplined, well-armed, and well-commanded Hessian Regiments, on their right flank.

It is recorded that the Regiment of Militia, commanded by Colonel Brooks, notwithstanding the shelter afforded by the stone wall, "fled in confusion, "without more than a random, scattering fire;"[3] leaving the Marylanders and New-Yorkers, alone and unsupported; and it also recorded that these last-named Regiments advanced to the brow of the hill, meeting their assailants, and throwing on them, while they were climbing the hill-side, an effective, plunging fire, compelling them to fall back.[4] But the retreat of the Militia, to whom appears to have been assigned the part of holding Colonel Rall in check, having entirely exposed the right flank of the two Regiments to the charge of his Brigade, while the three Regiments of British and Hessian troops who were climbing up the eastern face of the hill, notwithstanding the check which they had sustained, were rallied and renewed their assault on the front of the position, the conflict was too unequal to be long-sustained; and, notwithstanding the stubborn bravery which was necessary to sustain it, with such great odds against the Americans, during the long period of not less than a quarter of an hour,[5] the two brave Regiments were compelled to "give way"[6]—they fell back, fighting as they went, as brave men would be likely to do, under such circumstances.

But the action on Chatterton's-hill was not confined to the simultaneous assaults on the front and right flanks of the Americans who occupied it. Very closely after the Twenty-eighth and Thirty-fifth, the Fifth and Forty-ninth Regiments also forded the Bronx; and moved to the positions which had been assigned to them, respectively; and climbed up the side of the hill;[7] and assaulted the position which was occupied by "The Blue Hen's Chickens"—the Regiment of Delaware troops, commanded by Colonel Haslet—"foemen worthy of their steel." That Regiment numbered very few, if any more, than three hundred fighting Officers and Privates;[8] and yet, single-handed—the two Regiments on its right were already engaged, with assailants on both their front and flank; and the First New York Regiment and the Regiment of Connecticut troops, the latter commanded by Colonel Charles Webb, were also employed in opposing Colonel Donop's Brigade of Hessians, who were "ascending the height, with the greatest alacrity and "in the best of order"—that single regiment bravely sustained the attack, until after the Regiments which had covered its right had given way, when "part of "the first three Companies of the Regiment also re-"treated, in disorder," with considerable loss.[9] The left of the Regiment, however, with the greater number of its Officers, notwithstanding the retreat of the Regiments on its right and that of its own three Companies had exposed its right to the combined assaults of, at least, the Hessian Battalion who had been the forlorn-hope and two of the British Regiments and Colonel Rall's entire Brigade, while two other British Regiments were on its front, fell back only far enough to occupy "a fence, on the top of the hill," a position which it continued to occupy and defend, successfully, until the two Regiments which covered its left had also given way, when, it, also, "retired," the last of the Americans who remained on the hill, and that resolute force, small as it was, who held back the successful assailants, then eager to become pursuers, and covered the retreat of those who, then, remained of the defenders of Chatterton's-hill.[10]

[1] *Colonel Haslet to General Cæsar Rodney*, "November 12, 1776."

[2] We have found no mention of the movement of the Regiment commanded by Colonel Ritzema for the support of the Regiments commanded by Colonel Brooks and Smallwood, on the right of the line; but it is reasonable that support was needed, there; and there is satisfactory evidence that Colonel Ritzema and his command *were really there, during the action:* we shall not stop to enquire just when they went to that very exposed position.

[3] *Colonel Haslet to General Cæsar Rodney*, "November 12, 1776."

[4] *Letter to a Gentleman in Annapolis*, dated "WHITE-PLAINS, October 29, "1776."

[5] "After a smart engagement for about a quarter of an hour, obliged "our men to give way."—(*Colonel Robert H. Harrison to the President of the Congress*, "WHITE-PLAINS, October 29, 1776.")

"After a very smart engagement for fifteen or twenty minutes, they "obliged our men to give way."—(*Colonel Robert H. Harrison to General Schuyler*, "WHITE PLAINS, November 1, 1776.")

"The Militia Regiment fled * * Colonel Smallwood, in a quarter "of an hour afterwards, gave way, also."—(*Colonel Haslet to General Cæsar Rodney*, "November 12, 1776.")

[6] *Colonel Haslet to General Cæsar Rodney*, "November 12, 1776."

[7] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November, "1776;" *The Annual Register for* 1776, History of Europe, 178*; *History of the War in America*, Edit. Dublin: 1779, i., 195; etc.

[8] *Returns of the Strength of the Regiments engaged*, etc. (Vide page 445, post.)

[9] *Colonel Haslet to General Cæsar Rodney*, "November 12, 1776."

[10] *Colonel Haslet to General Cæsar Rodney*, "November 12, 1776."

But the action was, also, not confined to the assaults on nor to the defences of the right and center of the Americans, on the top of that notable hill. The four Regiments composing the Brigade commanded by General Leslie, were soon followed, "with the "greatest alacrity and in the best order," through the river, at the ford, and up the Mill-lane, and up the eastern face of the hill, by the Chasseurs and by three, if not by, four, Regiments of Hessian Grenadiers, composing the Brigade commanded by Colonel Donop.[1] In front of these, on the summit of the hill, were the skeleton First New York Regiment, formerly commanded by General McDougal, but then evidently without Field-officers and commanded by one of its Captains; and the Regiment of Connecticut troops commanded by Colonel Charles Webb, very little stronger in effective men, than the other; and, very probably, one of the two field-pieces which constituted the armament of the Company of New-York Artillery of whom Alexander Hamilton was the official commander—the other of the two pieces, as the reader will remember, was posted on the extreme right of the line, under the command of Colonel Haslet.[2] All these numbered, in the aggregate, not many, if any, more than four hundred fighting Officers and Privates;[3] and, with their only piece of artillery dismounted, evidently before the assailants commenced to ascend the hill,[4] and without any support or defensive works, it is scarcely probable that much was expected from so feeble a body, in the face of so heavy a body of assailants. But the records indicate that all those of the two feeble Regiments who were present on the field, performed their duty satisfactorily to the Commander-in-chief;[5] and, we are told that, when an effort was made by the assailants to turn the left of the line, a detachment from Colonel Webb's Regiment, commanded by Captain William Hull, defeated the attempt, with spirit and promptitude, although he was opposed by more than double the number of his own command.[6]

On every part of the ground, except those portions which had been occupied by the Company of New-York Artillery and the Regiment of Massachusetts Militia, the battle had been resolutely sustained;[7] and the assailants, in more than one instance, had been compelled to fall back;[8] but the opposing forces were so unequal in their strength that a successful occupation of the hill could not have been expected, by any one—indeed, the fact that the entire detachment was not cut off from the main body of the Army, and captured by the enemy, reflects the highest honor on those who occupied the hill, and fills one with wonder and admiration. It is doubtful if any who were not too much disabled to be removed, were taken prisoners; all who were able to move off the hill, moved off, by the left flank, by way of the road which led from the White Plains to Dobbs's ferry[9]—they moved sullenly,[10] "in a great body, neither run-"ning nor observing the best order,"[11] covered by a portion of the Delaware Regiment[12]—and, having crossed the bridge over which the roadway passed the Bronx, the site of that which now affords a passage over the river, near the present railroad-station at the White Plains, they fell in on the rear of General Beall's Maryland Flying Camp, which General Putnam was leading for their support, on the hill;[13] and joined the main body of the Army, within the lines.

After he had gained possession of the hill, the enemy made no attempt whatever to pursue the retreating Americans; but formed and dressed his line,[14] and

[1] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November, "1776." *The Annual Register for* 1776, History of Europe, 178*; *The History of the War in America*, Edit. Dublin: 1779, 195; etc.

It is possible that one of the Regiments of that Brigade had been detailed, to act as the forlorn-hope, in the assault, as we have already stated.

[2] Vide page 441, ante.

[3] *Returns of the Strength of the Regiments engaged*, etc. (Vide page 445, post.)

[4] Captain Hull's unpublished *Memoir*, quoted in Campbell's *Revolutionary Services and Civil Life of General William Hull*, 54.

As the fire of the Hessian Artillerists had been suspended when the assailants had commenced to ascend the hill, it is very evident that, when Colonel Donop, the last to reach the ground, assaulted the left of the American line, there was no artillery on the hill, in front of him, mounted and effective.

[5] General McDougal complained of Colonel Webb; but, in *General Orders*, General Washington stated, "The representation made of Colonel "Webb's Regiment, yesterday, by General McDougal, appearing to be "a mistake, and that they kept the post assigned them, notwithstanding "a severe cannonade, the General takes the first opportunity to make it "known, to prevent any unfavorable impression."—(*General Orders*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, WHITE-PLAINS, October 29, 1776.")

[6] Captain Hull's unpublished *Memoir*, quoted in Campbell's *Revolutionary Services and Civil Life of General William Hull*, 55; *Governor Brooks to the President of the Court Martial for the trial of General Hull*, "BOSTON, February 4, 1814."

[7] "The gaining of this important post took up a considerable time, "which was prolonged by the enemy's still supporting a broken and "scattered engagement, in defence of the adjoining walls and hedges." [*fences?*]—(*The Annual Register for* 1776, History of Europe, *178.)

The History of the War in America, Edit. Dublin, 1779, (i., 195;) Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, (ii., 341;) and others, also, bear testimony to the gallantry of the American troops.

. . "our Troops made as good a Stand as could be expected and "did not quit the Ground, till they came to push their Bayonets."—*Lieutenant-colonel Tilghman to his Father*, "WHITE-PLAINS, 31st October, "1776."

[8] *Letter to a Gentlemen in Annapolis*, dated "WHITE-PLAINS, October 29, "1776," published in *The Pennsylvania Journal*, No. 1771, PHILADELPHIA, Wednesday, November 13, 1776.

[9] Our own knowledge of the ground and its approaches enabled us to make the statement which appears in the text; and, by a reference to *A Plan of the Country from Frog's Point to Croton River*, the reader may see the evidence of the accuracy of that statement.

[10] *Letter from the White Plains*, dated October 28, 1776, at two o'clock, P.M., published in *The Pennsylvania Evening Post*, Vol. II., No. 278, PHILADELPHIA, Thursday, October 31, 1776, and in *The Pennsylvania Journal*, No. 1770, PHILADELPHIA, Wednesday, November 6, 1776.

[11] *Memoirs of Major-general Heath*, 79.

See, also, *William Harrison to the Maryland Council of Safety*, "GEORGE-"TOWN, KENT-COUNTY, 28 November, 1776."

[12] *Colonel Haslet to General Cæsar Rodney*, ' November 12."

[13] *Letter to a Gentleman in Annapolis*, dated "WHITE-PLAINS, October 29 "1776;" published in *The Pennsylvania Journal*, No. 1771, PHILADELPHIA, Wednesday, November 13, 1776.

[14] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 79.

General Howe, in his despatch to Lord George Germaine, dated "NEW-"YORK, 30 November, 1776," stated that, after the engagement, "the "Hessian Grenadiers," [*those who had assaulted the left of the Americans,*] "were ordered forward, upon the heights, within cannon-shot of the "entrenchments, the Bronx, from its winding course, being still between

prepared his dinner, for the purpose of doing which he tore down and burned a barn which belonged to John Hunt, on property, on the western portion of the hill, which, in our younger days, belonged to his two sons, Thomas and Jacob Hunt.[1]

The strength of the Americans, under General Spencer, who were engaged on the Plain; who were alarmed at either the Hessians or the Light Dragoons; and who fled, over the river and far away, among the hills of Greenburgh, was, as we have already stated, not far from twenty-five hundred effective Officers and Privates:[2] that of the Regiments who composed the force on the top of the hill, who defended the position, and who were really the heroes of the day, exclusive of the Company of Artillery, who rendered no effective service, was not far from seventeen hundred effective Officers and Privates.[1] The strength of all the force which was directed against that feeble body of men cannot be definitely ascertained, since the Hessian Artillerists, on the eastern bank of the river, whose fire was, certainly, to some extent, effective, were clearly as much a portion of that antagonistic force as those who crossed the river and assaulted the position or as those who charged on the right flank of the struggling Americans, and assisted in driving them from the hill. Besides those Hessian Artillerists, there were four Regiments of British troops, commanded by General Leslie; the Hessian Regiment, probably from Colonel Donop's command, who occupied the place of danger and honor, as the forlorn-hope; the three Regiments of Hessians, commanded by Colonel Rall; and the four or five Regiments of Hessians,

"them and the enemy's," [*the American's,*] "right flank; the Second "Brigade of British," [*those who had assaulted the fronts of the right and centre of the Americans,*] "formed in the rear of the Hessian Grena-"diers; and the two Brigades of Hessians, on the left of the Second "Brigade, with their left upon the road leading from Tarrytown to the "White Plains"—that is to say, the entire force, on the western bank of the Bronx, was moved northward, until its left was above that old road, still continued, which extends from the bridge, near the railroad-station, westward, over Chatterton's-hill.

[1] Information communicated to us, personally, more than thirty years since, by the two gentlemen named, who, then, were our near neighbors and personal friends.

[2] The *Returns of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing,* in each of the several Regiments who had formed that bashful detachment leave no room for doubt concerning the Regiments of whom it was really composed—indeed, there may have been others whose modesty forbade the making of any such Returns, and who have thereby escaped our notice.

The Regiments of whom we find mention, as we have already stated, were those commanded, respectively, by Colonels Silliman, Selden, Sage, and Douglass (the latter commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Arnold,) all belonging to the Brigade commanded by General Wadsworth; the Regiment commanded by Colonel Chester, of the Brigade commanded by Colonel Sargent; the Regiments commanded, respectively, by Colonels Baldwin, Douglass, and Lieutenant-colonel Ely, of the Brigade commanded by General Saltonstall; and the Regiments commanded, respectively, by Colonels Holman and Smith, of the Brigade commanded by General Fellows—all of them New Englanders and some of them experts in running, as was shown at Kip's-bay, in the preceding September.

The Returns of the strength of each of those several Regiments, on the twenty-first of September, on the fifth of October, and on the third of November,—the last, five days after the action,—were as follows:

September 21.

Regiments.	Com. Officers.	Staff.	Non-com. Off.	Fit for Duty.	Sick, present.	Sick, absent.	On Command.	Furloughed.	Total, Rank and File.
Colonel Silliman's	26	4	47	194	57	81	69	. .	392
Colonel Selden's	30	4	45	271	46	116	52	. .	485
Colonel Sage's	33	4	44	217	54	142	65	. .	487
Colonel Douglass's	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Colonel Chester's	32	4	47	262	104	38	149	1	554
Colonel Baldwin's	25	5	38	225	147	19	77	. .	468
Colonel Douglass's	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Lt.-Col. Ely's	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Colonel Holman's	34	5	46	344	76	102	72	. .	594
Colonel Smith's	35	6	48	336	85	76	46	. .	543
Total	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .

October 5.

Regiments.	Com. Officers.	Staff.	Non-com. Off.	Fit for Duty.	Sick, present.	Sick, absent.	On Command.	Furloughed.	Total, Rank and File.
Colonel Silliman's	24	2	47	152	83	105	49	. .	389
Colonel Selden's	30	4	45	240	73	107	73	. .	476
Colonel Sage's	32	4	45	162	194	155	62	. .	494
Colonel Douglass's	22	3	49	201	62	120	93	. .	476
Colonel Chester's	31	4	45	262	123	23	133	2	543
Colonel Baldwin's	28	5	37	234	122	34	74	. .	464
Colonel Douglass's	24	4	41	144	24	5	17	. .	190
Lieut.-Col. Ely's	30	3	39	219	6	27	9	2	263
Colonel Holman's	34	5	47	286	148	70	85	. .	589
Colonel Smith's	35	5	48	327	90	74	48	. .	539
Total	290	39	443	2227	925	720	643	4	4423

November 3.

Regiments.	Com. Officers.	Staff.	Non-com. Off.	Fit for Duty.	Sick, present.	Sick, absent.	On Command.	Furloughed.	Total, Rank and File.	Total, Offs and men.
Colonel Silliman's	14	2	26	140	18	160	58	. .	376	418
Colonel Selden's	15	2	27	224	42	142	69	. .	477	521
Colonel Sage's	15	2	46	170	72	185	51	. .	478	541
Colonel Douglass's	19	4	37	228	36	128	72	1	465	525
Colonel Chester's	9	4	25	234	107	41	135	3	520	558
Colonel Baldwin's	27	3	44	288	50	32	56	. .	426	500
Colonel Douglass's	21	4	35	56	41	25	22	1	145	205
Lieut.-Col. Ely's	29	3	38	119	53	57	18	. .	247	317
Colonel Holman's	22	4	29	306	102	84	80	. .	572	627
Colonel Smith's	13	5	36	311	51	116	52	. .	530	584
Total	184	33	343	2076	572	970	613	5	4236	4796

It will be seen that five hundred and sixty Officers, Staff, non-commissioned Officers and Musicians, and two thousand and seventy-six Privates, present and fit for duty, survived the hazards of the engagement, and had returned to the Camp, five days after the Battle; and the reader will readily perceive that our estimate of the effective strength of the detachment on the occasion under consideration, is a reasonable one, sustained as it is by the contemporary statement of Lieutenant-colonel Tilghman, one of the Aides of General Washington, (*Letter to his father,* "WHITE-PLAINS, 31st October, 1776;") and by that of Brigade-major Tallmadge, of General Wadsworth's Brigade, himself a participant in the affair on the Plain and in the discreditable retreat, (*Memoir of Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge,* prepared by himself, 13;) for both of which see pages 436, 437, ante.

[1] The Returns of the strength of these several Regiments, on the

commanded by Colonel Donop, each or all of whom could not have contained less than six hundred Officers and Privates, making an aggregate of about seven thousand, five hundred effective men.[1]

The loss sustained by the Americans was not as great as was, at first, supposed[2]—the return to the Camp of the greater number of the fugitive New Englanders reduced the supposed losses from "between "four or five hundred in killed, wounded, and miss-"ing," which was the first estimate, to twenty-two killed, twenty-four wounded, and one missing, in the detachment commanded by General Spencer;[3] and, exclusive of the losses sustained by the Regiments commanded, respectively, by Colonels Haslet and Brooks, of which no Returns have been found, the loss of those who were on the top of the hill and who fought the battle, was two Captains, four Sergeants, one Corporal, and eighteen Privates, killed; one Colonel, three Lieutenants, one Ensign, four Sergeants, and forty-three Privates, wounded; and sixteen Pri-

twenty-first of September, the fifth of October, and on the third of November—the last, five days after the Battle,—were as follows:

September 21.

Regiments.	Com. Officers.	Staff.	Non com. Officers.	Fit for Duty.	Sick, present.	Sick, absent.	On Command.	Furloughed.	Total, Rank and File.
Colonel Brooks's*	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Colonel Smallwood's	41	5	48	427	39	294	80	. .	840
Colonel Ritzema's	26	3	33	265	22	60	66	4	417
Colonel Haslet's	32	5	41	435	. .	125	8	. .	568
Late Col. McDougal's / First New-York Reg't.	25	5	20	215	49	44	79	. .	387
Colonel Webb's	13	2	25	219	89	38	192	2	540
Total	137	20	167	1561	199	561	425	6	2752

October 5.

Regiments.	Com. Officers.	Staff.	Non-com. Officers.	Fit for Duty.	Sick, present.	Sick, absent.	On Command.	Furloughed.	Total, Rank and File.
Colonel Brooks's	†	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Colonel Smallwood's	‡ 31	5	49	322	190	191	71	. .	774
Colonel Ritzema's	18	3	28	217	34	57	72	6	386
Colonel Haslet's	27	4	34	385	6	149	29	. .	569
Late Col. McDougal's / First New-York Reg't.	14	5	19	153	30	67	78	. .	328
Colonel Webb's	9	3	21	185	96	40	210	2	533
Total	99	20	151	1262	356	504	460	8	2590

November 3.

Regiments.	Com. Officers.	Staff.	Non com. Officers.	Fit for Duty.	Sick, present.	Sick, absent.	On Command.	Furloughed.	Total, Rank and File.	Total, Officers and Privates.
Colonel Brooks's	30	5	50	340	81	46	. .	19	486	571
Colonel Smallwood's	30	8	37	298	84	354	57	1	794	869
Colonel Ritzema's	21	4	27	198	12	61	61	10	342	394
Colonel Haslet's	13	3	21	273	26	228	21	. .	548	585
Late Col. McDougal's 1st New-York Reg't. ‡	21	5	19	142	22	76	13	1	254	299
Colonel Webb's	16	3	27	191	73	46	208	9	527	573
Total	131	28	181	1442	298	811	360	40	2951	3291

It will be seen that three hundred and forty Officers, Staff, non-commissioned Officers, and Musicians, and one thousand, four hundred, and forty-two Privates, present and fit for duty, survived the Battle, and, five days after that event, were returned as effective. The losses which they had sustained, in the action, and the probable absence of some, on that occasion, must be taken into the account; and we believe that the number of Officers and Privates who were actually engaged was about that which we have stated in the text.

Gordon, (*History of the American Revolution*, ii., 341,) reduced the num

* Not, then, in the service.

† "General Lincoln's Militia from Massachusetts, so scattered and "ignorant of the forms of *Returns*, that none can be got."

‡ In the original *Returns*, the total of Rank and File is stated at 836: we have been unable to ascertain where the error in the details, is.

‡ In the original Returns, the total of Rank and File is stated at 314: we have been unable to ascertain where the error in the details, is.

ber of those who remained, after the Militia had given way, to six hundred men; Chief-justice Marshall, (*History of George Washington*, ii., 502,) and Doctor Sparks. (*Life of General Washington*, 196,) each with the papers of General Washington before him, stated the force under General McDougal was "about sixteen hundred" men.

[1] General Howe was silent concerning the numerical strength of the force which he had thus employed; and none of the British authorities were any more communicative. Stedman, however, (*History of the American War*, i., 215,) clearly intimated that the force which was required to take and occupy Chatterton's-hill, when diverted for that purpose, so greatly weakened the Royal Army, then on the White Plains, that "it was obvious that the latter could no longer expediently "attempt anything against the enemy's" [*the Americans'*] "main "body."

We may be allowed to say, in this connection, that the practise of that period, in making mention of the strength of detachments or of that of the Army itself, was to include only the Rank and File, excluding the Commissioned Officers, the Staff, and the non-commissioned Officers, all of them, to some extent, at least, effective fighting men.

[2] Compare the letter from Colonel Robert H. Harrison, the Secretary of General Washington, to the President of the Congress, dated "WHITE-"PLAINS, 29 October, 1776," with General Washington's letter to the same, dated "WHITE-PLAINS, 6 November, 1776," in the latter of which he said, "I am happy to inform you, that, in the engagement on Mon-"day se'nnight, I have reason to believe our loss was, by no means, so "considerable as was conjectured, at first."

See, also, *Colonel Robert H. Harrison's letter to Governor Trumbull*, "WHITE-PLAINS, November 6, 1776;" *the same to Governor Cooke*, "WHITE-PLAINS, November 6, 1776;" etc.

[3] The following table will show the losses which were sustained by each of the several Regiments who composed that detachment:

Regiments.	Killed.			Wounded.							Missg.
	Serg'ts.	Corpl's.	Privates.	Captains.	First Lt.	Sec. Lt.	Ensigns.	Serg'ts.	Corp'l.	Privates.	Privates.
Colonel Silliman's	1	. .	4	.	1	1	1	1	1	6	. . .
Colonel Selden's	. .	. .	. .	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	. . .
Colonel Sage's	. .	. .	. .	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	. . .
Colonel Douglass's	. .	. .	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	9	. . .
Colonel Chester's	. .	1	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	. . .
Colonel Baldwin's	. .	. .	. .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	. . .
Colonel Douglass's	. .	. .	. .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Lt.-col. Ely's	. .	. .	. .	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	. . .
Colonel Holman's	1	. .	8	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	. . .
Colonel Smith's	1	. .	. .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	. . .
Total	3	1	18	1	1	1	1	2	1	17	1

vates, missing[1]—among those who were killed were Captains Bracco and Scott, of Colonel Smallwood's Regiment; and, among those who were wounded, were Colonel Smallwood and Lieutenants Goldsmith and Waters, of the same Regiment.[2] General Howe reported to the Home Government, evidently including all who were captured in Westchester-county, that one Captain, two Lieutenants, one Quarter-master, and thirty-five Privates were taken, "October 12—"White Plains;"[3] but we have no means for ascertaining who of these were taken prisoners on the twenty-eighth of October. The loss sustained by the Second Brigade of British troops, commanded by General Leslie, was Lieutenant-colonel Carr, Captains Deering and Gore, Lieutenant Jocelyn, Ensign Eagle, one Sergeant, and twenty-nine Rank and File,[4] killed; Lieutenant-colonel Walcott,[5] Captain Fitzgerald, Captain-lieutenant Massey,[6] Lieutenants Taylor, Banks, and Roberts, twelve Sergeants, and one hundred and two Rank and File,[7] wounded; and two Rank and File,[8] missing.[9] The three Regiments composing the Brigade commanded by Colonel Rall sustained a loss of eight Rank and File, killed; Lieutenant Muhlhausen, one Sergeant, and forty-four Rank and File, wounded; and one horse, killed. The Regiment of Chasseurs and the four Regiments of Grenadiers—one of them, probably, the half-drowned forlorn-hope—composing the Brigade commanded by Colonel Donop, sustained a loss of four Rank and File, killed; Captain De Westerhagen, Lieutenant De Rau, and fourteen Rank and File, wounded; and two Rank and File, missing.[10]

As far as our knowledge of it extends, history is wholly silent, concerning the influences which controlled General Washington and concerning the objects which he had in view, when he determined to occupy Chatterton's-hill, with so large a proportion of his already feeble and uncertain Army, including three of the best, if not the best three, of his Regiments;[11] and, especially, at a later hour, when, at a critical moment and in the face of an overwhelming enemy, he determined, also, to strengthen the force whom he had already sent, and to hold the position, at all hazards, sending, for those purposes, another very strong detachment of those troops in whom he reposed his greatest confidence, as soldiers, and whom he could ill-spare from the insufficiently manned lines which he, himself, was then occupying.

At best, Chatterton's-hill, at that time, was an isolated position; beyond the American lines; too distant to be supported from the main body, in the presence of an enemy occupying the Plains, unless in force and at great risk; with no line of communication with the main body, which was not commanded by the enemy; and with no opening for a retreat of the occupying force, in case of a disaster, unless to the westward, into the neighboring hills of Greenburgh, which were already occupied by the fugitive New Englanders whom General Spencer had attempted to command. It could hardly be considered, therefore, with any degree of propriety, as anything else than a detached and independent position, form-

[1] The following table will show the losses which were sustained by each of the several Regiments who were posted on the hill.

Regiments.	Killed.					Wounded.						Missing.	
	Captains.	Lieut.	Ensign.	Serg'ts	Corporal.	Privates.	Colonel.	Captain.	Lieut.	Ensign.	Serg't's.	Corporals.	Privates.	Officers.	Privates.
Colonel Brooks's*	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Colonel Smallwood's	2	.	.	3	.	7	1	.	2	.	.	.	25	.	6
Colonel Ritzema's	.	.	.	.	1	9	.	.	1	1	3	.	10	.	6
Colonel Haslet's*	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Late Col. McDougal's First New-York Reg't.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	4
Colonel Webb's	.	.	.	.	1	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	8	.	.
Total, as far as reported	2	.	.	4	1	18	1	.	3	1	4	.	43	.	16

Doctor Pine, in his letter to James Tilghman, dated "CAMP AT THE "WHITE-PLAINS, November 7, 1776," Said, "the number of killed and "wounded, as the report is, in the Camp, amounts only to about ninety; "but from the wounded I saw, myself, in the hospital and adjacent "houses, there must, at least, be an hundred and thirty wounded. The "number of killed I don't know."

[2] *Letter to a Gentleman in Annapolis*, dated "WHITE-PLAINS, October 2[7], "1776;" published in *The Pennsylvania Journal*, No. 1771, PHILADELPHIA, Wednesday, November 13, 1776, and in Force's *American Archives*, V., ii., 1284; *Lieutenant-colonel Gist to the Maryland Council of Safety*, "CAMP BEFORE THE WHITE-PLAINS, 2 November, 1776;" etc.

[3] *Return of Prisoners taken during the Campaign*, 1776, signed by "Jos-"Loring, Commissary of Prisoners," appended to General Howe's despatch to Lord George Germaine, dated "NEW-YORK, 3 December, 1776."

[4] In General Leslie's *Return*, the killed were stated to have been only twenty-two Rank and File.

[5] In General Leslie's *Return*, no mention was made of a Field-officer of the Fifth Regiment having been wounded.

[6] In General Leslie's *Return of Officers wounded*, Captain Massey's name is among those of the Lieutenants, although the tabular statement returns him as a Captain, in which it agrees with General Howe's Report. He was a Captain-Lieutenant.

[7] In General Leslie's *Return*, the wounded were stated to have numbered one hundred and twelve Rank and File.

[8] In General Leslie's *Return*, no mention was made of any missing Rank and File.

[9] In this statement, we have followed General Howe's *Return of Commissioned and Non-commissioned Officers, Rank and File, Killed, Wounded, and Missing*, etc., appended to his despatch to Lord George Germaine, dated "NEW-YORK, 3 December, 1776." We have compared it with the *Return of the Killed and Wounded of the Second Brigade*, etc., made by General Leslie; and find that, although the details of the classifications differ, the aggregate of the British loss is the same—one hundred and fifty-seven Officers and Men.

[10] *General Howe's Return of Commissioned and Non-commissioned Officers, Rank and File, Killed, Wounded, and Missing*, appended to his despatch to Lord George Germaine, dated "NEW-YORK, 3 December, 1776."

It is proper for us to say, however, that that *Return* included all the losses sustained by the Regiments referred to, from the nineteenth to the twenty-eighth of October, both these dates included; and it is possible, therefore, that some of the casualties named in the text were sustained elsewhere than on or near Chatterton's-hill. We have no means for ascertaining their exact losses, on the twenty-eighth of October.

[11] We are not insensible that Stedman, in his *History of the American War*, (i., 214,) said "the reason of their" [*the Americans,*] "occupying "this posture," [*on Chatterton's-hill,*] "is inexplicable, unless it be that "they could not be contained within the works of their Camp;" but the reason assigned was too evidently ridiculous to be regarded with the slightest respect.

* No Returns from these Regiments have been found.

ing no portion of the American lines; and nothing else than a supposition, on the part of General Washington's advisers and on that of the General himself, that the continued occupation of it was absolutely essential to the safety of the main body, in the position which it then occupied, could possibly have led him to make such a costly and hazardous experiment, under the existing circumstances and in the immediate presence of such an overwhelming enemy, as the continued occupation and defence of Chatterton's-hill. But General Washington had evidently planned better than he knew; and, in the providence of God, some results which were more beneficial to the Americans than any which he had conceived and hoped for, were unquestionably derived from that seemingly unpromising experiment of occupying and holding that exceedingly exposed position, on the western bank of the Bronx; among which results, in America, we may mention the effect of that occupation, as an apparent menace against the left flank and rear of the Royal Army, in whatever movement that Army, under General Howe, should make against the American lines; the delay in that evidently projected movement of the Royal Army, to enable its commanding General to remove what appeared to have been a dangerous element from Chatterton's-hill—a delay which enabled the Americans to strengthen their defensive works and to become better prepared for defending them, whenever the Royal Army should move against them;—and the reduction of that great Army, which was, then, in front of the American lines, and ready to move against them, for the purpose of assaulting the Americans who had occupied the hill as well for that of holding the hill, subsequently, which reduction of the strength of his main body compelled General Howe to wait for the arrival of reinforcements, to abandon his intention to assault the works which sheltered the main body of the American Army, and, finally, to retire from Westchester-county—the first-mentioned of which consequences affording still further time and opportunities to General Washington and his feeble command: the latter two affording to the Americans, everywhere, the *éclat*, as well as some of the advantages, of better generalship and of consequent success. All these, among other not much less-important results, although they were probably hidden from General Washington, when he devised and ordered the movement, were, unquestionably, among the results, in America, of that "inexplicable" occupation of Chatterton's-hill, on the morning of the twenty-eighth of October, 1776: with the results, in Europe, of that occupation, we have nothing to do, in this place.[1]

As we have elsewhere stated, the advancing columns of the Royal Army had been formed, in line, with the Right resting on the road leading from the White Plains to Mamaroneck, and the Left resting on the

[1] In our preparation of this description of the engagement on Chatterton's-hill, generally called "THE BATTLE OF WHITE-PLAINS," we have examined and used *The Diary of David How*; the *Letter from the White Plains*, dated October 28, 1776, published in *The Pennsylvania Journal*, No. 1770, PHILADELPHIA, Wednesday, November 6, 1776; the *Letter from the White-Plains*, dated October 28, 1776, at two o'clock, P.M., published in *The Pennsylvania Evening Post*, Vol. II., No. 278, PHILADELPHIA, Thursday, October 31, 1776, and in *The Pennsylvania Journal*, No. 1770, PHILADELPHIA, November 6, 1776; the *Letter of Colonel Robert H. Harrison to the President of the Congress*, dated "WHITE-PLAINS, October 29, 1776;" the *Letter to a Gentleman in Annapolis*, dated "WHITE-PLAINS, October "29, 1776," published in *The Pennsylvania Journal*, No. 1771, PHILADELPHIA, Wednesday, November 13, 1776; the *Letter from the Camp*, dated WHITE-PLAINS, October 29, 1776, published in *The Freeman's Journal, or New-Hampshire Gazette*, Vol. I., No. 26, PORTSMOUTH, Tuesday, November 19, 1776; *General Order of the Army*, in the case of Colonel Webb, "HEAD-QUARTERS, WHITE-PLAINS, October 29, 1776;" *Lieutenant-colonel Tilghman's letter to William Duer*, dated "HEAD-QUARTERS, WHITE-"PLAINS, October 29, 1776;" *the same to his father*, dated "WHITE-"PLAINS, October 31, 1776;" the *Letter from Stamford*, dated October 30, 1776, published in *The Freeman's Journal, or New-Hampshire Gazette*, Vol. I., No. 25, PORTSMOUTH, Tuesday, November 12, 1776; the *Letter of Colonel Robert H. Harrison to General Schuyler*, "WHITE-PLAINS, Novem-"ber 1, 1776;" the *Letter from a Gentleman in the Army*, dated "CAMP "NEAR THE MILLS, ABOUT THREE MILES NORTH OF THE WHITE PLAINS, "November 1, 1776," published in *The Pennsylvania Evening Post*, Vol. II., No. 280, PHILADELPHIA, Thursday, November 14, 1776, in Force's *American Archives*, V., iii., 471–474, and, in a mutilated form, in Frank Moore's *Diary of the American Revolution*, i., 335–337; *Colonel Robert H. Harrison's letter to Governor Trumbull*, dated "WHITE-PLAINS, November 2, 1776;" *Lieutenant-colonel Tilghman's letter to William Duer*, dated "HEAD-QUAR-"TERS, NEAR WHITE-PLAINS, November 2, 1776;" *Colonel Gist's letter to the Maryland Council of Safety*, dated "CAMP BEFORE THE WHITE-"PLAINS, 2 November, 1776;" *General Washington's letter to the President of the Congress*, dated "WHITE-PLAINS, November 6, 1776;" *Colonel Robert H. Harrison's letter to Governor Trumbull*, dated "WHITE-PLAINS, "November 6, 1776;" *Colonel Haslet's letter to General Cæsar Rodney*, dated "November 12, 1776;" *Doctor Pine's letter to James Tilghman*, dated "CAMP AT THE WHITE-PLAINS, November 7, 1776;" *General Howe's despatch to Lord George Germaine*, dated "NEW-YORK, November "30, 1776;" the *Letter of William Harrison to the Maryland Council of Safety*, dated "GEORGETOWN, KENT-COUNTY, 28th November, "1776;" *General Returns of the Army*, September 21, October 5, and November 3, 1776; *Returns of Killed, Wounded, and Missing*, [in the American Army,] *in several Actions*, published in Force's *American Archives*, V., iii., 715–730; *Return of Commissioned and Non-commissioned Officers and Rank and File, Killed, Wounded, and Missing, from the 17th September to the 16th November, inclusive*, appended to *General Howe's despatch to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 3 December, 1776;" Sauthier's *Plan of the Operations of the King's Army under the Command of Sir William Howe, K.B., in New-York and East New Jersey against the American Forces commanded by General Washington, from the 12th of October to the 28th of November, 1776*; *A Plan of the Country from Frog's Point to Croton River*; *The Examination of Joseph Galloway, Esq., before a Committee of the House of Commons*; [Galloway's] *Letters to a Nobleman*; *The Narrative of Sir William Howe, . . with some Observations upon a pamphlet entitled* Letters to a Nobleman; [Galloway's] *Reply to the* Observations of Lieut.-Gen. Sir William Howe, on a pamphlet entitled *Letters to a Nobleman*; Almon's *Parliamentary Register*, Volumes XI., XII., and XIII.; *The Annual Register for* 1776; *The History of the War in America*, Edit., Dublin: 1779; [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*; *Essais historiques et politiques sur la Révolution de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, par M. Hillard d'Auberteuil; Andrews's *History of the War with America, France, Spain, and Holland*; Soulés's *Histoire des Troubles de l'Amérique Anglaise*; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*; Ramsey's *History of the American Revolution*; Murray's *Impartial History of the War in America*; Stedman's *History of the War in America*; *Memoirs of Major-general Heath*; Chas et Lebrun's *Histoire politique et philosophique de la Révolution de l'Amérique Septentrionale*; Marshall's *Life of George Washington*; Warren's *History of the American Revolution*; Adolphus's *History of England*; Sergeant Lamb's *Journal of Occurrences during the late American War*; Humphreys's *Life of General Putnam*; Paul Allen's *History of the American Revolution*; Morse's *Annals of the American Revolution*; Ramsay's *Life of George Washington*; Pitkin's *Political and Civil History of the United States of America*; Sparks's *Writings of George Washington*; Dunlap's *History of New York*; Sparks's *Life of George Washington*; Lossing's *Seventeen hun-*

Bronx; and that it had been halted, within a mile of the American lines, to enable a heavy detachment of both British and Hessian troops to dispossess a body of American troops who had occupied Chatterton's-hill, and who appeared to menace the left flank and rear of the Left, in its proposed movement against the American lines.[1] The result of that assault on Chatterton's-hill has, also, been duly noticed;[2] but the success of that movement did not disturb the main body, who remained, resting on its arms, where it had been halted, during the remainder of the day and throughout the following night; and, there, "with "very little alteration," it encamped, on the following day [3]—it had been so much reduced, in effective strength, by the withdrawal of the assaulting parties, and, as was said by an intelligent officer, "the diffi-"culty of co-operation between the Left and Right "wings of our Army was such, that it was obvious "that the latter could no longer expediently attempt "anything against the enemy's main body."[4] It appears, however, that the Right of the Royal Army, who was not expected to participate in the proposed assault on the American lines, and who was not concerned in the assault on Chatterton's-hill, further than to detach the Hessians commanded by Colonel Donop, who were in that wing of the Army, for the purpose of assisting in that important operation, was not inclined to rest, as the Left of the Army had been ordered to do and had done; and a portion of it, at least, was moved forward, on the main road of the Village, in front of the Left of the American lines, which was occupied, as the reader will remember, by the Division commanded by General Heath.[5]

We have been told that the advancing column was led by a detachment of about twenty Light Dragoons, capering and brandishing their sabres, who leaped the fence of a wheat-field, situated at the foot of the hill on which the Regiment commanded by Colonel Malcolm had been posted.[6] The horsemen evidently supposed the hill was unoccupied; and, it is probable, they expected to turn the flank of the American lines, and to secure an easy victory; but Lieutenant Fenno and his field-piece were also on "the South brow of "the hill;"[7] and, when the horsemen approached, he gave them a shot which, "by striking in the midst "of them," killed one of them.[8] The troop was immediately "wheeled, short about, and galloped out of "the field as fast as they came in; rode behind a little "hill, in the road; and faced about;" the other portions of the column, at the same time, as they successively came up, wheeling to the left, by platoons; and, passing through a gateway or bars, directed their march, westward, to the place where the Left of the Army had been halted.[9] With that movement of the extreme Right of the Army, and with that of the Hessian and British troops, on the high grounds, on the western bank of the Bronx, on its extreme Left, already mentioned, the Royal Army closed the operations of the day.

It is undoubtedly true that the delay which was produced by the halt of the Royal Army, on the Plain, was the salvation of the American Army, within the lines; since it afforded time for strengthening the works behind which the latter was, then, posted, and for preparing it for falling back, soon afterwards, and occupying another position, which would be more defensible and not so accessible to the King's troops. But it is scarcely true that, since the morning of the preceding day, the Americans had "drawn back their encampment" and "strengthened their lines by additional works," to such an extent, in either instance, that "the designed "attack upon them," on the morning after the engagement, [*Tuesday, October* 29,] need have been "deferred," for no other reasons than these, notwithstanding General Howe is reported to have informed the Home Government that such had been the case [10]—the reported withdrawal of the American encampment was, probably, nothing more than the removal of the Stores, back, to the high grounds of Newcastle, which was commenced on that day; [11] and, notwithstanding

dred and seventy-six; Campbell's *Revolutionary Services and Civil Life of General William Hull*; Hinman's *Historical Collection of the part sustained by Connecticut, during the War of the Revolution*; Lossing's *Pictorial Field-book of the Revolution*; Hildreth's *History of the United States of America*; Irving's *Life of George Washington*; Hamilton's *History of the Republic of the United States of America, as traced in the Writings of Alexander Hamilton*; Dawson's *Military Retreats through Westchester-county, in* 1776, (an unpublished manuscript;) Moore's *Diary of the American Revolution*; *Memoir of Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge*, prepared by himself, at the request of his Children; Dawson's *Battles of the United States, by Sea and Land*; Stark's *Memoir and Official Correspondence of Gen. John Stark, with Notices of . . . and of Colonel Robert Rogers*; Greene's *The Life of Nathanael Greene, Major-general in the Army of the Revolution*, Edit. New-York: 1867; Drake's *Life and Correspondence of Henry Knox, Major-general in the Revolutionary Army*; Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, and de Lancey's *Notes* on that work; Bancroft's *History of the United States*, both the original and the centenary editions; Bolton's *History of Westchester-county*, both editions; Tarbox's *Life of Israel Putnam*; Carrington's *Battles of the American Revolution*; and Ridpath's *History of the United States*.

Those works, bearing on the subject, in the German language, which are in our own library, were put away, and could not be reached without undue labor; and we were not physically able to go elsewhere, to consult them. For those reasons, they have not been examined.

[1] Vide pages 438, 439, 440, ante.

[2] Vide pages 442–444, ante.

[3] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "New-York, 30 November, "1776;" Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 215; [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 209; etc.

[4] Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 215.

[5] *Memoirs of Major-general Heath*, 78.

[6] Vide page 252, ante.

[7] Ibid.

[8] In the *Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of the Royal Army*, appended to General Howe's despatch to Lord George Germaine, dated "New-York, 3 December, 1776," it was stated that the only one of either of the two Regiments of the Light Dragoons then in America, who was killed, from the nineteenth to the twenty-eighth of October, inclusive, was one Rank and File, of the Seventeenth Regiment; and, very probably, that one was the same to whom we have referred, in the text.

[9] *Memoirs of Major-general Heath*, 78.

[10] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "New-York, 30 November, "1776."

[11] David How's *Diary*, October 29 and 30, 1776.

See, also, *Lieutenant-colonel Tilghman to his father*, "White Plains, 31 "October, 1776"; *Memoirs of Major-general Heath*, 79; etc.

the interval had been undoubtedly occupied by the Americans, in industriously strengthening their position, they could scarcely have made defensible and formidable what, only a few hours previous, had been hardly respectable. Indeed, at no time, even under the most favorable circumstances, were the defences of the American lines, immediately above the Plains, in any respect formidable; and the center, where the post-road passed through them, was decidedly the weakest portion. They had been hastily constructed, without the superintendence of experienced Engineers. The stony soil prevented the ditch from being made of any troublesome depth or the parapet of a troublesome height: the latter was not fraised: only where it was least needed—probably because the construction of it, elsewhere, had been interfered with—was there the slightest appearance of an abatis.[1] There was little foundation, therefore, for General Howe's transparent excuses; and it would have been more creditable to his candor, had he told the true reason for his failure to assault the lines, on the morning after the Battle and while the troops who had been designated to make the assault, with their line unbroken, were resting on their arms, within a mile and in open sight from the works which they were expecting to assault, and ready to move against them, at a moment's notice—the fact was simply this, as we have already seen,[2] "the Army could no longer expediently attempt "anything against the enemy's" [*the Americans'*] "main body;" and it was necessary that it should be reinforced, before the Americans should be attacked.

During Tuesday, the twenty-ninth of October, as we have seen, the Royal Army, "with very little al-"teration" in its position, encamped on the Plain, and awaited the arrival of reinforcements;[3] and, notwithstanding the loss of Chatterton's-hill, in the opinion of some of the American Officers,[4] had made it necessary for the American Army to abandon the position, the work of strengthening its lines was continued, with unabated industry.[5]

During Wednesday, the thirtieth of October, the King's troops were occupied in throwing up some defensive works and redoubts, on the Plain, in front of the American lines,[6] and an entrenchment on the summit of Chatterton's-hill;[7] and, during the afternoon of the same day, four Regiments, from the lines on New-York-island,[8] and two Regiments of the Sixth Brigade, who had been posted at Mamaroneck, after the Queen's Rangers had been so "roughly

[1] In this description of the character of the American defenses, we have followed Stedman, (*History of the American War*, i., 213,) who was probably present, in the Royal Army.

We are not insensible that Bancroft, (*History of the United States*, original edition, ix., 180; the same, centenary edition, v., 444,) has so framed his sentence that his readers must suppose the abatis was as extended as the "lines of entrenchments;" but the feebleness of the Army and the scarcity of teams could not have secured so great a work, in so short a time; neither General Washington nor General Heath nor General Knox, among the Americans, nor General Howe nor General Lord Cornwallis, among the King's troops, all of whom have more or less described the American defenses, has made the slightest allusion to such a general defense, before the long line of American entrenchments; and Stedman expressly stated that "the point of the hill, on the enemy's "right," [*that on the line of the Harlem Railroad, immediately northward from the Railroad-station,*] "exceedingly steep and rocky, was covered by "a strong abatis in front of the entrenchment," the very place, as we have said in the text, where such an additional mean of defense was least needed. For these reasons, we prefer to believe that the American lines were not, generally, furnished with an abatis.

[2] Vide page 448, ante.

[3] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November, "1776."

[4] General Heath said, (*Memoirs*, 79,) "the British having got posses-"sion of this hill, it gave them a vast advantage of the American lines, "almost down to the center;" and General Knox, in a letter to his brother, dated "NEAR WHITE-PLAINS, 32 MILES FROM NEW-YORK, 1 "Nov: 1776," said "the enemy's having possession of this hill obliged "us to abandon some slight lines thrown up on the White Plains."

[5] There was something which required explanation in what was written by General Washington's Secretary and, undoubtedly, with his approval, to the President of the Congress, when he said, "Our post, from "its situation, is not so advantageous as could be wished; and was only "intended as temporary and occasional, till the Stores belonging to the "Army, which had been deposited, here, could be removed."—(*Colonel Robert H. Harrison to the President of the Congress*, "WHITE-PLAINS, 29 "October, 1776."

"The Stores belonging to the Army," at that time and for some time previous, had not been so abundant as to have been burdensome; and, if there had been judicious oversight, they could have been carried a couple of miles further, to a place of greater safety, when they were carried to the White Plains, saving the repeated re-handling of them and the construction of two distinct lines of works for nothing else than for the "temporary and occasional" protection of them.

There is, generally, a prodigality in the expenditure of both money and materials and labor, in all which relates to Armies; but there seems to have been an excess of prodigality in the use of all these, of which the American Army had such an insufficient supply, if the only purpose of the two lines of entrenchments, one at the foot and the other on the crest of the high grounds, at the White Plains, had been only for the "temporary and occasional" protection of a few Stores, handled and re-handled, over and over again, the whole of which could have been consumed by the Army, in less than six days, probably in half that time.*

If there had been, in fact, no other reason than these, for occupying and fortifying that position, there was reason for General George Clinton's doubts, when he wrote, "Uncovered, as we are; daily on fatigue; "making redoubts, flèches, abatis, and lines; and retreating from "them and the little temporary huts made for our comfort, before they "are well finished, I fear, will ultimately destroy our Army, without "fighting." . . . "However, I would not be understood to con-"demn measures. They may be right, for aught I know. I do not un-"derstand much of the refined art of War: it is said to consist of "strategem and deception."—(*General George Clinton to John McKesson*, "CAMP NEAR THE WHITE-PLAINS, October 31, 1776.")

[6] *Colonel Robert H. Harrison to the President of the Congress*, "WHITE-"PLAINS, October 31, 1776;" *Letter from a Gentleman in the Army*, dated "CAMP NEAR THE MILLS, ABOUT THREE MILES NORTH OF THE WHITE-"PLAINS, November 1, 1776," published in *The Pennsylvania Evening Post*, Vol. II., No. 280, PHILADELPHIA, Thursday, November 14, 1776; *Memoirs of General Heath*, 80; etc.

[7] *Lieutenant-colonel Gist to the Maryland Council of Safety*, "CAMP "BEFORE THE WHITE-PLAINS, 2 November, 1776."

[8] Vide page 400, ante.

* "His," [*General Washington's,*] "apprehensions are exceedingly "great lest the Army should suffer much for want of necessary supplies "of Provisions, especially in the article of Flour. From the best in-"telligence he is able to obtain, there is not more in Camp and at the "several places where it has been deposited, than will serve the Army "longer than four or five days, provided the utmost care and economy "were used in issuing it out; but, from the waste and embezzlement, "for want of proper attention to it, as it is reported to him, it is not "probable that it will last so long."—(*Colonel Robert H. Harrison to Colonel Joseph Trumbull*, Commissary-general of Provisions, "WHITE-"PLAINS, November 1, 1776.")

"handled" by the Americans,[1] joined the main body of the Army, on the Plain, for the reinforcement of it.[2]

During the same day, [*Wednesday, October* 30,] the Americans were not idle—they probably kept up an appearance of continuing their labor in strengthening their works, while they were, also, preparing for an abandonment of them;[3] but no official record has come down to us, concerning their doings, on that day.

Having been strengthened by the addition of six fresh and effective Regiments to his already powerful command, General Howe determined to attack the American lines, on the following day, [*Thursday, October* 31;] and, for that purpose, all necessary preparations were duly made; but the preceding night and the morning of that day were very rainy; and the proposed movement was necessarily postponed.[4]

During the same day, [*Thursday, October* 31,] the Americans remained within their works, quietly preparing for the abandonment of them and carefully watching every movement of their enemy.

Supposing that one of the objects of General Howe was to turn the flank of the lines; to seize the bridge over the Croton-river; and, thereby, to cut off the communication of the Army with the upper country, General Washington detached General Rezin Beall, with three fine Regiments of Marylanders, to occupy that very important pass; and General Lord Stirling was ordered, with the Brigade which he commanded, "to keep pace with the enemy's left flank, and to "push up, also, to Croton-river, should he plainly "perceive that the enemy's route lays that way."[5] At the same time that the Army was being rapidly diminished by the desertions of the Militia,[6] to say nothing of stragglers,[7] those who remained at their post were evidently diligently employed in preparing to move to a new position—an operation in which the great scarcity of teams added, very greatly, to the personal labor of the men[8]—and, during the following night, that of Thursday, the thirty-first of October,[9] the entire line of the Army, taking the extreme left of the line for the pivot,[10] swung back, from the lines which it had constructed, with so much labor, on the high grounds, above the Plains, until its rear rested on the more advantageous high grounds of Northcastle;[11] within a mile from the position which it had abandoned;[12] and authoritatively described as "grounds which were strong and advantageous, and "such as they," [*the King's troops,*] "could not have "gained without much loss of blood, in case an "attempt had been made."[13]

A strong party was left in possession of the lines

[1] Vide page 253, ante.

[2] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine,* "NEW-YORK, 30 November, "1776;" [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America,* i., 209; Stedman's *History of the American War,* i., 215; etc.

[3] How's *Diary,* October 30; *Letter from Lieutenant colonel Tilghman to his father,* "WHITE-PLAINS, 31 October, 1776."

[4] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine,* "NEW YORK, 30 November, "1776;" [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America,* i., 209; Stedman's *History of the American War,* i., 215; etc.

[5] *Lieutenant-colonel Tilghman to William Duer,* "WHITE-PLAINS, Octo-"ber 31, 1776."

[6] "Our Army is decreasing, fast: several gentlemen who have come "to Camp, within a few days, have observed large numbers of Militia "returning home, on the different roads."—(*Colonel Robert H. Harrison to the President of the Congress,* "WHITE-PLAINS, October 31, 1776.")

"It" [*a reinforcement,*] "will arrive, very seasonably, and in part "make up for the deficiency occasioned by daily desertions of our men, "who are returning to their homes in the most scandalous and infamous "manner. The roads are crowded with them."—(*Colonel Robert H. Harrison to Governor Trumbull,* "WHITE-PLAINS, November 2, 1776.")

[7] "The General, in a ride he took, yesterday, to reconnoitre the "grounds about this, was surprised and shocked to find both Officers "and Soldiers straggling all over the country, under one idle pretence "or other, when they cannot tell the hour or minute the Camp may be "attacked, and their services indispensably necessary. He once more "positively orders that neither Officer or Soldier shall stir out of Camp, "without leave: . . ." (*General Orders,* "HEAD-QUARTERS, WHITE "PLAINS, October 31, 1776.")

[8] *Colonel Robert H. Harrison to the President of the Congress,* "WHITE-"PLAINS, October 31, 1776."

[9] Chief justice Marshall, (*Life of George Washington,* ii., 505,) stated, in harmony with what General Howe also stated in his despatches to Lord George Germaine, (*vide page* 448, *ante,*) that the American Army was withdrawn from the lines on the night after the engagement on Chatterton's-hill; and that it was moved, a second time, during the night of the thirty first of October, to the high grounds of Northcastle, which he erroneously supposed to have been five miles from the White Plains.

We cannot reconcile either of these statements, without some qualification, with well-known facts which indicate, beyond a peradventure, that the lines which the main body had occupied, from the beginning, were fully occupied until the evening of the thirty-first of October, as stated in the text; and we await the appearance of new evidence which can throw more light on the subject, without permitting our own well-considered convictions to be, in the meantime, disturbed by what appears to have been written ambiguously.

[10] "The left of our General's Division was not to move; but the re-"mainder of his Division and all the other Divisions of the Army "were to fall back and form," on that stationery pivot, (*Memoirs of General Heath,* 79;) the whole occupying a new line, without having disturbed the relative positions of any of the Regiments or Divisions of whom the Army was composed.

[11] Gordon's *History of the American Revolution,* ii., 343, 344; Marshall's *Life of George Washington,* ii., 506; *General Howe to Lord George Germaine,* "NEW-YORK, 30 November, 1776;" [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America,* i., 210; Stedman's *History of the American War,* i., 216; etc.

[12] Hall and Stedman erroneously supposed the new position was North of the Croton-river. General Howe, very accurately, stated it was "one "mile back from their entrenchments." Chief justice Marshall, as we have seen, erroneously supposed it was five miles from the White Plains. Hildreth, (*History of the United States.* iii., 154,) said it was two miles in the rear of the first line. Irving, (*Life of George Washington,* ii., 397,) said it was five miles distant. Lossing, (*Pictorial Field-book of the Revolution,* ii., 823,) said, uncertainly, it was "toward the Croton River." General Knox, in a letter written to his brother, dated "NEAR WHITE-"PLAINS, 32 MILES FROM NEW-YORK, 1 Nov. 1776," said "the enemy's "possession of this hill obliged us to abandon some slight lines thrown "up on the White Plains. This we did, this morning, and retired to "some hills about half a mile in the rear."

As the left of the former line did not move from the position which it had occupied since the twenty-second of October; and because the remainder of the Army without disturbing the formation of the line, did no more than to swing back, on a pivot, into its new position, the extreme right could not have been more than two miles distant from the former line, probably it was not much more than half that distance.

[13] *General Washington to the President of the Congress,* "WHITE-PLAINS, "6 November, 1776."

See, also, Gordon's *History of the American Revolution,* ii., 344; Marshall's *Life of George Washington,* ii., 506; [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America,* i., 210; Stedman's *History of the American War,* i, 216; etc.

which had been vacated;[1] and, during the night, it set fire to several barns and one house, which contained forage; and some Provisions which, for the want of teams, could not be removed, were also destroyed.[2]

On the morning after the withdrawal of the main body of the American Army from its lines, at the head of the White Plains, [*Friday, November* 1, 1776,] General Howe gave orders for the occupation of those lines, by the Royal Army; but, again, a violent rain interposed; and the project was abandoned.[3] At a later hour, however, the Hessian Grenadiers were moved from Chatterton's-hill, and occupied those lines,[4] very possibly as the beginning of a movement against the new position of the American Army, which, after a due examination of its strength, was conducted no further.[5]

On the morning of Friday, the first of November, simultaneously with the movement of the Hessian Grenadiers and with other equally important preparations—the whole, we believe, preparatory to an assault on the new position of the American Army, in the high grounds of North Castle,—a heavy body, from the Right of the Royal Army, with a number of field-pieces, was moved against the extreme left of the American lines, where the Division commanded by General Heath was posted, and opened a heavy fire; which was returned by Captain-lieutenant Bryant and Lieutenant Jackson, of the American Artillery, neither party sustaining any loss which was particularly worthy of record.[6] A violent rain, however, again interposed; and the project, whatever it may have been, was abandoned.[7]

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[1] *Letter from a Gentleman in the Army*, "CAMP NEAR THE MILLS, ABOUT "THREE MILES NORTH OF THE WHITE-PLAINS, November 1, 1776," published in *The Pennsylvania Evening Post*, No. 280, PHILADELPHIA, Thursday, November 14, 1776; *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-"YORK, 30 November, 1776;" [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 210; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 344; etc.

[2] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 80.

See, also, a *Letter from a Gentleman in the Army*, dated "CAMP NEAR "THE MILLS, ABOUT THREE MILES NORTH OF THE WHITE-PLAINS, Novem-"ber 1, 1776," published in *The Pennsylvania Evening Post*, No. 280, PHILADELPHIA, Thursday, November 14, 1776; *General George Clinton to John McKesson*, "CAMP AT THE OLD PLACE, NEAR THE WHITE PLAINS, 2 "November, 1776;" *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-"YORK, 30 November, 1776;" etc.

General Howe and several others have fallen into the error of supposing that the Village of the White-Plains was also burned, on the occasion now under notice: it was not burned until the night of the fifth of November, when, after he had robbed the houses, it was destroyed by a party of Massachusetts troops, commanded by Major Austin.

[3] In the cross-examination of General Lord Cornwallis, by the members of a Committee of the House of Commons, on the sixth of May, 1779, his Lordship was asked, "Was there not a time, at the White "Plains, when our Army lay on their arms, intending to attack the "enemy, but were prevented by rain?," to which he replied, "After "the enemy fell back to the heights, near North-Castle, they left an "advance Corps on the heights of the White Plains; there were or-"ders given for an attack of that Corps, which was prevented by a vi-"olent rain. We did not lay upon our arms." The inquiry was continued by the Committee asking, "From the situation of the rebel "Army and of our's, was that storm in their or our faces?" to which his Lordship replied, "I do not apprehend that the attack was pre-"vented by the storm of rain being in either of our faces; there are "other effects of a storm, such as spoiling the roads and preventing "the drawing of artillery up steep hills." The Committee continued, by asking, "Whether if the powder was wet, on both sides, the at-"tacks might not have been made by bayonets?;" to which his Lord ship replied, "I do not recollect that I said the powder was wet;" and, there, the subject was dropped.—(Almon's *Parliamentary Register*, Fifth Session of the Fourteenth Parliament of Great Britain, xiii., 14.)

[4] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November, "1776."

[5] Although it was not stated, at the time, and notwithstanding it has not been stated, since that time, that General Howe proposed to attack the Americans, in their new position, on the morning after it was taken by them, we are sure that that was his purpose, when he ordered the Hessian Grenadiers from Chatterton's-hill; and made the preparations for "drawing of artillery up steep hills," to which General Lord Cornwallis referred, in his testimony; and ordered or approved the movement on the extreme left of the American lines, of which mention will be made, hereafter. Nothing else than such a project, it seems to us, could have warranted all these operations; and, certainly, nothing else could have led some of the British writers, including Captain Hall, (*History of the Civil War in America*, i., 210,) to consider the occupation of the abandoned lines, by the Hessian Grenadiers, as a pursuit of the fugitive Americans.

[6] General Heath has left a very minute description of the movements of the enemy and of his own preparations to oppose those movements, (*Memoirs of General Heath*, 80, 81;) and we make room for it, because of its great local interest, in the vicinity of the White Plains: "Our Gen-"eral's first anxiety," General Heath stated, speaking of himself, "was "for Colonel Malcolm's Regiment, on the hill, to the East of the hollow, "on the left, * lest the enemy should push a Column into the hollow, "and cut the Regiment off from the Division. He, therefore, ordered "Major Keith, one of his Aides, to gallop over, and order Colonel Mal-"colm to come off, immediately, with Lieutenant Fenno's Artillery; but, "upon a more critical view of the ground, in the hollow, (at the head "of which there was a heavy stone wall, well-situated to cover a body of "troops to throw a heavy fire directly down it, while an oblique fire "could be thrown in, on both sides,) he ordered Major Pollard, his other "Aide, to gallop after Keith, and countermand the first order; and to "direct the Colonel to remain at his post; and he should be supported. "A strong Regiment was ordered to the head of the hollow, to occupy "the wall.

"The cannonade was brisk, on both sides, through which the two "Aides-de-camp passed, in going and returning. At this instant, Gen-"eral Washington rode up to the hill. His first question to our General, "was, 'How is your Division?' He was answered, 'They are all in or-"'der.' 'Have you,' said the Commander-in-chief, 'any troops on the hill, "'over the hollow?' He was answered, 'Malcolm's Regiment is there.' 'If "'you do not call them off, immediately,' says the General, 'you may lose "'them, if the enemy push a column up the hollow.' He was answered, "'that, even in that case, their retreat should be made safe; that a strong "Regiment was posted at the head of the hollow, behind the wall; that "this Regiment, with the oblique fire of the Division, would so check the "enemy, as to allow Malcolm to make a safe retreat. The Commander-"in-chief concluded by saying, 'Take care that you do not lose them.'

"The Artillery of the Division was so well directed as to throw the "British artillery-men, several times, into confusion; and, finding that "they could not, here, make any impression, they drew back their pieces, "the Column not advancing," [*probably because of the failure of the main body to advance against the American lines, in cooperation with this detachment, as we have already stated.*]

"The British Artillery now made a circuitous movement; and came "down, toward the American right. Here, unknown to them, were "some twelve-pounders, upon the discharge of which, they made off, "with their field-pieces, as fast as their horses could draw them.

"A shot from the American cannon, at this place, took off the head of a "Hessian artillery-man: they also left one of their artillery-horses, dead "on the field. What other loss they sustained, was not known. Of our "General's Division, one man, only, belonging to Colonel Paulding's "Regiment of New-York troops, was killed."†

[7] *Testimony of Lord Cornwallis, before a Committee of the House of Commons*, vide Note 3, of this page, ante.

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* For descriptions of the various localities mentioned in this statement, by General Heath, see page 428, ante.

† The *Returns of General George Clinton's Brigade*, dated "PEEKSKILL, "November 17, 1776," noted that casualty, and gave the name of the man—William Phœnix, of Captain Caulmes's Company.

Having been thus frustrated in all his efforts to cut off the communications of the American Army with the upper country as well as with New England and to draw General Washington to give him battle, in a general engagement—in other words, having been completely outgeneraled by the Commander-in-chief of the forces whom his associates in arms had so contemptuously ridiculed—General Howe determined to abandon the attempt;[1] and to withdraw his great and powerful command from Westchester-county, in search of laurels on other and more inviting fields. The two Armies continued in their respective lines, not more than a long cannon-shot from each other,[2] until the following Saturday night, [*November* 2,] when the American sentries heard what they supposed to have been the rumbling sound of moving artillery.[3] On Monday night, the fourth of November, however, the entire encampment of the enemy was broken up; and, on the following morning, [*Tuesday, November* 5,] he made a sudden and unexpected movement from all the posts, in front of the American lines, which he had previously taken[4]—as early as the preceding Monday, [*October* 28,] evidently preparatory to this movement, General Knyphausen, who had been left at New Rochelle, with the Second Division of the German troops, to keep open the communication between the Army and the Fleet,[5] had been ordered to leave the Regiment of Waldeckers, who formed a portion of his command, at that place, and to move with the remainder of the Division, six fresh Battalions of Hessians, towards Kingsbridge; and, on Saturday, the second of November, he had occupied a position, on New-York-island, near that place: on Sunday, the third of November, the entire Army had been ordered to provide itself with forage, for three day's consumption: on the following day, [*Monday, November* 4,] Major-general Grant, with the Fourth Brigade of British troops, had been moved down to Mile-Square and Valentine's-hill; General Agnew, with the Sixth Brigade of British troops, the same who had been moved to Mamaroneck, on the morning after the Queen's Rangers had been so "roughly handled" by Colonel Haslet and his command,[6] had been moved from that place to a bridge over the Bronx-river, near De Lancey's Mill, [*now the village of West Farms,*] in the Town of Westchester; and the Waldeckers whom General Knyphausen had left at New Rochelle, on the preceding Monday, was moved to another bridge, also over the Bronx-river, three miles above the other, [*then and now known as Williams's-bridge:*] and every other necessary preparation for an orderly and undisturbed retreat had, in the meanwhile, been taken.[7]

During the evening of Tuesday, the fifth of November, inspired by the teachings of General Israel Putnam,[8] and in harmony with the advanced New England ideas, of that period, with which the inhabitants of Westchester-county had already become well-acquainted,[9] as well as with those of an immediately subsequent period,[10] a body of Massachusetts troops, led by Major Austin, of Colonel Brewer's Regiment, left the Camp, and went down into the Village of the White Plains, which the enemy has abandoned, during the earlier portions of the day. The purposes of that party were such as New Englanders of that period were apt to regard as peculiarly "patriotic"—they evidently went down to see what the merciless Hessian and British soldiery had left, when the Royal Army had retreated; to select, for their own or their families' uses, and to carry away, into New England, whatever, of that remainder, should best suit their own tastes; to dispossess the women and children who were mostly the occupants of the houses; and to burn what they did not care to steal, sparing almost nothing of either public or private properties, just to "strike terrour into the Tories and influence in our "favour," as these New England thieves "patriotically" expressed it. That was the prevailing New England idea of the period, taught and illustrated by

[1] "I did not think the driving their rear-guard further back, an object "of the least consequence," were General Howe's official words, descriptive of that very important determination.

See, also, [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 211; Stedman's *History of the American War*, i., 216; *Memoirs of General Heath*, 81; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 344; Marshall's *Life of George Washington*, ii., 506, 507; etc.

[2] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 81-83; *Letter dated* "NEAR HEAD-QUARTERS, NORTH-CASTLE, Nov. 5, 1776," published in *The Freeman's Journal and New-Hampshire Gazette*, Vol. I., No. 26, PORTSMOUTH, Tuesday, November 19, 1776.

[3] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 83.

[4] *General Washington to the President of the Congress*, "WHITE-PLAINS, 6 "November, 1776;" *the same to Governor Livingston*, "WHITE-PLAINS, "7 November, 1776;" *Memoirs of General Heath*, 83; Marshall's *Life of George Washington*, ii., 507; Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*, ii., 344; etc.

Vide pages 429, 434, ante.

[5] Vide pages 428, 429, ante.

[7] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November "1776;" [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 211; etc.

[8] "The question being asked Major Austin, whether he had any "orders for burning said houses, he confessed that he had no orders "for it; but he alleged, as an excuse, his being in company with "some of the General Officers, just before the houses were burnt on the "Plains," [*those containing the forage, etc., which had been burned when the Army evacuated the lines, on the evening of the thirty-first of October,*] "and heard General Putnam say he thought it would be best to burn "ALL the houses, etc.; and finding there was houses burnt on the "Plains, soon after, he thought it his duty to burn the said houses, "as he did."—(*Defence of Major Austin, before the Court-martial*, "PHILIPSBURG, November 12, 1776.")

[9] The reader will remember the unauthorized raids of the banditti,, under Isaac Sears, David Waterbury, David Wooster, and other "patriotic" New Englanders, during which the most barefaced robberies of the farmers' properties, throughout Westchester-county, had been perpetrated by large bodies of armed men, from Connecticut, against whom the isolated and unarmed farmers had been powerless.

[10] "The enemy have retreated from the White Plains. It was a happy "thought, the burning of a few houses, upon our retreat from thence. "The measure convinced them they had little to expect from penetrating the country. They saw how much we would sacrifice," [*of the property of others,*] "to the safety of our Army and disadvantage of "theirs; at the same time, it must have struck terrour into the Tories "and influence in our favour, from the strong motive of interest, as "they perceive their dwellings, etc., depend on our success."—(*Colonel Jed. Huntington to Governor Trumbull*, "CAMP, NORTH-CASTLE, 7th November, 1776.")

New Englanders of the most elevated stations; and it was evidently regarded, by the New England Major and his "Christian" followers, not only a duty but a virtue, to obey the teachings of such "patriotic" and "virtuous" preceptors.

The Major and his men entered house after house, as they went down the roadways leading through the Village; carrying from each, such articles as pleased their cupidity;[1] hastening the occupants from the houses, without suffering them to dress the children, where there were children, "but drove them out of "doors, naked;"[2] carrying the sick and helpless, out-doors, on their beds, and leaving them exposed to the rigors of that November night;[3] insulting the females, with ill language and threats, in the presence of the Major; and, then, setting fire to the houses.[5] The Court-house, the Meeting-house of the Presbyterian-church, and the greater number of the dwellings, including that of Doctor Graham,[6] together with all, of furniture and provisions and clothing, which the rapacious enemy had spared for the use and support and protection of the helpless inhabitants, unless such portions of each, which the new-comers had taken away, to the Major's marquee or elsewhere, were thus wantonly and criminally destroyed.[7]

That great outrage, inflicted on the inhabitants of Westchester-county, called forth the denunciations of the Commander-in-chief, in the General Orders of the Army,[8] and those of the Committee of Safety of the State;[9] the leader of the band of ruffians who had inflicted the great wrong, only after the most vigorous effort of General Lee, was mildly "dis-"missed from the service," by the verdict of a second Court-martial, who sat in judgment, on the culprit;[10] and he was turned over to the Convention of the State, to be dealt with, in an action by the State, resulting in his escape from the Jail at Kingston, which closed the subject, on the pages of history.

On Wednesday, the sixth of November, General Howe, with that portion of the Royal Army whom he had not pushed forward toward Kingsbridge, encamped at Dobbs's-ferry;[11] and, on the same day, General Washington called a Council of his General Officers, to consult on such measures as should be adopted, in case the enemy should continue to fall back, on the City of New York.[12]

On Thursday, the seventh of November, the enemy's park of Artillery was moved to Kingsbridge, under a strong escort, with a detachment of Chasseurs, to join the Division commanded by General Knyphausen;[13] and his foraging parties were busily employed in collecting Grain and Hay, and in driving in Cattle, from all those portions of the County which were below Tarrytown, the Plains, and Rye.[14]

On Friday, the eighth of November, two Battalions of Light Infantry and the remainder of the Chasseurs, with four field-pieces, took post on the line of communication with Kingsbridge;[15] and, on the part of the Americans, the troops belonging to New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the more Southern States, began to file off, from the lines which were occupied by the American Army, "as fast as our situation and circum-"stances would admit, in order to be transported over "the river, with all expedition."[16]

On Saturday, the ninth of November, the Division commanded by General Heath, who had performed so distinguished a part in the military operations, in Westchester-county, was moved from the extreme left

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[1] "When she went out of the house, some of the men began to carry "things out of the house; when she asked them why they took those "things. Then Major Austin spake; and told her he should carry "them to the General's; and alleged General Sullivan's orders for it." —(*Mrs. Adams's testimony, before the Court-martial for the trial of Major Austin*, "PHILIPSBURG, November 12, 1776.")

"On the night of the 5th instant, he had been out on a scouting party, "with Major Austin; and, on their return, the Major ordered him back, with "five men, to the houses which they burned; and told him to take good care "of whatever things he got; to keep them safe; and bring them off, to his "markee;" etc.—(*Testimony of Sergeant Churchill*, at the same trial, "Nov-"ember 13," in which Captain Keith and James Linzer fully concurred.)

"Further says, that what things were tied up, in two blankets, were "carried to the Major's markee; and all the rest were left with the wo-"men."—(*Testimony of Tilley How*, at the same trial, "November 13;" in which James Linzer and Captain Keith fully concurred.)

[2] *Testimony of Mrs. Adams*, at the same trial.

[3] *Testimony of Tilley How, and of James Linzer, and of Captain Keith*, at same trial.

[4] *Testimony of Mrs. Adams*, at the same trial.

[5] "Major Austin told his men to go and set the other houses on fire, "as quick as he could."—(*Testimony of Mrs. Adams*, at the same trial.)

See, also, the testimony, on the same subject, of Sergeant Churchill, of Tilley How, of James Linzer, and of Captain Keith, at the same trial.

[6] Understood, from aged people, many years since, to have occupied the lower portion of the property now occupied by the respected widow of the late C. Halsey Mitchell—that portion of that property, indeed, which was occupied, so many years, for the Law-offices of Minott Mitchell, Esq., so long the head of the Bar of Westchester-county.

[7] *General Orders of the Army*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, WHITE-PLAINS, No-"vember 6, 1776;" *The Committee of Safety for the State of New-York to the President of the Congress*, "IN COMMITTEE OF SAFETY FOR THE STATE "OF NEW-YORK, FISHKILL, November 28, 1776;" *Memoirs of General Heath*, 83; etc.

[8] *General Orders of the Army*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, WHITE-PLAINS, No-"vember 6, 1776."

[9] *Committee of Safety for the State of New-York to the President of the Congress*, "IN COMMITTEE OF SAFETY, FOR THE STATE OF NEW YORK, "FISHKILL, November 28, 1776."

[10] *Report of the General Court-martial, held by order of Major-general Lee, for the trial of Major Austin*, "PHILIPSBURG, November 12, 1776."

[11] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November, "1776;" [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 211, 212; etc.

[12] *General Washington to the President of the Congress*, "WHITE-PLAINS, "6 November, 1776."

The Council referred to agreed, unanimously, that, in case the enemy was really retreating towards New York, it would be proper, immediately, to throw a body of troops, into New Jersey; that those troops who were from the States to the westward of the Hudson, should be thus detached, the others to be subject to "the movements of the enemy and "the circumstances of the American Army;" and that three thousand men should be detailed to take post at Peekskill and the passes in the Highlands, for the defence of those posts, for erecting fortifications, etc.

[13] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November, "1776."

[14] *General McDougal to Colonel DeWitt*, "WHITE-PLAINS, November 7, "1776;" *Memoirs of General Heath*, 84.

[15] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November, "1776."

[16] *General Washington to General Greene*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, 8 November, "1776."

of the line, which it had so honorably occupied; and took up its line of march, towards Peekskill, where it was to be permanently posted, for the defense of the Highlands;[1] and, on Sunday, the tenth of November, General Washington left the White Plains, to take command of those troops who had crossed the Hudson-river, and who, soon afterwards, were engaged in that disastrous retreat, through the Jerseys, and in that subsequent recovery of the greater part of that State, which so greatly distinguished him, as a commanding General, and which have been recorded, with such entire approbation, on the pages of history.[2] General Lee was left at the White Plains, with his own Division and those commanded by Generals Spencer and Sullivan, generally New York and New England troops, with orders to watch the movements of the enemy; to secure and carry off the Stores; and, then, to follow the main body of the Army, into the Jerseys.[3]

While General Washington and the main body of the American Army were thus falling back from their position, at North Castle, General Howe and the main body of the Royal Army continued to fall back and approach Kingsbridge. On Sunday, the tenth of November, a Brigade of Hessians was moved to that place, to increase the strength of General Knyphausen's already strong Division;[4] and, two days afterwards, [*Tuesday, November* 12,] the main body of the Royal Army broke up the encampment, at Dobbs's-ferry, which it had occupied since the preceding Wednesday, and, in two columns, moved towards Kingsbridge, resting, on the following day, [*Wednesday, November* 13,] on the heights of Fordham, and forming a line, with the Right upon the road leading to the Borough Town of Westchester, and covered by the Bronx-river, and with the Left on the Hudson-river,[5] where it remained, until the preparations for the assault on Fort Washington, which had been reasonably determined on, had been completed.[6]

The progress of the Royal Army through Westchester-county was distinguished by the outrages which were inflicted on the inhabitants, without respect to persons or sexes, on both those who were entirely conservative and disposed to favor the Royal cause and those who were radically and actively opposed to it—as General Washington described them, while forewarning the Governor of New Jersey of what the fate of that people would be, "they have treated all, "here, without discrimination: the distinction of "Whig and Tory has been lost in one general scene "of ravage and desolation."[7] In that work, the Hessians and the British troops were equally notorious; and what the soldiery spared, was frequently carried away by the soldiers' wives and mistresses, who formed a part of the retinue of the Army.[8] Indeed, the warmth of controversy called out from one of the most prominent Loyalists of that period, the following graphic description of the outrages inflicted by the King's troops: "The inhuman treatment alluded to, "was the indiscriminate plunder suffered to be committed, by the soldiery under his command, on "Staten Island, Long Island, the White Plains, and "in the Province of New Jersey, where friend and "foe, loyalist and rebel, met with the same fate—a "series of continued plunder, which was a disgrace to "an Army pretending to discipline, and which, while "it tended to relax the discipline of the troops, could "not fail to create the greatest aversion, even in the "breast of loyalty itself, to a service which, under the "fair pretence of giving them protection, robbed them, "in many instances, of even the necessaries of life."[9]

But the sufferings endured by the inhabitants of Westchester-county were not confined to those which were produced by the outrages inflicted by the Royal Army and its followers. We have already alluded,[10] incidentally, to the robberies of Horses which were inflicted on the farmers of that County, by Officers of the American Army, for their private uses, at their respective homes—not by the Rank and File, nor by the soldiers' wives and concubines, nor in a foreign country; but by the Commissioned Officers of the Army of Americans who had been moved into the County, for the protection of the inhabitants and of their properties. To such an extent were those robberies of Horses, to be sent to the homes of the thieves, for their private uses, carried on, that, after several *General Orders*, bearing on the subject, had

[1] *Memoirs of General Heath*, 84.

[2] *General Washington to the President of the Congress*, "PEEKSKILL, 11 "November, 1776."

[3] *Instructions of General Washington to General Lee*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, "NEAR THE WHITE-PLAINS, 10 November, 1776;" *Return of the Continental Troops under the command of General Lee*, "NORTH-CASTLE, No-"vember 16, 1776;" *Memoirs of General Heath*, 84.

[4] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November, "1776."

[5] *General Howe to Lord George Germaine*, "NEW-YORK, 30 November, "1776;" [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 212; etc.

[6] [Hall's] *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 212.

[7] *General Washington to Governor Livingston*, "WHITE-PLAINS, 7 No-"vember, 1776."

In a letter to General Greene, written on the same day, the General said, "They," [*the farmers, in New Jersey,*] "may rely upon it, that the "enemy will leave nothing they find among them; nor do they dis-"criminate between Whig and Tory. Woful experience has convinced "the latter, in the movements of the enemy, in this State, of this truth." —(*General Washington to General Greene*, "WHITE-PLAINS, November 7, "1776.")

[8] "The people who remained in that part of the country," [*Westchester-county,*] "through which they pass'd, have been most cruelly plun-"dered; many helpless women had even their shifts taken from their "backs by the soldiers' wives, after the great plunderers had done; and, "in this general ravage, no discrimination was made of Whig or Tory." (*Letter from Stamford*, dated "12th Nov. 1776," published in *The Freeman's Journal, or New-Hampshire Gazette*, Vol. I., No. 28, PORTSMOUTH, Tuesday, December 3, 1776.)

[9] [Galloway's] *Reply to the* Observations of Lieut. Gen. Sir William Howe on a pamphlet entitled *Letters to a Nobleman*, 17, 18.

On the general subject, see, also, *General McDougal to Colonel De Witt*, "WHITE-PLAINS, 7 November, 1776;" *Letter to a Gentleman in Virginia*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, WHITE-PLAINS, November 8, 1776," published in Force's *American Archives*, V., iii., 603; *The Committee of Safety to the President of the Congress*, "IN COMMITTEE OF SAFETY FOR THE "STATE OF NEW-YORK, FISHKILL, November 20, 1776;" etc.

[10] Vide pages 415, 416, ante.

been issued, without having checked the career of robbery, General Washington was constrained to issue another, in these words, sufficiently illustrative of the practices and of his views concerning them: "It is with astonishment the General hears that some "Officers have taken Horses, between the enemy's "Camp and ours, and sent them into the country, for "their private use. Can it be possible that per- "sons bearing Commissions and fighting in such "a cause, can degrade themselves into plunderers of "Horses? He hopes every Officer will set his face "against it, in future; and does insist that the "Colonels and commanding Officers of Regiments im- "mediately inquire into the matter, and report to him "who have been guilty of these practices; and that "they take an account of the Horses in their re- "spective encampments; and send to the Quarter- "master-general all that are not in some public "service."[1]

While some of the Officers of the American Army were thus employed in replenishing their own stables, at their respective homes, from the stables of the farmers of Westchester-county, others of that Army, Officers and Privates, were systematically visiting the houses of those farmers and robbing them of whatever was acceptable to them. Like the British and Hessians, they were not respecters of either the friends of the American cause or those of the King; nor did they hesitate to rob helpless and unprotected females and their families; sometimes turning them out of their houses, undressed and in their night-clothes; and, generally, adding personal abuse of their victims to the crime of robbing them. Nothing whatever was unacceptable to the thieves; and the bags of Feathers and of unmanufactured Wool, the Desks and Tea-tables and Chairs, the Book-cases and Books, the Andirons and brass and copper Kettles, the linen Curtains and Looking-glasses and women's Hats, the Churns and Washtubs, the sets of Sleigh-harness and skips of Bees, which appear recorded among the articles which were thus stolen by the soldiers whom Massachusetts and Connecticut had sent into the Army, very clearly indicated that while the Horses of the farmers of Westchester-county were stolen for the supplying of the stables of the thieves, at their respective homes, the Household Furniture belonging to the same farmers, and the Clothing of their wives, and their unmanufactured Wool and Feathers, and their Bees, were also stolen for the purpose of enriching the homes and the work-rooms and the gardens of those same "Christian" New Englanders, and the wardrobes of their families. Among those who were thus robbed were Miles Oakley, who was the Landlord of the Tavern, contiguous to the Court-house, in the Village of the White Plains;[2] John Martine, the grandfather of the late Caleb Martine of Greenburgh and of the widow of the late Thomas Dean of Tarrytown, whose homestead is now occupied by Isaac F. Van Wart, of Greenburgh; Talman Pugsley, who is said to have lived where the brick School-house now stands, opposite to the residence of Abraham Beare, of Greenburgh; Phœbe Oakley, who was the sister-in-law of Talman Pugsley; Marmaduke Foster, who was the son-in-law of John Martine; and Solomon Pugsley and the widow Elizabeth Pugsley, whose places of residence are not known to us; and their Depositions and Statements and the Schedules of the articles stolen from John Martine and his son-in-law, afford, at once, the evidence of the robberies and of the comforts which were to be found in the homes of the quiet and industrious and intelligent residents of Westchester-county, at that time.[3] Among the thieves whose names have come down to us, were Major Bacon, Captains Gale, Shaddock, and Ford, and others, of Colonel Brewer's Regiment of Artificers, of the Massachusetts Line; and Officers and Privates of the Regiment of Connecticut troops, commanded by Colonel Charles Webb.[4]

In view of these great outrages, and of many others of which no records have been preserved, the Committee of Safety for the State addressed a letter to the President of the Continental Congress, in which are these concluding words: "I have the satisfaction "to assure you that the fortitude of this State and "their zeal for the glorious cause in which we are "engaged, is not abated; on the contrary, we are "prepared to meet even severer misfortunes, with a "spirit and firmness becoming the generous advo-

[1] *General Orders*, "HEAD-QUARTERS, WHITE-PLAINS, October 31, 1776."

[2] On page 68, ante, note 1, we referred to a Tavern, also contiguous to the Court-house, which, in April, 1775, was said to have been the meeting-place of Lewis Morris and his friends; to have been kept by Isaac Oakley; and to have stood until about 1868, when it was burned.

Unless there were two Taverns, in the White Plains, with Oakleys for their Landlords, in 1775 and 1776; or, unless Miles had succeeded Isaac, as the Landlord of the one Tavern which was "Oakley's "Tavern," between April, 1775, and November, 1776, we were probably in error, in our former statement, concerning the *name* of the Oakley who was the Landlord of that Tavern which was, there, mentioned: and if only one "Oakley's Tavern" was in existence, in the White Plains, at that time, it was among the buildings which were burned by Major Austin, on the fifth of November, 1776, (*vide pages* 452, 453, *ante*;) and, therefore, was not standing until 1868, as stated on page 244.

We have not been able to ascertain the facts; and so leave the matter in doubt.

[3] *Petition of Miles Oakley to General Washington*, "November 9, 1776;" *Deposition of John Martine* and *Memorandum of Goods plundered from him*, "dated November 13, 1776"; *Deposition of Talman Pugsley*, "dated "the second day of December, 1776"; *Petition of Phœbe Oakley to the Convention of New-York*, and her *Deposition*, "dated the second of December, "1776"; *Deposition of Marmaduke Foster* and a *List of Articles taken by the soldiers, from him*, "dated the thirteenth of November, 1776"; *Release, by Stephen Oakley*, "*in behalf of Solomon Pugsley and the widow "Elizabeth Pugsley, to Captain Ford*, "for the things that said Captain "Ford and his men did take out of the house of Solomon Pugsley, near "the lines of the enemy, at White Plains, on Philips's Manor;" etc.

No more interesting papers, connected with the history of that period and illustrative of the morality and integrity of New Englanders of the era of the Revolutionary War, can be found, anywhere, than these.

[4] *Depositions of Phœbe Oakley, John Martine, Talman Pugsley, and Marmaduke Foster; Release, by Stephen Oakley to Captain Ford; Deposition of Ebenezer Burrill*, "dated the second day of December, 1776"; etc.

"cates for Liberty. Unhappily am I to add, that, "amidst all our suffering, the Army employed for "the protection of America have not refrained from "embittering even the calamities of War. At a "time when the utmost resources of this State were "laid open to their wants, and the members of Con-"vention personally submitted to the labour and "fatigue which were necessary, on a sudden emer-"gency, and after frequent losses of Provisions and "Barracks, to supply two numerous Armies, aug-"mented by the Militia, with every article which "they required, the Court-house and the remains of "the Village, at the White Plains, which had been "spared, on the retreat of our forces, was, after the "enemy had, in their turn, retired, wantonly de-"stroyed, without the Orders and to the infinite re-"gret of our worthy General. Besides, in spite of "all his Excellency's efforts, wherever our troops "have marched or been stationed, they have done "infinite damage to the possessions and farms, and "have pilfered the property of the people.

"I am directed, Sir, to submit it to the honourable "Congress, whether some effectual remedy ought "not to be provided against such disorderly and dis-"graceful proceedings. The soldier who plunders "the country he is employed to protect, is no better "than a robber, and ought to be treated accordingly; "and a severe example ought, in the opinion of the "Committee, to be made of the Officer who, without "necessity or his General's permission, set fire to the "Court-house and other buildings, at the White "Plains. He is guilty of the crime of Arson; and if "he cannot be punished by the Articles of War, he "ought to be given up to the Laws of the land. If "so glaring a violation of every sentiment of human-"ity should be passed over, in silence, if the Army "is not seasonably restrained from such acts of bar-"barity, the consequence must be fatal to the cause "of a people whose exalted glory it is to be advocates "for the Rights of Mankind against the tyranny and "oppression of lawless power."[1]

The conduct of General Washington, in the trying events of that memorable Campaign, in Westchester-county, has received the unqualified approbation of his country and of the world, and secured for him the highest honors, as a Soldier and as a commanding General. The conduct of General Howe, during the same Campaign, received nothing else than the approval of the King, his step-brother, and that of the party of the Opposition, in the Parliament, of which he was a member, and which was, peculiarly, the party who was in sympathy with America.

Both the Admiral and the General, commanders, respectively, of the King's Fleet and Army, were accused, by the Press of Great Britain and in the Parliament, with want of wisdom, in the formation of their plans; and with want of vigor and energy, in the execution of those plans.[2] "A connection with "the Opposition, and a resolution, assumed before "their departure from England, to frustrate every "measure of the" [*then*] "present Administration, "and, thereby, to bring them" [*the Administration,*] "into disgrace with their Sovereign and the Nation," were, also, boldly charged on the two brothers;[3] while others "shrewdly suspected that their poverty, not "their will, consented"—they said that it was "ob-"vious to all, that, had the Admiral destroyed the "rebel ships, in their ports, or effectually blockaded "up their harbors, no valuable captures of Tobacco or "Indigo could have fallen to the share of the British "Admiral;" and they did not hesitate to assert that large fortunes were accumulated, from that source.[4] They also took advantage of the friendship which had existed between the family of Howe and the Americans, during the French War; and they boldly charged the brothers with positive friendship for the American cause.[5] All of these charges were, probably, more or less true. The two brothers were indolent men; fond of company, wine, and play: they were, in fact, identified with the party of the Opposition: they did not attempt to conceal the sympathy, which, to some extent, they felt for the Americans: like other Commanders, in both ancient and modern times, they probably kept a sharp eye on the spoils. But there were, also, other circumstances, of which their accusers knew nothing and of which the world, to-day, knows only very little, which largely controlled them; and it is only reasonable and fair, therefore, that the accused should, also, be heard on the subject—when a Committee of the House of Commons was charged with the grave duty of inquiring into the conduct of General Howe, during his command of the King's troops in North America, that distinguished Officer made a written defense, in which we find the following words, relative to the operations of the Royal Army, in Westchester-county:

"From the twelfth of October, the day the Army "landed on Frog's-neck, to the twenty-first of the "same month, we were employed in getting up Stores "and Provisions; and in bringing over the Dragoons, "the Second Division of Hessians, and the carriages "and horses for transportating Provisions, Artillery, "Ammunition, and Baggage. Four or five days had

[1] *The Committee of Safety to the President of the Congress,* "In Commit-"tee of Safety for the State of New-York, Fishkill, November "20, 1776."

[2] [Galloway's] *Letters to a Nobleman,* 36; [Galloway's] *Reply to the* Observations of Lieut. Gen. Sir William Howe, on a pamphlet, entitled *Letters to a Nobleman; Letter from "Cicero" to Lord Howe,* 2, 3; Wraxall's *Memoirs of his own Time,* Edit. Philadelphia: 1845, 163; etc.

[3] *A Letter to the Right Honorable Lord Viscount H——e,* Edit. London: 1779, 42, 43; *Letter from "Cicero" to Lord Howe,* 196; Wraxall's *Memoirs,* 163; etc.

[4] *A Letter to the Right Honorable Lord Viscount H——e,* 43, 44; *Letter from "Cicero" to Lord Howe,* 1, 2; etc.

[5] *A Letter to the Right Honorable Lord Viscount H——e,* 42, 43; *Letter from "Cicero" to Lord Howe,* 7–9; *The Middlesex Journal and Advertiser,* No. 1207, London: From Saturday, December 14, to Tuesday, December 17, 1776; etc.

"been unavoidably taken up in landing at Frog's-"neck, instead of going, at once, to Pell's-point, "which would have been an imprudent measure, as it "could not have been executed without much un-"necessary risk.

"On the twenty-eighth of October, the engagement "at the White-Plains took place. But it has been "asserted, that, by my not attacking the lines, on the "day of that action, I lost an opportunity of destroy-"ing the Rebel Army; and it has been also said, "that I might have cut off the enemy's retreat by the "Croton-bridge. Sir: an assault upon the enemy's "right, which was opposed to the Hessian troops, "was intended. The Committee must give me credit "when I assure them, that I have political reasons, "and no other, for declining to explain why that as-"sault was not made. Upon a minute inquiry, those "reasons might, if necessary, be brought out, in evi-"dence, at the Bar. If, however, the assault had been "made, and the lines carried, the enemy would have "got off, without much loss; and no way had we, "that I could ever learn, of cutting off their retreat "by the Croton-bridge. I cannot conceive the foun-"dation of such an idea. By forcing the lines, we "should, undoubtedly, have gained a more brilliant "advantage, some Baggage, and some Provisions; but "we had no reason to suppose that the Rebel Army "could have been destroyed. The ground in their "rear was such as they could wish, for securing their "retreat, which, indeed, seemed to be their particular "object. And, Sir, I do not hesitate to confess that, "if I could, by any manœuvre, remove an enemy "from a very advantageous position, without hazard-"ing the consequences of an attack, where the point "to be carried was not adequate to the loss of men to "be expected from the enterprise, I should certainly "adopt that cautionary conduct, in the hopes of "meeting my adversary upon more equal terms."[1]

The careful student of that portion of the history of our own country which relates to the Campaign in Westchester-county, in 1776, will arise from the examination of it with the words on his lips which the Apostle Paul employed, in another connection: "God "hath chosen the foolish things of the world to con-"found the wise, and God hath chosen the weake "things of the world, to confound the mighty things, "and vile things of the world, and things which are "despised, hath God chosen, and things which are "not, to bring to nought things that are."[2]

Henry B. Dawson

[1] *Speech of General Howe before the Committee of the House of Commons, April 29, 1779*—Almon's *Parliamentary Register*, Fifth Session, Fourteenth Parliament of Great Britain, xii., 324.

See, also, *The Narrative of Sir William Howe*, 6, 7.

[2] *The Newe Testament*, Genevan Version, Edit. London: 1595, 1 Corinthians, i., 27, 28.

CHAPTER VII.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS DURING THE COLONIAL AND PROVINCIAL PERIODS.

BY J. THOMAS SCHARF, A.M. LL.D.

"THE history of nations," said Taine, "is the history of the men who make up nations; it is in the homes of the common people, their daily lives and their ambitions, that we find the motives which actuate the most important national events, revolutionize governments and change the political geography of continents." To no communities could this judicious comment of the keenest of critics be more aptly applied than to those which, derived from all the maritime peoples of Europe, laid broad and deep the stable foundations of Caucasian civilization in North America and erected upon them the impregnable structure of free government. Writers of history never so generally recognized as they do now that to construct an intelligent and comprehensive narrative of a State, or its divisions they must seek the source of truth and the springs of action at the firesides of the pioneers of population and the civil establishment. No department of historical research is more fascinating to the student or the reader than that which throws a penetrating light upon the domestic life of the founders of our present society and government, and brings them out in bold relief as they transacted their business and household affairs, paid court to the blooming maidens who became their wives, reared their children, mingled in their feasts and festivals, built their churches and struggled to bequeath to their children the heritage of honored names and goodly estates. Rich as were all the early settlements of North America in this field of study, no section is more attractive than that in which Westchester County is embraced. The successive tides of Dutch and English immigration, the original sharp definition of the lines which separated the two nationalities, the obliteration of those lines by a merging of racial interests, the institution of slavery, the growth of the colony toward moneyed prosperity, the influence of the Revolutionary War in domestic circles, the political and social readjustment which followed it—all these epochs are vitalized by stirring, important and interesting incidents and phases that are gifted with an enduring charm for the generations succeeding the actors in them.

Traders rather than colonists, the Dutch settlers were slow to move northward on the Hudson until the purchases of Indian lands by the West Indian Company, by Brons and by Adrian von der Donck. About 1623 they began to undertake the colonization of the valley of the Hudson, and were followed by the English and the Huguenots. "Westchester," writes Mrs. Catharine Van Cortlandt,[1] in a hitherto unpub-

[1] To Mrs. Van Cortlandt, the author of this chapter is deeply indebted.

lished sketch of the early settlers, their manners and customs, "was not as Dutch a county as many others, although many of its settlers were Hollanders and their descendants. The Dutch language was not so much spoken as in Rockland or Orange. In the southern part of the county the Huguenot and English stocks prevailed, and the near proximity of New York caused an advance in their customs and manners. In the Dutch Churches in the northern part of the county the congregations clung tenaciously to their language and usages, yielding to the encroachments of the English step by step and grudgingly."

The few adventurers who challenged fortune outside of Manhattan [1] toward the close of the first quarter of the seventeenth century, and pushed up the river, invaded the primeval forests with a view of securing land for cultivation, or else established fisheries on the shore. Many probably made their first dwellings along the river in caves formed by digging into the bank; but they soon learned from the Indians the construction of bark wigwams, which afforded a much more comfortable abode, and which, when improved by the devices which suggested themselves to the European mind, became the log cabins renowned in song and story. The house of logs from which the bark had been peeled was a mark of gentility and a second story was a luxury, although the occupant might have to reach his chamber under the roof-poles by ascending steps on the outside, or by climbing up a perpendicular ladder within the house. A dwelling of logs hewn and squared with the broad axe and adze was the highest of the kind. But about 1635 a class of immigrants began to arrive who gave a new character to the Hudson region. They were Hollanders and Huguenots, who came with large amounts of ready money to occupy vast grants of land, most of which had manorial rights attached to them. With their large families and troops of servants, white and black, they of necessity erected large and comfortable mansions on the plan of those from which they had taken their departure in the Fatherland. "In New York and the region about the Hudson River," wrote Rev. Edward Eggleston, "the foundation form of the early dwelling was the Dutch house built with its gable to the street. The top of the gable wall was notched into corbel steps, and the black fire-bricks of the kiln were laid alternating with red or yellow ones to make checks on the gable front." Mrs. Van Cortlandt sketches the houses of the middle class and farmers, which, she says, were of rough stone when they were not of brick. She adds: "The windows were filled in with small panes of glass; the heavy wooden outside shutters swung upon massive iron hinges. They had usually a crescent cut near the top to admit the early light, and were held back by an iron somewhat in the shape of an S inserted in the stone wall. As ground was cheap, these houses were large in extent and commonly a story and a half in height, the roof sloping steeply from the ridge pole, and dormer windows broke its uniformity. Double-pitched houses were of later date, as were those in the interior of the county shingled on the sides as well as on the roof. The front door was invariably divided into halves; in the upper half were two bull's eyes of glass to light the hall, and it was graced with a heavy brass knocker. The lower half had a heavy latch. A wide piazza surrounded the house. In the villages a front stoop was common, with benches on each side. Here the families took their evening rest and the neighbors discussed the questions of the day. The houses mostly had a southern exposure. Attached to them was usually an extension for the kitchen and the use of the servants, which was generally built of brick. Many bricks were brought from Holland, but these extensions or wings were most frequently built of rough brick from the kilns on the Hudson River, of which early mention is made.

"In houses of much size the rooms were often wainscoted to the height of about three feet, or a chair board (a beveled moulding) ran about the same height from the floor. Sometimes the wainscot was carved, as well as the paneling about the deep wooden seats and the mantel-pieces. The fire-places occupied a large space, in some very old houses being placed cornerwise. Tiles, usually of Scripture scenes, adorned the fire-places. Some were of quite fine ware, entirely white, as in the Van Cortlandt Manor-house, where one or two were spared by the soldiers when removing the rest to use as plates. The fire-irons, fender and andirons were of solid brass and always as brilliant as hands could make them, forming with the fire a perfect picture, but alas for those who in biting winter days could not get close to that fire!"

As the colony grew stronger the Dutch scattered farther in the interior and luxury invaded the towns which they and the other settlers founded along the Hudson. As they built better houses they made or imported fine furniture for them, but the earlier equipments of the living rooms were as rude in character as scant in number. The pallet on the floor—"the Kermis bed," as the Dutch called it—was an occasional resort, even in good houses. The Labadist travelers in 1688 sojourned in a tavern near the Hudson that put its guests to sleep on a horse bedding of

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for much valuable information pertaining to the early history of Westchester County that could not elsewhere be obtained. The family records in her possession are improved in their historical worth by her arrangement of them, and by her clear and logical deductions from the facts which they contain. She has taken the utmost interest in the preparation of this history and has contributed to it material that is unique both in its character and importance.

[1] In the Indian language, *Manahachtanienks*—"the place where they all got drunk"—so called by the Indians, says that indefatigable chronicler John F. Watson, in commemoration of their first meeting with Captain Hudson, when that celebrated man made them acquainted with the peculiar effects of strong drink, which according to the tradition handed down to their descendants by these unsophisticated savages, "produced staggering and happy feeling."—*Watson's "New York in the Olden Time."*

hay before the fire; and a hundred years later Chateaubriand found an inn on the New York frontier where everybody slept about a central post that upheld the roof, heads outward and feet toward the centre. This was the manner common in England in King Alfred's day, thirteen centuries ago. Such poor people in the colonies as possessed tastes too luxurious to enjoy a deer-skin on the hearth, were accustomed to fill their bed-sacks and pillows with fibrous mistletoe, the down of the cat-tail flag, or with feathers of pigeons slaughtered from the innumerable migrating flocks. Cotton from the milk-weed, then called "silk grass," was used for pillows and cushions.

No contrast could be sharper than that between such primitive accommodations and the elegance which marked the manor-houses, which were the pride of the colony. The patroons, and indeed all the landed proprietors, gloried in the solid magnificence of their household appurtenances. Mrs. Van Cortlandt has written of these stately houses so graphically that pictures of them may be recreated in the mind's eye from her description: "The furniture of well-to-do people was massive and costly and that of the plainer classes good and made to last. Large sideboards were loaded with silver beakers, tankards, candlesticks and mugs. The latter were used at funerals to hold mulled wine. In Albany it was the custom to borrow these mugs of all the relatives and return them after the funeral filled with the fragrant compound, and doubtless this was also done in Westchester. The sideboards also held inlaid mahogany boxes, which contained the spoons and forks. A cellaret of mahogany bound in brass and lined with metal was the receptacle of the wine bottles. Heavy old mahogany chairs, with leather bottoms, and massive tables, whose leaves let down, completed the furniture of the dining-room. The cupboards set in the walls held china, which was often very beautiful, especially that of the favorite Lowestoffe and Chinese makes. The glassware was finely cut, and some of the goblets had stems adorned with spiral threads of opaque glass. Pewter platters, plates, dishes and mugs were in daily use.[1]

"The bed-room furniture embraced an enormous four-post bedstead, the posts handsomely carved and supporting a canopy or tester hung with dimity or fringed chintz curtains and a fringed valance to match.[2] A sacking bottom was pierced at intervals with large holes, worked with coarse linen thread in button-hole stitch. Through these orifices a stout rope was inserted and drawn around the corresponding pegs in the bedstead by strong hands, and upon this foundation great feather beds were piled. In the guest chamber, over the blankets and sheets was spread a white quilt, which was often a work of art, so beautifully was it quilted and so well were roses and tulips delineated by the needle upon its surface. The small wash-stands were frequently three-cornered, and the ware they held was usually dark blue and white. Venetian blinds shaded the windows, and were very troublesome because of the entangling of the cords which raised and lowered them. A large stuffed chair, covered with chintz or dimity, was an indispensable piece of furniture, as was also a bright brass warming-pan. After a while great tin-plate stoves warmed the bed chambers, the Franklin stoves being reserved for the parlors and sitting-rooms.



OLD STYLE SILVER TEA SERVICE.

"The toilet table was usually of wood, in half-moon shape, the top covered with linen or muslin beautifully quilted. I have such a cover, very artistically worked with oak leaves and acorns. Sometimes the bed and window-curtains were of chintz, worked with birds and flowers never known to nature. One set yet preserved represents Fame with a trumpet hovering over Washington, upon whose brow she is placing a laurel wreath. The curious and, in some cases, very beautiful blue and white counterpanes, still to be found in old houses, were woven at a factory in the interior of Westchester County. Infants

[1] These pewter utensils were highly valued. One man, in 1690, leaves to his wife "her bed and some small reversions of pewter," and to his daughter "two great charges of pewter, two pewter platters next to them, two lesser platters, a flaggon and a cow." A widow, in 1688, relinquishes her thirds in favor of her two sons, who promise her a certain yearly allowance—"only her wearing clothes, with her bed and what belonged to it and her peweter—those to remain to her and to be at her disposal."—*History of Rye, by Rev. Chas. W. Baird.*

[2] One must have slept in a Dutch bed to understand the bliss or agony resulting from its peculiar arrangement. Going to bed in this case is a science. The first difficulty for a novice is to let himself drop into the very middle of the feathery mass, *on his back;* he sinks and the soft mass closes round him, leaving but a longitudinal strip of his body exposed. Now comes the last and most difficult act. By an adroit twist of his wrist he must bring the narrow down coverlet right over the aperture; if he succeeds he soon falls into blissful oblivion; if he fails he will feel for the remainder of the night as though he were lying in a bed of hot ashes and having iced water poured over him. The "*sloap banck*," or "bunk," was an humbler style of bedstead in use, but it had also its bed of live-geese feathers.

were put to rest in heavy mahogany cradles, which had a sort of roof extending over the head to shield the child's eyes from the light.

"The parlors or drawing-rooms were laid with Turkey carpets, and round mirrors hung on the walls. They were topped with brass eagles, and fitted with branches for holding the wax candles used by the rich. Other mirrors were oblong, and divided by a gilt moulding about a foot and a half from the top. In some cases the upper division was of glass; but more frequently it held a picture. I have one the upper compartment of which displays a group of military weapons, drums, etc., with a female figure mourning the death of Washington. Mantel glasses were separated into three divisions by strips of narrow gilt moulding. Small tables, with claw feet holding a ball, were used, and mahogany stands, with tops that turned; these could be placed in the corners to occupy very little room.



"GRANDFATHER'S" CLOCK.

"Tall eight-day clocks in mahogany or ebony and gilt frames were found in all households of the better class. One that was stolen from the Van Cortlandt manor-house during the Revolution was cased in gilded ebony, and above its face was a painting of the Queen of Sheba on her way to lay her gifts at the feet of King Solomon. If these big time-pieces were not decorated with a figure-painting, a marine view or a landscape, they bore the sun and moon between the dial and the top of the frame.

"At the entertainments of the rich the tables fairly groaned under their weight of viands. All sorts of meats, fowl, fish, oysters and clams burdened them, while the choice wines tickled the palates of *connoisseurs*. Perhaps they favored none more than the renowned vintage of the south side of the island of Madeira. For a more potent drink they resorted to 'rack punch,' a concoction in which the strong arrack was the principal ingredient. Toasts were drunk at all dinners, the gentlemen proposing the ladies and the ladies the gentlemen.

"There was plenty of employment for sportsmen. Wild turkeys, pheasants, quail and other feathered game abounded, and Cooper tells us that as late as 1755 'nothing was easier than to knock over a buck in the Highlands.' The negroes were uniformly good shots, and used pointers and setters when hunting.

"The kitchen fire-places were of huge size. A large back-log was rolled into the yawning cavity by the united power of stout men-servants, and on the massive iron andirons hickory and other wood was piled, while the whole fiery mass was kept in place by a heavy fore-stick. The iron shovel and tongs seemed fit for the use of giants. Before these leaping flames and glowing logs stood, in the morning, a ponderous tin 'Dutch oven,' on whose spear-like spit revolved a turkey, a saddle of mutton or a roast of beef. The spit was turned by one of the many little darkeys who peopled the kitchen of every great homestead. In a corner of the fire-place stood, on thick squat legs, a bake-pot, filled with a savory mess, and its iron lid covered with hot embers. From beneath the chimney-piece swung the crane, whose long, horizontal arm bore a profusion of pot-hooks and trammels, from which depended innumerable pots, long-handled frying-pans and other paraphernalia of the *cuisine*. But no kitchen utensil was more unique than the wooden bowls which the Indians fashioned from the knots of the maple tree and sold to the house-keepers. Scoured to immaculate whiteness, they had their place in every family and were highly prized.

"At Christmas and other holiday seasons the stupendous brick ovens, without which no gentleman's house could be thought thoroughly equipped, would be filled three times a day—first with generous loaves of wheat and rye, then with chicken and game pastries, and lastly with the succulent mince, apple and cranberry pies.

"A necessary labor in spring and autumn was the making, or dipping, of tallow candles. Six cotton wicks would be doubled over a rod, then dipped in the melted tallow and drawn between the manipulator's finger and thumb until the tallow gained some consistency. The rod was hung up while the candles dried and a second dipping and drawing finished the work. Presently some unknown genius invented a frame that held thirty-six wicks, and eight or ten such frames made the labor quick and easy of performance. Tin molds were employed when a small supply of candles was needed, and the big box of 'dips' nearly empty. Mr. Jesse Ryder, of Ossining, says that at one time cotton was so high priced that tow was used for wicks, and the 'dips' gave a poor light. Candlesticks for the kitchen were cut from large, square wooden blocks.

"'Killing time' was a country festival. Before Christmas the oaken lard kegs and the capacious beef and pork casks were cleaned. Then the hogs and cattle were slaughtered, and abundant supplies of souse, sausage, hams, jowls, bacon, pork and beef laid away. Curing occupied much time with the rude implements of the day. Sausage meat cut into half-inch pieces was thrown into wooden boxes two and a-half or three feet long by ten inches deep, where men armed with spades ground to a razor-edge, chopped it into tiny fragments. By the help of a small tin tube, it was packed in small linen bags, or casings, as they were called.

"Soap-making was an occupation of the spring. Great leach tubs standing out of doors on high frames were filled with wood ashes, on which water

was slowly poured to produce lye, and the work of soap-boiling began. To be perfect soft-soap, it must be 'white as snow and thick as liver.'

"Matches were not known; so the tinder-box, with its flint and charred linen rag, did duty. When illness was in the household, or the nursery needed a light, a minute wax taper floating in a wine-glass filled with sperm oil provided a faint illumination. Sperm oil lamps came into use very much later."

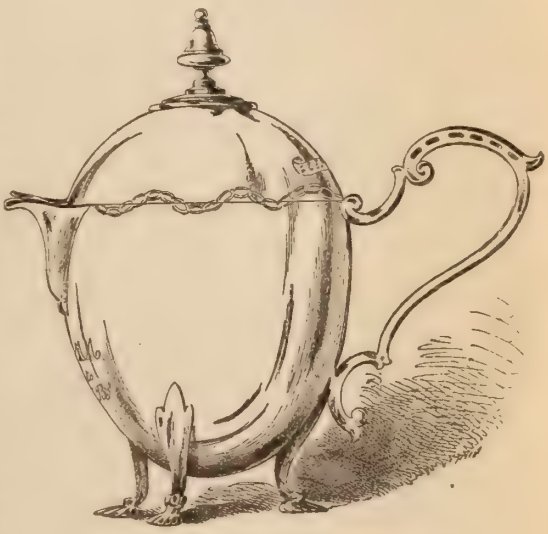
Washington Irving brought out with fine detail many features of the old Dutch social life. In his facetious notices of New York in the early colonial days he merely made fictitious personages to move amid actual scenes. His "Knickerbocker" is made to say of the "grand parlour:" "In this sacred apartment no one was permitted to enter, excepting the mistress and her confidential maid, who visited it once a week for the purpose of giving it a thorough cleaning and putting things to rights, always taking the precaution of leaving their shoes at the door, and entering lightly on their stocking feet. After scrubbing the floor and sprinkling it with fine white sand, which was curiously stroked into angles and curves with a broom; after washing the windows, rubbing and polishing the furniture, and putting a new bunch of evergreens in the fire-place, the window-shutters were again closed to keep out the flies, and the room carefully locked up, until the revolution of time brought round the weekly cleaning day.

"As to the family, they always entered in at the gate, and most generally lived in the kitchen . . . The fire-places were of a truly patriarchal magnitude, where the whole family, old and young, master and servant, black and white, nay, even the cat and dog enjoyed a community of privilege, and each a right to a corner.

"In these primitive days, a well-regulated family always rose with the dawn, dined at eleven and went to bed at sundown." Our frugal ancestors were averse, it seems, to giving dinners, but the wealthier classes "that is to say, such as kept their own cows, and drove their own wagons," gave *tea-parties*. On these occasions the company assembled about three o'clock, and went away at six—even earlier in winter-time. "Knickerbocker" describes these parties,—

"The tea was served out of a majestic delft tea-pot, ornamented with paintings of fat little Dutch shepherds and shepherdesses tending pigs, with boats sailing in the air, and houses built in the clouds, and sundry other ingenious Dutch fantasies. The beaux distinguished themselves by their adroitness in replenishing this pot, from a huge copper tea-kettle, which might make the beaux of the present day sweat merely to look at it! To sweeten the beverage, a lump of sugar was laid beside each cup, and the company alternately nibbled and sipped with great decorum." In such parties propriety and dignity of deportment prevailed; "the young ladies seated themselves demurely in their rush-bottomed chairs, and knit their own woolen stockings, speaking but little, and chiefly in brief answers to questions put to them, few and far between. As to the gentlemen, each of them tranquilly smoked his pipe, and seemed lost in contemplation of the blue and white tiles with which the fire-places were decorated, wherein sundry passages of Scripture were piously portrayed."

The dress of the people varied with their fortunes and the change from the log cabin epoch to that of the wealthy and courtly inhabitants of the broad manors. The men who first adventured into the woods learned from the Indians to wear dressed skins and moccasins, but with those of the towns and farmsteads their ambition, as well as that of their womenfolk, was to dress in the manner of "the best fashion at home." Long hair was universal in the days before periwigs. Cutting the hair short was the brand of disgrace and the mark of identification affixed to a servant who ran away before his term of indenture



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S CREAM-POT.

had expired. Puritanism was somewhat successful in its fight against long hair, but when the periwig re-appeared, in the reign of Charles II., it proved too enticing for human vanity to resist. It probably succumbed at length to the very completeness of its victory. Not only men of dignity wore it, but many humbler men followed their example. "One finds," says Mr. Eggleston, "half-fed country schoolmasters in wigs; tradesmen also proceeded to shave off their natural hair and don the mass of thread, silk, horsehair or women's hair, with which wigs of various kinds were compounded. Apprentice lads under twenty are described in advertisements of runaways as wearing wigs; hired servants aped the quality, and transported rogues were tricked out in wigs to make them marketable." After 1750 the decline of the wig began, but the natural hair was curled, frizzled,

powdered, queued and clubbed.[1] The rage for growing the longest possible switch of hair infected all classes; sailors and boatmen wrapped in eelskin their cherished locks, and the back countryman was accustomed to preserve his by enveloping it in a piece of bear's gut dyed red, or clubbing it in a buckskin bag. Women wore the lofty "tower" or "commode" head-dress, which, in the exaggeration that preceded its abolition, usually exceeded in its height the length of the face below it. The Dutch dames did not fall victims to any of the eccentricities of fashion; but with their close-fitting caps, velvet bodices, short and voluminous skirts—the muslin petticoats crisp and stiff with starch—the household keys hanging from their girdles and their capacious pockets filled with scissors, pin-cushion and other domestic tools, made a stubborn fight against the encroachments of the female dandyisms imported from across the Atlantic.

In course of time the homespun linsey became the ordinary wear in the farmers' homes, but up to the opening of the Revolutionary epoch "My Lady of the Manor" luxuriated in costumes that rivaled the extreme modes of European aristocratic circles. She might be a year late in adopting them, but she was not responsible for their delay in reaching her, and there are certain cotemporary records which leave no doubt in the mind that she and her daughters were not backward even in adopting and continuing the ultra *decollete* gowns which the Stuart Restoration made indispensable to an English fashionable woman. They embraced themselves in the cruel stays that compressed their figures into the wasp-like waist then the object of foolish admiration, and tilted themselves forward on the pinching and high-heeled shoes, which had passed from Louis Quatorze to Charles II., and thence to the colonies. The stalwart and heroic impulses which united the colonies in their revolt against the British monarchy penetrated all classes of society, and as the crisis approached dress became simpler and the great ladies co-operated with their lords to represent in their own persons the economy and plainness which typified the coming era of war and republicanism.

As to the women in their homes, Mrs. Van Cortlandt has to say,—

"Knitting was an art much cultivated, the Dutch women excelling in the variety and intricacy of the stitches. A knitting sheath, which might be of silver or of a homely goose quill, was an indispensable utensil to the dame, and beside it hung a ball pin-cushion. Crewel work and silk embroidery were fashionable, and surprisingly pretty effects were produced. Every little maiden had her sampler, which she began with the alphabet and numerals, following them with a Scriptural text or verse of a metrical psalm. Then the fancy was let loose on birds, beasts and trees. Most of the old families possessed framed pieces of embroidery, the handiwork of female ancestors, some of which can stand comparison with the Kensington productions of this day. Flounces and trimmings for aprons, worked with delicately tinted silks on muslins, were common. The hand painting of strips of trimming for dresses is not a modern art. I have several yards of fine muslin painted in the early days with full-blown thistles in the appropriate colors. Fringe looms were in use and cotton and silk fringe was woven. The former was used for the fine dimity wrappers worn in the morning. These garments were trimmed with cotton inserting and a cotton cord and tassels confined them at the waist. Chintz, usually of East India manufacture, with vivid colors on a white ground, was in vogue, and made up into a sack and petticoat. Large and showy patterns of flowers and buds prevailed.

"For full dress, brocades and moire antique were worn. The robe of a bride in 1748 was of moire antique with a long train, the sleeves coming to the elbow. The bosom and sleeves were trimmed with lace, headed by a narrow pinked ruffle of the silk. The exquisitely quilted petticoat came from Holland, as did the clocked silk stockings, a present to the bride. Canton crape, levantine, lutestring silk and other silks were worn by the ladies. Leno, a muslin with a very open mesh, was used for trimming. Dainty half handkerchiefs, with narrow embroidered borders of gold or silver thread, were worn as fichus. Powder was in general use and the hair was dressed on high rolls in front and tied behind in a sort of bag-shaped queue. Aprons much trimmed and embroidered were a part of full dress, and hoops were also in vogue. Slippers of silk and kid had immensely high heels, sloping to the instep, and it is a marvel how the wearers balanced themselves. Fortunately, the dance they favored was the slow and stately Minuet. Necklaces were mostly made of heavy gold beads, plain or carved. Fans were very large and handsome. Here and there in old families still are seen very beautiful chatelaines, from which hung the watch and seals.

"When calves were killed for family use, the skins were tanned and kept until the peripatetic shoemaker, who traveled through the country, made his annual visit, when he halted long enough to make shoes for the elders, the children and the servants. The tailoress, too, made yearly or semi-yearly visits and undertook to turn the homespun cloth into garments. The coming of the mantua-maker, with her European patterns, created a lively stir among the matrons and maidens. Sewing in those days was done with fine linen thread, that even yet defies time and wear to destroy it."

Among the Dutch, the opulent burghers compared

[1] The Assembly of New York resolved September 9, 1730, that a tax of three shillings be laid "on every inhabitant, resident or sojourner, young or old, within the colony, that wears a wig or peruke made of human or horse hair mixed, by whatever denomination the same may be distinguished."—"*Histor. Mag.*" *vol. ii., No.* 12, *December*, 1878.


1807.
1820.
1776.
1804
1825.


1876

to their wives and daughters as the peacock does to the hen. The women's dress was sober, but the men's many coats, their silk and velvet small-clothes, their silver buttons[1] and fine linen stood for a good deal of money in each individual instance. The English colonial gentlemen did not stint themselves, but kept as close to the models of the London tailors as time and distance would permit. Lacking any other exemplar for such display, they could find one in the equipments of the British officers stationed in New York. Captain Cæsar Carter, who was stationed there in 1692, was the envied possessor of a wardrobe which cost nearly a thousand dollars outside of his military accoutrements. Jacques Cosseau, a merchant who was a bankrupt before his death, in 1682, possessed but three old coats, the same number of old shirts, two pair of worn-out breeches and one neck-cloth; but Dr. Jacob De Lange, a prosperous professional gentleman, rejoiced in this sort of wardrobe,—

	Valuation. £	s.	d.
One gros. grained cloak, lined with silk	2	10	0
One black broad cloth coat	1	10	0
One black broad cloth suit	1	5	0
One colored serge suit (the new suit with silver buttons)	5	0	0
One colored cloth waistcoat, with silver buttons	1	4	0
Three silk drawers	2	0	0
Two calico drawers	0	2	6
Three white drawers	0	6	0
Two silk night caps	0	4	0
One pair yellow hand gloves with black silk fringe	0	14	0
Five pair of white calico stockings	0	9	0
One pair black worsted stockings	0	4	0
One pair gray worsted stockings	0	5	0
One coat lined with red serge	1	15	0
Two old coats	1	10	0
One fine black hat, one old gray hat, one black hat	1	1	0
One black gros-grained suit	1	17	0

Mrs. De Lange was a fashionable lady, well-known to the families along the Hudson in 1685. Here is the appraisement of her costumes and their accessories:

	Valuation. £	s.	d.
One under petticoat, with a body red-bay	0	17	0
One under petticoat, scarlet	1	15	0
One red cloth petticoat, with black lace	2	15	0
One striped stuff petticoat	1	8	0
One colored drugget petticoat, with red lining	0	16	0
One colored drugget petticoat, with gray lining	0	16	0
One do do do do	0	6	0
One do do do white lining	0	10	0
One do do do do	0	8	0
One do do do do with pointed lace	0	8	0
One black silk petticoat, with ash gray silk lining	1	0	0
One black pottofoo petticoat, with black silk lining	2	15	0
One black pottofoo petticoat, with taffeta lining	1	13	0
One black silk potoso-a-samare, with lace	3	0	0
One black tartanel samare, with a tucker	1	10	0
Three flowered calico samare	2	17	0
Three calico night gowns, two flowered, one red	0	7	0
One silk waistcoat, one red calico waistcoat	0	14	0
One pair bodice	0	4	0
Five pair white cotton stockings	0	9	0
Three black love-hoods	0	5	0
One white love-hood	0	2	6
One black silk crape samare, with a tucker	1	10	0
Two pair sleeves, with great lace	1	3	6
Four cornet caps, with lace, one without lace	3	0	0
One black silk rain cloth	0	10	0
One yellow love-hood	0	10	0
One black plush mask	0	1	6
One embroidered purse with a silver bugle and chain to the girdle, a silver hook and eye	1	4	0
Five small East India boxes	0	1	6
Five hair curlings	0	7	0
Four yellow love drowlas	0	2	0
Jewelry.			
One silver thread wrought small trunk, wherein are the following:	3	0	0
One pair black pendants, with gold hooks	0	10	0
One gold boat, wherein thirteen diamonds to one white coral chain	16	0	0
One pair gold stucks or pendants, in each ten diamonds	25	0	0
Two diamond rings	24	0	0
One gold ring, with a clap beck	0	12	0
One gold ring, or hoop, bound round with diamonds	2	10	0

Mr. Samuel Leete, clerk of the Court of Mayor and Aldermen in 1679, who is styled "a literary gentleman," was worth £23 10*s.* in garments and furniture. Cornelius Steenwyck, "one of the principal merchants and leading citizens of New Amsterdam," who died in 1686, kept the following enviable total of chattels in the "great chamber" of his house:

	Valuation. £	s.	d.
Plate of all kinds, 723 ounces	216	0	0
Different species of money	300	0	0
Gold chain, gold metal, gold child's whistle	49	0	0
One cloth coat, silver buttons	4	15	0
One stuff coat, silver plate buttons	4	0	0
One black coat and breeches	2	0	0
One pair cloth breeches	0	10	0
One cloth coat, gimp buttons	2	10	0
One black cloth coat	2	10	0
One black velvet coat, old	3	0	0
One colored stuff coat and breeches	1	10	0
One silk coat, breeches and doublet	1	5	0
One silver cloth breeches and doublet	0	6	0
One old velvet waistcoat, with silver lace	0	15	0
One old coat, silver plate buttons	2	3	0
Six pieces of clothes, as coats, breeches and doublets	2	5	0
One buff coat and silk sleeves	1	10	0
One yellow silk scarf, with silver fringes	1	5	0
One light-colored gros green cloak	1	0	0
One dark-colored gros green cloak, with lining	2	5	0
One cloth-colored cloak, with lining of bay, with wrought silver buttons	2	10	0
Twelve rush leather chairs	5	8	0
Two velvet chairs with fine silver lace	1	0	0
One cupboard or case of French nut wood	20	0	0
One round table	2	0	0
One square table	10	0	0
One cabinet	6	0	0
Thirteen pictures	9	10	0
One great looking-glass	6	0	0
One bedstead, two beds and furniture	25	0	0
Ten pieces of china dishes or porcelain	4	0	0
Five alabaster images	0	15	0
One piece of tapestry work, for twelve cushions	3	12	0
One flowered tabby chimney cloth	0	12	0

[1] Silver buttons and buckles marked every gentleman's costume. The plate silver buttons, made of Spanish dollars and smaller coins, which flourished in England in the days of Queen Anne, were worn in America. All full dress for gentlemen required knee and shoe-buckles, which were of silver or, for great occasions, of paste, artistically set in blue enamel and gold, and costing one hundred dollars the pair. The business of the dealer in buckles was as important as that of the hair-dresser or the maker of stays.

	£	s.	d.
One pair flowered tabby curtains for windows	0	4	0
One dressing-box	1	10	0
One small picture	0	8	0
One ivory compass	0	6	0
A parcel of silver lace	2	12	0
Four diaper table-cloths	3	0	0
Two small ditto	0	12	0
Two small ditto, old	0	8	0
Seventeen napkins	0	17	0
One carpet	2	0	0

It is not the easiest of tasks to follow up the evolutions of dress as styles grew into extravagance up to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. When peacock gorgeousness prevailed, men and women vied with each other in the costliness of their costumes, and sartorial sobriety was left to some families of un-



HEAD-DRESS
Of a Lady of Fashion in 1776.

mixed Dutch blood. The price of good cloth, prior to the Revolution, being a guinea a yard, gentlemen of a frugal disposition would have a coat turned when it had lost its original freshness, so as to make it do duty twice as long. After that it went to the servant. Mechanics, workingmen and country people wore leather breeches, leather aprons and baize vests of red or green. The dress of a runaway apprentice is described in an advertisement of 1753: "A blue coat with black mohair buttons, blue lapelled waist-coat, the lapells lined with black velvet, a pair of black leather breeches with solid silver buttons and a brown wig."

To the cumbrous hoops, which came into fashion after the "wide skirts" of the ladies, succeeded the "bishop," a half-circular pillow stuffed with horse-hair and supposed to give more natural elegance to the figure. This, in turn, was superseded by the "*queue de Paris*," an abridged edition of the "bishop," and not unlike the "bustle" of our day. The press, during all this time, tried in vain to exercise its nascent power by denouncing folly. An editor gives vent to his indignation in the following outburst (1754): "These foreign invaders first made their attack upon the stays, so as to diminish them half down the waist, exposing the breast and shoulders. Next to the caps; cut off the flappets and tabs, bored and padlocked the ears. Next came the wide hoops and French pocket-holes; and, last of all, have lately shortened the rear, so that the heels and ancles are exposed, even to the very gusset and clock! O, shame! shame!" The indignant editor should have reflected that when stockings are made of a "lively green" color, with "great red clocks," like the pair worn by a very worthy lady of that period on her wedding-day, it was intended, probably, that they should be seen, as high, at least, as the gusset and clock. Ladies' shoes were of calf-skin, with a white band of sheep-skin attached to the top. This was a neat dress shoe.

In the matter of bonnets and hats, the shapes, for a long time, were far from graceful. The prettiest was the "skimmer" hat, made of some shining material like silver tinsel, with a flat crown and large brim; the "horse-hair" bonnet was very light, but stiff; the bath-bonnet, made upon the principle of the modern gentleman's crush-hat,—one could sit on it,—was more becoming than the mush-melon bonnet, ribbed and stiff-looking, which was in use just before the Revolution; the whalebone bonnet was an improvement upon the last-named; it was stiffened only in front. The calash bonnet was made of green silk and so constructed that it could be folded back like the top of a calash or gig when the wearer went indoors. The "wagon" was a black silk affair with the shape of a wagon-top, and, at first, used exclusively by the Quaker ladies. However, as it was, from its shape, an excellent protection against the sun's rays, many ladies in the country adopted it, making it of some light material trimmed with gay ribbons. The only straw bonnet mentioned during a long period, was the "bee-hive," worn by old ladies. A large, flat, white beaver was once worn, with scarcely any crown, and fastened under the chin by two strings. The only kind of wrap used by the ladies was the loose cloak which, with slight alterations in the cut, went by the names of *roquelaure*, *capuchin* and *cardinal*. After the Revolution the influence of French fashions was felt throughout the republic. American ladies wore the limp-skirted, short-waisted dress of the *dames du Directoire* about the time that their husbands and beaux, having discarded the long-cherished *cue*, wore their hair close-cropped, *à la Brutus*.

Parasols came in fashion very late; so with umbrel-

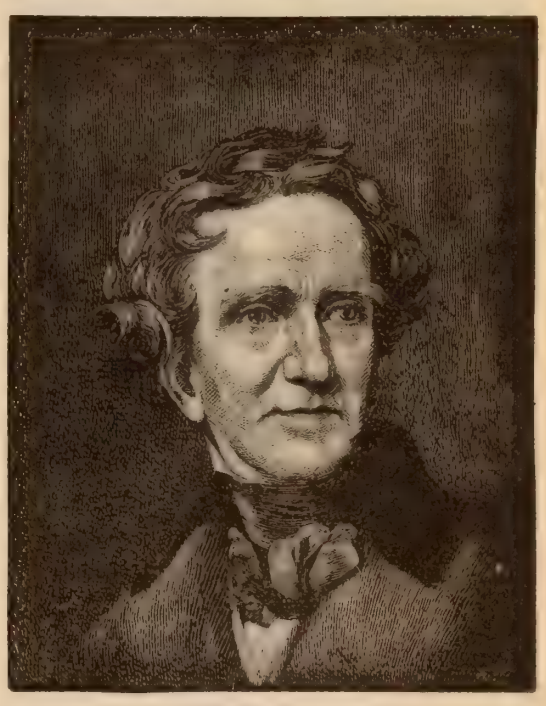
las. Men wore "rain coats," and women "camblets," for protection against the weather. Watson says the first umbrellas were carried by British officers, and were deemed effeminate by the people. Yet, in an old advertisement of 1769, a milliner proposes, in addition to her regular modish business, to "cover umbrellas in the neatest manner;" that useful article must have become common already at that time. Ladies careful of their complexion at one period wore a black velvet mask in winter, "with a silver mouth-piece to keep it on by retaining in the mouth." Rather an inconvenient arrangement and one which compelled silence. The earliest kind of watches worn in the colony had cases of shagreen, turtle shell or pinchbeck. After that the finest gentleman was content to carry a silver watch. The first gold watches were an article of jewelry, becoming only to wealthy and fashionable ladies. Old gentlemen, at the close of the last century, carried a tall, gold-headed cane, and, generally, a gold snuff box, from which they were ever ready to offer a sociable pinch to an acquaintance. They held on to the very last against the abolishment of the *cue* or pig-tail, and clung to the large silver buttons, which were once a mark of wealth and dignity. These buttons were often made of coins—quarter-dollars being used for the coat and "eleven penny bits" for the vest and breeches. Spectacles were rarely used, even by the aged; a young man or woman wearing glasses was something unheard of; our fathers had keener and stronger eyes than we.

The Revolution brought about a greater simplicity of manners; the "coarse" element came in afterwards when the "power of money" began to be felt. The Duke de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt, writing about the social life of the Americans some time after the Revolution, remarks: "Luxury is very high there, especially at New York and Philadelphia, and makes a dangerous progress every year. . . . There are some persons who surpass their neighbors, already too far advanced, in luxury; these injure the manners of the country. . . . " He adds that luxury is much less prevalent in the country towns, but is continually increasing, and often out of proportion with wealth.

The same writer summarizes his views in the following two paragraphs—the first is less a criticism than a correct explanation of the absence of an idle, highly refined society; the second, a just homage paid the American people and a prophetic view of the future greatness of our country:

"An European coming into the new world, and bringing with him the need of the usage of the politer attentions of that which he has quitted; he, above all, who brings with him the need of what we call in France the charms of society, which we know so well how to appreciate, of which we know how to participate, and which affords us so many moments of happiness, such a man will not find himself satisfied in America, and his recollections will be continually sprinkling his life with melancholy. He cannot, if his heart has an occasion for a friend, hope to find there the sweetness of a constant and avowed friendship. The inhabitants of the United States have been hitherto too much engaged in their respective occupations for the enticements of polished society to be able to withdraw their attention from them; they have not leisure to consecrate to friendship.

"Such an European ought to have for a long time forgotten Europe in order to live quite happy in America. But if he can readily lose the remembrance of it, or take with him there the dearest objects of his affection, he will lead in America a happy and tranquil life. He will there enjoy the blessing of liberty in the greatest extent which it is possible to desire in any polished country. He will see himself with an active people,



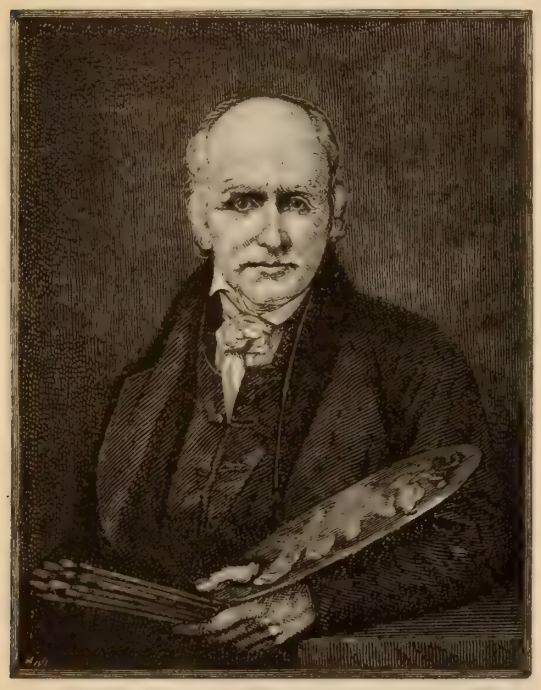
THOMAS SULLY.

easy in their circumstances, and happy. Every day will bring him to observe a new progress of this new country. He will see it every day take a step toward that strength and greatness to which it is called; towards that real independence which is for a nation the result of having the means of satisfying itself."

The wealthy people of the province were liberal patrons of art. Very many of them had been educated in the European schools, and in the vast collections of the Old World had learned to know a good painting, a meritorious marble, a fine bit of porcelain or glass, or anything commendable in the way of decoration and *bric-a-brac*. They encouraged native genius and were tolerant of its crudities. In the manor-houses along the Hudson were works of John Trumbull, Charles Wilson Peale, Gilbert Stuart,

Thomas Sully, Washington Allston and other American painters. The social atmosphere of these great houses possessed a warmth and refinement that were favorable to artistic appreciation. Painters were welcome guests within their walls. Peale made excursions into this region, and Sully visited the home of Governor Daniel D. Tompkins to obtain sittings for the admirable portrait which he produced of the statesman.

The wealthy people kept large amounts of money in their houses. In 1774 a lady, who died in New York, owned estates in Westchester County, and the



C W Peale

executor's inventory showed that she had these sums of cash on hand:

	£.	s.	d.
Paper money, amongst which are some Jersey notes calculated at the old rate	3988	1	4
1 Bunch gold. Amount	1012	4	7
1 Bunch gold	191	7	8
4 Bags qt. 500 dollars each or 2000			
1 Do. 288. 1 Do. 280 1 Do. 113. 2681 dollars	1072	8	10
1 Bag small silver £72 4s. 0d			
1 Do. £60. 1 Do. £36. 1 Do. £20			
1 Do. £10 12s. 4d	198	16	4
1 Bag qt. 730 pistareans			
1 Bag 125	69	13	9
1 Bag qt. 112 oz. clipt silver calculated at 91 oz	50	8	0
2 Bags coppers	13	0	0
1 Wedge of gold 2 oz. 18 dw. 16 grs			
Total	6593	19	8

How amply furnished were the old-time houses is shown in the subjoined inventory of property removed in 1776 from a house in the Neutral Ground of Westchester County:

50 linen sheets.
11 damask table cloths.
21 homespun cloths.
4 breakfast cloths.
6 coverlids.
12 damask napkins.
56 homespun napkins.
9 towels.
6 towels.
29 pillow cases.
1 linen table cloth.
1 fine sheet.
5 blue and white window curtains.
5 window curtains.
9 blankets.
1 rug.
3 glasses with black.
4 small sconces.
3 gilt glasses.
10 small gilt pictures.
1 mahogany clock.
3 oval pictures.
1 oval old lady's fan.
1 large Dutch cupboard.
1 large not sett up.
1 mahogany table.
2 round mahogany tables.
1 round stand.
1 square tea table.
1 boilsted, small, with drawers.
1 copper tea kitchen and stand.
1 old japanned tea table.
1 mahogany dining table.
1 large boilsted table.
2 square tables.
1 fine screen.
13 large painted pictures
12 small painted pictures.
1 large cedar chest.
8 pairs handirons.
1 old desk.
1 old painted cupboard.
1 marble, mortar and kettle.
2 pair brass scales and weights.
2 copper pye pans.
4 sauce pans.
4 copper kettles.
2 tea kettles.
2 skillets.
1 warming pan.
1 apple roaster.
3 skimmers.
1 cheese toaster.
1 pewter coffee kettle.
1 pewter tea pot.
27 pewter dishes.
11 pewter plates.
12 pewter soup plates.
6 pewter butter plates.
3 pewter mugs.
2 pewter salons.
5 pewter basons.
6 pewter spoons.
3 pewter measures.
1 small brass kettle.
2 brass ladles.
4 puffet pans (Note—Puffet was a light cake.)
6 —— plates.
3 —— ——.
3 pudding dishes.
1 copper fish kettle.
4 brass kettles.
2 stew pans.
2 coffee pots.
9 wooden plates.
6 bowls.
1 —— ——.
1 hang iron.
2 toasters.
2 jiggin irons.
1 baking pot.
2 brass mortars.
1 lime squeezer.
2 dripping pans.
1 ladle.
2 flesh forks.
1 cake pan.
2 —— ——.
1 gridiron.
2 waffle irons.
1 cullander.
6 brass candlesticks.
1 snuffers and stand.
2 pairs kitchen hand irons.
7 iron pots.
1 hand skillet.
1 sheep shears.
3 tubs.
4 pails.
3 pairs branches.
3 chains.
12 candle moulds.
8 smoothing irons.
47 pattee pans.
3 tea boards.
15 black leather bottom chairs.
9 straw bottom chairs.
4 milk tubs.
1 brass plate warmer.
1 brass stand.
1 wine cooler.
1 stone milk pot.
4 —— ——.
1 lace table cloth, cover and sheet.
7 feather beds.
1 sett green bed curtains with ring.
1 sett red and white calico curtains.
blue bed curtains.
1 red silk bedquilt.
2 desks.
1 book case.
2 chests drawers.
5 feather beds.
1 picture.
3 pairs hand irons.
1 toilet and looking glass.
1 mahogany bedstead with two setts rods. 1 sett lath.
18 silver table spoons.
1 silver soup spoon.
2 castors.
2 mugs.
3 —— ——.
4 candlesticks.
6 salt cellars.
1 sett
1 eased bowl.
1 tea pot.
6 spoons.
An old fashioned —— of plate.
2 milk pots.
1 chafing dish.
15 tea spoons.
2 tea tongs.

1 tin case.
1 screen.
2 carpets.
1 churn.
2 waffel.
Settee and twelve chairs.
1 dining table.
14 cows.
5 yearlings.
13 sheep.
13 lambs (left on the way tired).
3 sheep.
3 lambs.
3 hogs.
1 large steel gray horse.
1 mare.
1 young mare.
1 young mare with foal.
1 horse.
7 hogs and pigs.
20 horses.

There was, however, one class of settlers as sharply distinguished in their social life as in their language and nativity from the Dutch and English. These were the worthy and admirable Huguenots, the French Protestant exiles, who came into the county so early in its history and gave to their settlement the name of New Rochelle, in memory of the ancient French city which had been the scene of their most lustrous glory and most poignant suffering.[1] Mainly well-educated men and women, skilled artisans and good citizens, no acquisition to the colony was more valuable. Of the first house which they built, Rev. L. J. Coutant has given a graphic description. It was erected upon the point now known as Hudson's Park. Mr. Coutant writes,—

"During the pleasant weather of the autumnal months (circa 1690), a house was built on Bonnefoy's Point,—not a very commodious one, nor yet very elegant in its architectural design. An excavation was made in the earth to the depth of five or six feet, and faced around with stones, after the manner of building cellar-walls at the present day, preparatory to the erection of the superstructure. On these stone walls were placed logs, in successive tiers, until a desirable height was reached sufficient to make one story above ground and a large garret for a sleeping apartment. The whole was roofed over with long grass, bound firmly on to the rafters with strong cords, interlaced with poles running lengthwise of the roof; so that this primitive dwelling, with the exception of its cellar-walls, or ground-work, was nothing more or less than a thatched log house. The work of building this edifice was accomplished by the voluntary and united labor of the whole colony—men and women both doing what they could to hasten its completion.

"Incidents peculiarly interesting cluster around this primitive cottage. It was a joint-stock possession—a common property, in which all had an interest—a sort of headquarters, a public house indeed, to which the settlers nightly resorted for social intercourse or recreation when the toils and adventures of the day were over. On the Sabbath it was the temple whither the settlers went up to worship and listen to the religious instructions of the pious Bonrepas, their beloved pastor, and to join in the raptures inspired by the singing of Marot's hymns. It is surprising to see what expedients necessity will adopt; into how narrow a compass it will compress the proprieties of life, both civil and religious; how few and simple are the requirements of society and genuine religion, when stripped of the conventional superfluities bestowed by pride and wealth.

"In this same house the first child was born, to one Louis Guion, and there the first Huguenot marriage took place, the groom being Jean Coutant, and the bride the daughter of David Bonnefoy. The marriage ceremony was performed by the Right Rev. David de Bonrepas, who united, in his ministerial functions, the several offices of bishop, priest and presbyter to the French Protestant Church at New Rochelle.[2]

In addition to much other useful information, Mr. Coutant has communicated the following observations upon the social characteristics and domestic economy of the early Huguenots.

"Not in former times, as now, were the families in country villages or districts dependent on the butcher's stalls for the daily supply of their table, nor yet upon the baker's shops and the flour merchants for bread and pastry. These staples of life, as well as their wearing apparel, were furnished upon their own premises. Their cereals were gathered from their fields, threshed and winnowed upon their own barn-floors, and carried to the mill in bags to be converted in flour, which was kneaded and baked by the good matrons, in the old fashioned brick ovens, constructed in the immense kitchen chimney-backs. And as to pastry, all of it, not even excepting wedding-cake, was prepared in the same way. Their herds of kine and flocks of sheep, grazing upon their pasture fields, and the poultry in their barn-yards supplied them with fresh meat, butter and eggs the whole year round. The writer himself, although not as old as some men whom he knows, can well remember the time when a single small cow or a young steer, slaughtered once a week, sufficed to supply the families of New Rochelle and East Chester with all the fresh meat that was needed, over and above that raised on their own premises. Thus a thrifty farmer, in the early summer or spring, would slaughter a calf, sheep or lamb and, reserving what was required for his own use, send the rest to his neighbors, until they in turn did the same thing; and thus the supply was mutual and alternate. This policy was frequently adopted also upon the occurrence of a stone, or ploughing 'frolic,' as they were called, or upon the raising of a barn or some other heavy-timbered building, on which occasions a supply of good old Jamaica rum acted as a sort of steam power, and at night the affair was often concluded by a liberal supply of lamb or veal pot-pie and generous potations of old cider.

"The cellar of the well-to-do farmer was his larder, being fully stocked with barrels of salted meat and hogsheads of cider, as also with potatoes, turnips, butter, lard and such other provisions as were needful for family use. Even mechanics, carpenters, shoemakers, weavers, tailors, coopers, and blacksmiths had each his acre of land, cow and fatted pig, and whatever they lacked of other provisions they had no difficulty in obtaining by an exchange of labor for farmers' products, at the rate of four dollars per hundred weight of beef, eighteen cents per bushel for potatoes, fifty cents a barrel for apples, seventy-five cents a bushel for wheat, fifty cents for rye and not more than thirty-six cents a bushel for Indian corn, and other produce in proportion; while the wages of the laboring man ranged from fifty to eighty dollars a year, with board, and from fifty to seventy-five cents a day. The wages of mechanics were from seventy-five cents to one dollar a day, if boarded, and from one dollar to a dollar and twenty-five cents where they boarded themselves. Carpenters, wheelwrights and blacksmiths were employed upon many of the utensils of husbandry in those days to which they are strangers at the present time. The former made the farmer's ox-sleds, plows, harrows, cider-mills, crackles and other implements for working in flax; the latter forged his plow-shares, colters, chains and crowbars. The manufacture of flax and wool spinning-wheels was usually done by cabinet-makers and turners, which class of mechanics was far from numerous.[3] The turning was performed on the old-fashioned pole lathe.

"The dress worn by men consisted of pantaloons, vest and coat; the latter trimmed with large brass buttons, and an overcoat, or, as it was then called, a *match-coat*, a wool hat made very much in the form of the felt hats worn at the present day; laced or low-quartered shoes, and woolen, home-knit stockings. Those garments as a general thing constituted a gentleman's wardrobe or outfit for the winter. In summer, linen was usually worn. The ordinary dress worn by elderly women was the old style short-gown and petticoats, of homespun or linsey-woolsey. When they went abroad, however, this was generally exchanged for a short-waisted gown of the same material in winter; but in summer of some lighter fabric. Those who could afford it occasionally wore silk. The head-dress consisted of a cap with a wide border and high crown, over which, when abroad, they wore a plain silk bonnet. The young women wore frocks of a similar style and material, but no caps. Their long tresses were parted in front, combed back and braided into a cue; rolled up spirally upon the back of the head, and secured by a huge turtle-shell or horn-comb. Small side combs were also used to keep the hair evenly parted in front. The shape of their hats varied constantly, as now, in accordance with the fickle dictates of fashion. At one time it would be a fur cap, somewhat like that worn

[1] The details of the manners and customs of the Huguenots were prepared by Rev. Charles E. Lindsley, D.D., for his chapter upon New Rochelle, and are transferred to his chapter by reason of its being the most proper place for their insertion.

[2] Coutant's "Reminiscences."

[3] Archer Craft was among the first whom the writer recollects that wrought at cabinet-making and turning in New Rochelle, and also made and repaired spinning-wheels. His shop was at Upper New Rochelle. He was succeeded by Peter Bonnett, Jr., who continued the business until spinning wheels fell into disuse.

by men at the present time, but trimmed with ribbons and ornamented with feathers, white or black according to the fancy of the wearer. At another, the hat would flatten down and spread out into an immense disk of braided leghorn or straw, held in place by a broad ribbon tied under the chin. Presently, almost while we were yet gazing in admiration, they assumed the form of a huge tin scoop in front, projecting beyond the face some ten or twelve inches, with high crowns to make room for the large comb.

"Strange as it may seem, all of these, to us, outlandish costumes and fashions *looked well in their time!* Boys, until grown-up, mostly went barefooted; nor was it at all uncommon to see grown-up men pursuing their occupations without shoes upon their feet. All, of course, wore shoes and yarn stockings in winter. Moreover, the young man who could afford a pair of calf-skin boots with white or red sheep-skin tops was regarded with admiration by the belles of the town. He was a rare bird, indeed, and likely to become the target for the arrows of the mischievous blind deity. All the more so, if these ornamental appendages supported a trim, symmetrical form, attired in buff colored corduroy pantaloons, white vest, a blue broadcloth swallow-tailed coat, trimmed with glistening brass buttons, the collar extending high in back of the neck, and the tail reaching to within a foot of the floor; the whole surmounted with a high, bell-crowned beaver hat!

"'Attired in this most marvellous array,
Thus walked and talked the dandy of his day.'

"In these early times, the children in farming districts were early taught habits of industry, the boys going to school in winter, and assisting in the work of the farm in summer and autumn. At the age of sixteen one or more of them would be put out to learn a trade, and bound by indentures to serve five years as apprentices. The girls meantime, while attending the district school, assisted their mother in household duties, and indeed some of them did not hesitate to help at an emergency in the out-door work upon the farm—in such light occupations as stirring and raking hay and pulling flax. Nor by so doing did they at at all lose caste or compromise their claims to gentility. Almost every young man at the age of twenty-one was familiar with the processes of farming, supplemented frequently by the knowledge of some mechanical employment. At the age of sixteen the girls had a practical acquaintance with the business of housekeeping in all its branches. Although not put to a trade, yet, before they arrived at eighteen years of age, they may be said to have learned at least one trade, at home. They were thoroughly proficient in the art of spinning and making up homespun fabrics. But although thus early trained to habits of industry, and to contribute their share of labor towards the support of the family, the young people of both sexes were by no means deprived of amusements. They had their holiday seasons and afternoon and evening sports. They enjoyed, in winter, skating and riding down hill, and spinning tops, flying kites and playing ball in the spring; and a great many other athletic games and innocent amusements which are now obsolete and forgotten.

"There is yet one more phase of domestic and social life among the early settlers of this part of the country and their immediate descendants which ought not to be passed over entirely without notice, as it is one most intimately connected with human welfare and happiness in this our earthly lot. I refer to the subject of courtship and marriage. In those times the marriage of young people was the rule and not the exception. At all events the practice was, as it seems to me, much more general than at the present time; and there was a good reason for it. Marriage did not then demand, on the part of one or both of the parties to it, the possession of an independent fortune! Love and marriage, on the contrary, came first, and a reasonable amount of worldly success afterwards. To this mutual industry and economy contributed. The endless ceremony, parade and lavish expenditure of time and money upon bridal costumes, trousseaus and wedding tours were unknown to the simplicity of those times. If it had not been so, the costly paraphernalia of a wedding would have driven the young lovers of that day into the despair of a hopeless celibacy! Mutual happiness and success in life, and not idle vanity or foolish display, were then supposed to be the true and proper inducements to matrimony. Such alliances were more easily and naturally formed, too, from the fact that population was less transient than now. That is to say, families more frequently lived during their entire lives upon estates which had descended from father to son through several generations. Weddings, too, even among families of some wealth, were very simple affairs. They took place at the residence of the bride's parents—usually in the evening. The ceremony was invariably performed by a minister, in the presence of a few of the relatives and friends, and was followed by a season of festivity and merriment. For the newly-married couple to set up housekeeping cost but a trifle. For twenty-five dollars a year two rooms could be procured sufficiently ample for a modest beginning. For as much more, they could be furnished with all that was needful for housekeeping in the way of furniture, etc.; the wife, as a general thing, providing beds, bedding and such carpets as she had been able to manufacture as the fruit of her own handiwork and industry; so that the entire outlay, in cash, for the first year, over and above what was provided by the parents, would not, perhaps, exceed one hundred dollars, rent included. These facts refer, of course, to successful marriages—that is, to the great majority. For the few failures, want of sufficient previous acquaintance of the parties (a thing by no means so common then as now) or improvident habits were chiefly accountable. The state of society I have been attempting to describe was that which existed in New Rochelle and Pelham from seventy-five to one hundred years ago; and, indeed, much earlier, for the habits and customs of the generation which preceded the War of the Revolution were substantially the same with those of their immediate descendants."

Settling in a country where water-courses were so numerous, the early Dutch did most of their traveling on the North River or the Sound and its tributary streams. The periauger was in constant use for water transportation. Charlevoix calls it pirogue, a canoe formed of the trunk of a tree, while Cooper, in the "Water Witch," says: "It partook of a European and an American character; it possessed the length, narrowness and clean bow of the canoe,



A DOCTOR OF THE OLDEN TIME.

from which its name was derived, and the flat bottom and lee boards of a boat constructed for the shallow waters of the low countries." Mrs. Van Cortlandt says: "Sloops did a great business in carrying passengers, their leisurely movements quite suiting the quiet tourists of those days." "The very rich had for state occasions their coach drawn by four stout horses of Flemish blood, with coachman and outriders in appropriate liveries. Such equipages, however, were few in number and attracted great attention when upon the road. Box wagons, guiltless of springs, were owned by some farmers, but for easy travel a good horse was preferred, the man riding in front and the wife or daughter behind upon a pillion. Physicians needed and bestrode stout nags, always carrying saddle-bags and the few simple surgical instruments then known. The infallible lancet was stored in the big pocket-book, as at least once a year, usually in the spring, 'a good bleeding' was deemed a necessity. Blooded horses were not scarce, for many of the gentry kept racing stables.

"In winter the people rode about in huge sleighs, some of which were of great length and had covers,

half extending over them. The horses were decked with a profusion of brass bells strung upon leather straps. When the youths and maidens went for long drives they carried foot-stoves—a tin box pierced with holes and set in a wooden frame, and enclosing an iron cup filled with hot embers."

The quarter of a century following the achievement of national independence was a period fraught with mechanical inventions that imparted a powerful stimulus to the material progress of the country. The steam-engine was being vastly improved, the application of the newly-discovered power to milling and manufacturing was making rapid progress, and the locomotive and steamboat were taking shape in the minds of Oliver Evans, Stephenson, Rumsey, Fitch and Fulton. In 1803 Oliver Evans had begun to build



OLIVER EVANS.

steam-engines in Philadelphia, and in 1813 published an article in which he claimed that in 1773 he had suggested steam as a motor on land, and in 1778 had proposed its application to boats. In 1804 he built a machine for cleaning docks, and propelled it by its own engine overland to the Schuylkill River, where he launched it into the stream, fixed a paddle-wheel to it and navigated it around to the Delaware. He proposed to construct a steam road carriage for freight, at a cost of two thousand five hundred dollars, that would transport one hundred barrels of flour, at the speed of two miles an hour, and successfully endeavored to enlist the Philadelphia and Columbia Turnpike Company in his project. He unquestionably had worked out the idea of the steamboat and locomotive in his mind, but the world laughed at him when he predicted that "The time will come when people will travel in stages moved by steam-engines from one city to another almost as fast as the birds can fly—fifteen or twenty miles an hour."

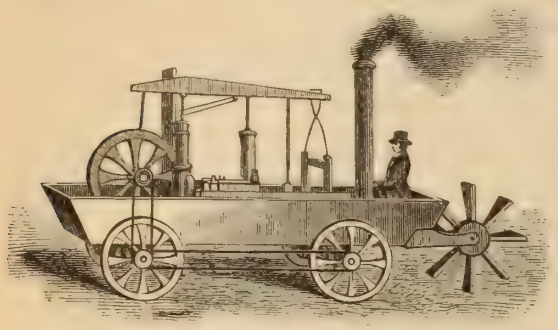
Soon after the close of the Revolution James Rumsey propelled a boat by steam on the Potomac River in the presence of a party of observers, one of whom was Washington, who certified to what Rumsey had accomplished. The Rumsey Society, of which Benjamin Franklin was president, was formed to aid him, and there ensued a sharp controversy for priority of invention between Rumsey and John Fitch. The latter had, in July, 1786, experimented on the Delaware with a steamer moved by upright paddles, fitted at the gunwales, but his first successful boat was operated in July, 1788. He changed the paddles to the stem of the craft, where they worked nearly as well as a wheel. Fitch is believed to have invented the first double-acting condensing engine, transmitting power by means of cranks, produced in any country. He took his boat to New York and exhibited it on the Collect, where it was finally beached and abandoned to decay.

In 1804, John C. Stevens, of Hoboken, N. J., constructed a steamboat on the Hudson that was driven by a Watts engine, with a tubular boiler of his own invention and a screw propeller. Chancellor Livingston and Nicholas Roosevelt were interested in this undertaking, which was a failure, as the machinery shook the boat to pieces.

It was reserved for Robert Fulton to make of the steamboat a practical and commercial success. Backed by Chancellor Livingston's money he built in New York, in 1806, a steamer which he named the "Clermont," the title of the Livingston country-seat. She was one hundred and thirty feet in length, eighteen in width, seven in depth, and of one hundred and sixty tons burthen. Her engine was bought from Watt & Boulton. On Friday, August 7, 1807, she started on her first voyage to Albany, and reached there in thirty hours, an average for the one hundred and fifty miles of five miles an hour. In September she began running regularly for the accommodation of the public, making the round trip in seventy-two hours, for which each passenger was charged fourteen dollars. Livingston had already received from the Legislature the grant of the exclusive privilege of navigating the waters of New York by steam, and Fulton was admitted as sharer in this franchise. Before the War of 1812 they had built six steamboats for traffic on the Hudson and ferriage in New York Harbor.

In 1796 there were in the whole State thirty-eight coaches, seventy-three chariots, five post-chaises, ninety-one phaetons, seventy-two coaches, one hundred and three "other four-wheeled carriages" and one thousand five hundred and twenty-six curricles, chaises, top-chairs, steel-spring-chairs, sulkies and wooden-spring chairs. "The light open chair, or the covered chaise," says Mr. Eggleston, "was generally preferred. These were better suited to the roughness

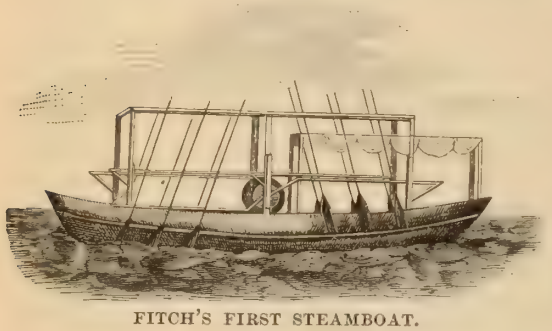
and sinuosity of the roads than the coach. The chaise was a kind of two-wheeled gig, having a top, and sometimes drawn by one and sometimes by two horses; the chair had two wheels, but no top; the sulky, which was much used, differed from the chair chiefly in having room for but one person. Ladies took delight in driving about alone in open chairs, to the amazement of European travelers, who



OLIVER EVANS' STEAM-CARRIAGE.

deemed that a paradise in which women could travel without protection."

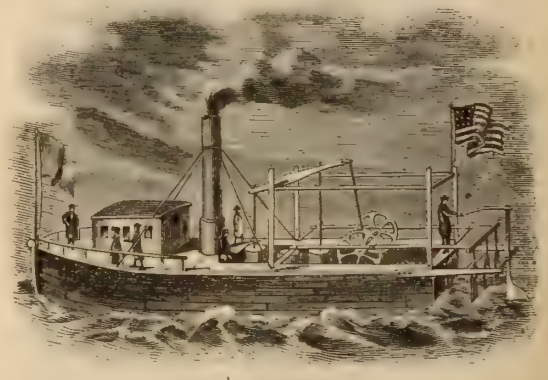
These luxuries of travel were of later date than the time when the Indian trail known as "The Old Westchester Path" was the principal thoroughfare between New York and New England. In 1683 the ferryman to Long Island kept "two boats for cattle and horses and also two boats for passengers." The ferriage for the former was 6d. a head, and for the latter 1d. The Dutch *yachts* (so called) were from one to two weeks in a voyage to Hudson and Albany, or Albania, as it was then called. They came-to every night, preferring ease to speed, and traveled only by daylight. All on board spoke Dutch. In 1673 the post or messenger was instructed to apply to the Governors for "the best direction how to form the best Post-Road;"



FITCH'S FIRST STEAMBOAT.

to establish places on the road where to leave the way-letters, and "to mark some Trees that shall direct Passengers the best way, and to fix certain Houses for your several stages both to bait and lodge at." The messenger was to provide himself with "a spare horse, a Horn, and good Portmantles." Travelers who wished to avail themselves of the messenger's company were permitted to do so, and he was instructed to afford them the best help in his power.

Miss Sarah Knight, of Boston, came to New York, in 1704, on a visit to some friends. She availed herself of the guidance and protection of the post-rider, and made the journey, on horseback, in two weeks. Her journal, printed for private circulation, contains graphic and quaint descriptions, and reveals a shrewd observer of men and things. It has proved of inestimable value to all writers about the olden time. She gives the reader an idea of the hardships of travel in those days,—hardships bravely borne, in 1702, by another lady, Mrs. Shippen, who travelled from Boston to Philadelphia on horseback, *carrying a baby on her lap*.[1] We get here, also, an insight into the primitive postal system: "Tuesday, October y^e^ third, about 8 in the morning, I with the Post proceeded forward . . and about 2, afternoon, arrived at the Post's second stage, where the western Post met him and exchanged letters. . . Having here discharged the Ordinary for self and guide, as I understood was the custom, about 3, afternoon, went on with my third guide, who rode very



FITCH'S STEAMBOAT.

hard: and having crossed Providence ferry, we come to a River which they generally ride through. But I dare not venture, so the Post got a lad and canoe to carry me to the other side, and he rid through and led my horse. . . Rewarding my sculler, again mounted and made the best of my way forward. The road here was very even and y^e^ day pleasant, it being now near sunset. But the Post told me we had near 14 miles to ride to the next Stage, where we were to lodge. I asked him of the rest of the road, foreseeing we must travel in the night. He told me there was a bad river to ride through, which was so very fierce a horse could sometimes hardly stem it: but it was narrow, and we should soon be over."

The post-office scheme for British America was first devised in the year 1700, by Colonel J. Hamilton, of New Jersey, and son of Governor Andrew Hamilton. He obtained a patent and the profits accruing. He

[1] "Foot-prints of a Letter-Carrier," by James Rees.

afterwards sold it to the crown. The first regular post-office established in the colonies by Parliament was in 1710.[1] The chief office for North America was established in New York. The necessity for increased postal facilities had been represented to the home government in 1704, by the Governor of the province of New York, who wrote that [2] "The post that goes through this place goes eastward as far as Boston; but westward, he goes no further than Philadelphia: and there is no other post upon all this continent." As late as the year 1810 the mail between Canandaigua and Genesee River was carried on horseback—part of the time by a *woman*. In 1730 the postmaster of New York published a notice inviting application for the office of *foot-post to Albany this winter*. Letters to distant places, however, were generally carried by messengers on horseback. At first a satchel or a pair of saddle-bags sufficed; then a light vehicle was required; finally the stage coaches, which were first started for the benefit of travelers, became the proper means of transportation for the



THE STEAMER "CLERMONT."

ever-increasing mail matter. Until 1755 there had been but one a week, eastward and westward from New York,—Boston and Philadelphia being still the extreme points,—and this only in the summer; once a fortnight was the winter arrangement. In 1755 it was arranged that the New England post should start weekly all the year round. When this post was first established, in 1672, by Governor Lovelace, it was to "sett forth from this citty of New Yorke monthly, and thence to travail to Boston, from whence within that Month hee shall return againe to this citty."

An independent post-office was established in New York in 1775, at the suggestion of William Goddard, the publisher of the *Maryland Journal*, and John Holt, the New York printer, was appointed postmaster. There is no doubt that the "Sons of Liberty," a popular association of Americans, were connected with this movement; for one of the first acts of its members was to send, through this office, threatening letters to the leading members of the Tory party.

Mr. James Rees, from whose "Foot-prints of a Letter-Carrier" we have quoted the above paragraph, says: "Nor was it until 1732 that the first stage-route to Philadelphia was established; stages also departed for Boston monthly, taking a fortnight on the route." Advertisements of that year mentioned the departure of the post "in order to perform his stage," but we find no reference to "stage-wagons" or "stage-coaches" before 1756, when the "first stage-coach" is announced to run between Philadelphia and New York, "three days through." In 1753, William Vandrills informed "gentlemen and others who have a mind to transport themselves, wares or merchandise from New York to Philadelphia," that he has "fitted a *stage boat*," which will "sail from New York to Amboy and thence by wagons to Burlington, and thence take passage to Philadelphia." In 1765 a rival of the "First Stage-Coach" put on the line a "covered Jersey wagon,"—an improvement, it seems, on the other "coach." Competition was roused, and in the following year (1766) a third stage, yclept "The Flying-Machine," proposed to make the trip in two days, and allured travelers with the promise of "good wagons and seats on springs." Through fare, twenty shillings. When the capital of the province had accomplished no more during a century as regards traveling facilities, it could hardly be expected that Westchester County was able to boast of superior accommodations. Public travel was in its infancy: the hardy colonist bestrode his own good horse and started on a distant journey with no more concern than we board a railroad train nowadays. After the Revolution, however, there was a marked and general improvement. A stage line was begun, in 1785, between New York and Albany. In 1787 stage communication with Boston was had three times a week in summer and twice a week in winter, and the towns in Westchester County had a stage from New York City every other day.

It will be readily imagined that the mails did not carry tons of printed matter, as in our time. The first newspaper printed in New York was the *New York Gazette*, a weekly, established by William Bradford, in 1725. It was printed on a half-sheet of foolscap. The type was large and much worn. The first daily paper, *The New York Daily Advertiser*, published by F. Child & Co., only made its appearance in 1785. Westchester had no newspaper until after the Revolution, but its people not only read the New York journals, but also advertised in them. Here are some advertisements inserted by the people of Rye, and preserved in Mr. Baird's history of that town:

"Oct. 23, 1749. Wm. Burtus, Hat-Maker, Now *living at Harrison's Purchase*, in Rye, carries on the Hatter's Trade there, and makes and sells as good Hats as any in the Province, for ready Money, or short Credit. Wm. Burtus."

[1] Ibid.

[2] Letter of Lord Bellomont, in Doc. rel. to Colonial Hist. of N. Y., quoted by Rev. C. W. Baird.

"July 3, 1775. STOLEN out of the pasture from the subscriber at Rye the 21st June 1775, a sorrel mare, about 14 hands high, a natural trotter, marked with a ball face, her main hanging on the near side, four year old. Any person that will apprehend the thief and mare, so that the owner can have his mare again, shall be paid the sum of five pounds, and for the mare only three pounds paid by me.

"WILLIAM LYON."

"July 1, 1771. Capt. Abraham Bush, of Rye, in the province of New York, on a voyage from the eastward, bound home, coming out of Milford harbour, in Connecticut, Sunday morning the 14th day of last April, about three hours after his departure, saw (above half sound over towards Long Island) a wreck . . . which he brought into Rye harbour. Any person proving his property in said scow and boom, by applying to said Bush, in Rye, may have them again, paying him for his trouble and the charge he hath been put to.

"ABRAHAM BUSH."

As may be supposed, educational facilities were not very great while the county was thinly settled. The mother was often the only teacher, and the Bible the first text-book. In the city, the school-master was always, *ex officio*, clerk, chorister and visitor of the sick. The catechism was taught, in Dutch, by these hard-worked pedagogues. As the population increased, very good schools were established. Westchester County had several, principally under the direction of some of the Huguenot immigrants, who



"THE FLYING MACHINE."

were gentlemen of culture and not accustomed to agricultural pursuits. Books were few in the early days, and there was little to develop literary taste, but the Dutch were not illiterate. There must have been a peculiar meaning in the singular custom existing among the Dutch families of that period, of the father giving a bundle of *goose quills* to his son and telling him to give one to each of his male posterity. Watson saw one which had a scroll appended saying, "This quill, given by Petrus Byvanck to James Bogert, in 1789, was a present in 1689 from his grandfather from Holland." As early as 1690 the people of Rye made an effort to procure a schoolmaster, and in many of the towns the proprietors offered the privileges of a school to all who would contribute toward the erection of a school-house. The English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts included the tuition of youth in its programme of proselytism, and established teachers at various points in the county. The best educational advantages were enjoyed by that section of the county formerly a part of Connecticut, as that colony rivaled Massachusetts in its care for the instruction of the young. In New York no provision was made for a general system of education before the Revolution. Whatever was done for this interest, was done by individuals or religious bodies.

The good people of Westchester were not more free from superstition than their neighbors. In 1672 a number of inhabitants of that locality complained to the Governor and Council that "a witch had come among them from Hartford, where she had been before imprisoned and condemned." The woman was removed. A similar complaint was also made in 1673; "but the Military Governor, Captain Colve, a son of the ocean, not under this land influence perhaps, treated it as idle or superstitious, and so dismissed the suit." A man and his wife, similarly accused, in 1665, had not got off so easily; they were tried and found guilty. Belief in witchcraft was nothing uncommon, in those days, in Europe as well as in the colonies.

The husbandry of the pioneers brought forth abundant yields. The soil was adapted to the culture of wheat, corn, rye and other cereals; to peaches, apples, cherries and the various berries; and to a most prolific pasturage. Every farmer kept sheep, and had his wool spun in his own home. The weaving was done by men, who kept and worked small hand-looms in their houses. Blankets, sheetings and coarse cloths were produced in very considerable quantities. Much flax was raised, and was also spun at the firesides of the people, where the hum of the large and small wheels sounded through the day and evening. The linen was of remarkable excellence. Tablecloths and napkins, woven in diamonds and squares, were as smooth and glossy as satin, while the sheeting was fine, even-threaded and most durable. Every farm had a wood-lot, in which the men-servants exercised their thews in preparing the immense logs for the gaping fire-places that daily swallowed fuel by the cord. They also cut chestnut rails for the zigzag fences that took the place of stone walls in regions where trees were more numerous than boulders.

Most of the farm labor was performed by negro and Indian slaves, between whom and their masters the kindliest relations existed, as a rule. These bondsmen identified themselves with the families in which they were raised, and exhibited a pride and importance scarcely excelled by their masters.[1] "It is not

[1] The Dutch settlers in Westchester County obtained their first African slaves under the "Freedoms and Exemptions" granted by the West India Company in 1629, which promised that to all planters of colonies in the New Netherlands "the Company will use their endeavors to supply the Colonists with as many Blacks as they Conveniently Can; in such manner, however, that they shall not be bound to do it for a longer time than they shall think proper." In 1644 Nicholas Toorn, of Rensselaerwyck, acknowledged the receipt of a young black girl—to be returned at the end of four years, "if yet alive," to the director-general or his successor. The average price of slaves was one hundred dollars in our money each for men and two hundred dollars for women. The treatment of them was, on the whole, humane. In 1644 an ordinance was passed which emancipated those who had served the company eighteen or nineteen years on condition of a yearly small payment in wheat, peas, beans and hogs, but a failure to comply with the conditions

easy," Cooper makes Miles Wallingford say, "to describe the affection of an attached slave, which has blended with it the pride of a partisan, the solicitude of a parent and the blindness of a lover." A common custom among the Dutch was to assign to each child in the household, when it had reached six or eight years, a slave of the same age and sex, who clung to the little master or mistress with an affection that was fully returned and, in many instances, lasted through life.

There is a fact connected with the institution of slavery in the colony of New York which is too honorable for our forefathers to be omitted here, for in no section was it more true than in Westchester. The slaves lived under the same roof and partook of the same food as their masters; they were allowed much familiarity and indulged in great freedom of speech. Captain Graydon, who was quartered at Flatbush while a prisoner in the war of independence, testifies to this: "Their blacks, when they had them," says he, "were very free and familiar; sometimes sauntering among the whites at meal-time, with hat on head, and freely joining occasionally in conversation, as if they were one and all of the same household."[1] "Yet," says Watson, "no case had ever occurred of 'amalgamation,' and no instance of mixed colour had been seen until produced by some in the British army coming among them. The first instance of the kind produced emotions of surprise and dislike."

One of the Old World customs brought over by the early settlers was the investiture "by turff and twigg," a relic of feudal times. It consisted in the delivery of a turf, a stone, a branch or some other object as a symbol of the transfer of the soil. Anciently this had been practiced by the feudal lord in conferring a fief upon his vassal. It was observed on Manursing Island in 1693, and at Budd's Neck, with all due formality, as late as 1768. In a dispute between Samuel Odell and the heirs of Jonathan Vowles about the southernmost part of that island, John Frost testified that in 1693 he went, by request of Vowles, to the said island, "where he did see Jonathan Vowles . . . cut a turff upon the same, as also cut a stick or twigg thereon; and the said Jonathan Vowles did then and there deliver the said turfe and twigg to the said Samuel Odel, who desired this deponent to take notice that Jonathan Vowles did putt him in full and peaceable possession."

The life of the early settlers was marked by sim-



PRIMITIVE CHEESE-PRESS.

involved a return of the laggard to slavery. In 1683 the General Assembly provided penalties for selling any commodity to any slave and for any person buying from them or giving them credit. The same enactment included a rigid fugitive slave law and commanded all constables and inferior officers "to press men, horses, boats or pinnaces to pursue" runaway slaves "by sea or land, and to make diligent hue and cry, as by the law required." Later statutes permitted masters to punish slaves with any chastisement not extending to life or member; forbade the assemblage of more than three slaves; ordered that the children of slave women shall be slaves; that each town or manor may have a whipper of slaves; that any slave presuming to strike any Christian or Jew shall be committed to prison and suffer corporal punishment; forbade the harboring of slaves; provided that every master or the executor of a will freeing a slave must give two hundred pounds security that such slave shall not become a public charge, and that the owners of slaves executed for murder, arson or other terrible crimes shall be paid for them. The traffic in slaves began to decline in 1718, and in 1723 there were but six thousand one hundred and seventy-one in the province. In 1755 there were but seventy-three held in Westchester County. Slavery ceased forever in the State of New York under the law of 1817, which enacted that every "negro, mulatto or mustee within this State, born before the 4th day of July, 1799, shall, from and after the 4th day of July, 1827, be free."

[1] 1733—Mr. Silas Wood gives the population of the province this year to be 50,291, of which 7231 were slaves.—*Watson.*

plicity and naturalness in their social relations. Their out-door amusements were of the kind that promoted vigorous bodies. The Dutch skated on the frozen streams in winter, as they had done in Holland, while the English were mightily given to riding and hunting. As in all new countries, women were in the minority; the demand exceeded the supply, and she was usually an incorrigible old maid who passed her twentieth year without finding a husband. The marriage festival was an event to which friends and neighbors from all the country round were bidden; much ale and liquor was drunk, and the dancing was kept up the night through. There does not, however, seem to have been the strictest morality observed concerning the relation of men and women, for on January 5, 1658, the Council of the New Netherlands issued a very stringent order against those who had had their banns published and then had not had the ceremony performed. It was ordained that "all persons whose banns have been published, after the third proclamation shall have been made and no lawful impediment occurring, shall cause their marriage to be solemnized at the longest within one month after the last proclamation, or, within the said term, to appear and render in his reasons for his refusal, as it behooves him; and this under the penalty of ten guilders for the first week after the expiration of said month, and for the succeeding weeks twenty guilders for each week, until the time he shall have made known the reason of his refusal.

"Furthermore, no male and female shall be permitted to cohabit before they shall have been lawfully married, in the penalty of one hundred guilders, or as much less or more as their circumstances shall be found to warrant.' [1]

The English colonists took a patriotic pride in celebrating what was called "A Merry English Wedding." No matter how poor the new-made husband, he must find money for the Gargantuan spreads which the guests expected. The minister finished the ceremony by kissing the bride; then all the gentlemen followed his example, while it was the bridegroom's privilege to kiss each of the ladies. A bride might receive the salutations of a hundred men in the course of the day; and as if this were not enough, the men called on the bride afterward, and this call was colloquially known as "going to kiss the bride." A practice among the ruder frontier people was to carry off the bride and hold her prisoner until she was ransomed by the groom providing entertainment for the captors.

The ancient custom of erecting May-poles and dancing around them prevailed until a late day. Sometimes, when a bridegroom had given offense by evincing stinginess, not inviting his friends to his wedding-feast, or in the case of an ill-matched couple, a May-pole adorned with ragged stockings in lieu of flowers was placed before his door. New Year's day was celebrated among the New York Dutch by the calls of gentlemen upon their female friends, who set out tables with great stock of eatables and potables. This day and the church festivals, kept alike by the Dutch and English, brought an intermission of labor to the New York slaves, who gathered in throngs to devote themselves to wild frolics. Debauchery presently usurped the place of innocent enjoyment and these assemblages were converted into orgies. Consequently, on December 1, 1655, the Council proclaimed "that from this time forth, on the New Year and May-days, there shall be no firing or May-poles planted; nor shall there be any beating of the drum; nor shall there be on the occasion any wines, brandywines or beer dealt out" under a fine of twelve guilders for the first offense, twenty-four for the second and corporal correction for the third.

The colonial funeral deserved to rank as a festive occasion—a time of much eating and drinking. Whole pipes of Madeira, with several hogsheads of beer, were drunk at single funerals in New York, to say nothing of the food eaten and the tobacco smoked by friends who made a day—and sometimes a night—of it in honor of the departed. Legislative interference was more than once invoked to prevent the friends of the deceased from eating and drinking his widow and children out of house and home, and sensitive men were known on their death-beds to forbid the distribution of liquors at their obsequies. The precaution was well-timed, for funerals sometimes became the occasions of drunkenness and riot. There was an early custom of firing volleys over the graves of persons of rank and distinction, even though the one interred might be a woman.

There were many other sources of expense. The "underbearers" who carried the coffin, walking with their heads and shoulders covered with the pall-cloth, wore plain gloves; but the pall-bearers, the minister and many of the friends were presented with costly gloves of silk or leather. So many gloves were received by persons of wide social connections that a considerable revenue was derived from the sale of them. If the means of the family permitted, fine linen scarfs, caught on one shoulder, with a bow of white or black ribbon and fastened under the opposite arm with ribbon, were furnished to the clergy, physicians and pall-bearers. Mourning rings were large and elaborate. "The most common figure upon them," says Mrs. Van Cortlandt, "was a willow tree and urn done in hair. I have seen long pins of the same kind worn like the present scarf-pins, and heavy rings of white enamel, with the name of the person in whose memory they were given inserted in gold letters." The expense of making such presents can readily be imagined.

[1] This and succeeding extracts from the colonial laws of New Amsterdam and New York are from the "Historical Magazine," published by Henry B. Dawson, at Morrisania. Mr. Dawson enjoyed full authority from the New York City authorities to examine the records. Translations of the Dutch documents were carefully made under his supervision from the originals and compared with the Westbrook translations.

If the distance to the burying-ground was short, the deceased was carried on a bier. The slaves followed, with spotless napkins pinned over the left arm a little above the elbow.

This ostentation prevailed until the Revolutionary War compelled economy to be observed. A specimen account is that rendered, in 1760, by William Cook to the estate of Mrs. James Alexander, widow of the prominent lawyer and mother of Lord Stirling. It read thus:

	£	s.	d.
"To ye rectors	0	13	0
To opening ye (Trinity) vault	0	9	0
To 5 bells tooling, 18s. each	4	10	0
To ye pall	0	18	0
To ye clearks fees	0	5	6
To 3 invitations, at 18s. each	2	14	0
To cleaning ye church	0	12	0
To 6 Porters, at 6s	1	16	0
	11	17	6
To a coffin covered with cloth and lined within. Finding for ditto, double gilt furniture, full trimmed with all belonging, except cloth, lining and Ribbon	10	0	0
To making up a state room, finding stuff & tacks	0	14	0
	10	14	0"

And this does not include the funeral baked meats, the gloves, mourning rings and other items of expense.

The Dutch were thorough church-goers, and on Sundays never failed to attend "Kerck," to listen to the much-respected dominie. The duration of the sermon was limited to one hour, and, in order that the preacher should not exceed it, an hour-glass was placed upon the clerk's desk, and he was thus made the time-keeper. Another church custom was that the collection was taken in a bag, which the deacon carried fixed to a long black pole, at the end of which was fastened a bell to arouse the sleepers. It was also the custom for the sexton to notify the people of the hour of service by rapping at their doors with his ivory-headed cane and calling out: "Church-time!" for which he was paid by each family two shillings per annum. He also carried to the clerk all written requests for the prayers of the congregation. "The clerk had a long rod, slit at the end, into which he inserted the note, and handed it up to the minister, who occupied a very high pulpit in the shape of a half globe, raised on the top of a demi-column and canopied with a sounding-board. The minister wore a black silk mantle, a cocked hat and a neck-band, with linen cambric 'beffy' on his breast, for cravats were then uncanonical."[1]

The Sabbath, therefore, was generally respected; but that there were many unruly spirits who profaned it is evident from the ordinance of October 26, 1656, which forbade all the usual pursuits of trade and labor,—"much less any idle or unallowed sports, such as drinking to excess, frequenting inns or taphouses, dancing, card-playing, tick-tacking, playing at ball, playing at bowls, playing at nine-pins, taking jaunts in boats, wagons or carriages, before, between or during divine service; and, particularly, no innkeeper nor tapster shall be allowed, before, between nor during divine service, to follow his customary business nor undertake to tap, hand out, give or sell any brandywines, beers or ardent spirits, directly or indirectly." Very heavy fines were provided for infringement of this enactment, and when the British came into possession, they legislated in the same direction.

The connection between the state and the church was very close in the New Netherlands, and the Council was intolerant toward dissenters. The ordinance of February 1, 1656, is an example. It absolutely prohibited "all public or private conventicles or assemblies as are without the wonted (and only allowed by God's word) Reformed and appointed assembly of the Reformed Religion, in conformity with the synod of Dort, here, in this land, in our Fatherland and in other Reformed Churches observed and followed, under the penalty of one hundred pounds Flemish, to be incurred by all those persons who in such public or private assemblies, without the wonted and authorized assembly, whether on the Sunday or any other day, being unauthorized, shall presume to exercise the profession of Preaching, Prelection or singing; and twenty-five pounds, alike Flemish, to be incurred over and above by every male and female, married and single, who may be found in such assembly." It is curious that while the Dutch authorities thus interdicted all religions but their own, they protested in this ordinance that they intended no "prejudice to any patent heretofore given by them, or any lording over the conscience, or prohibiting the reading of God's holy word, or the domestic praying and reading of each one in his family; but all public and private conventicles and assemblies, whether in public or private houses, without the aforesaid wonted and established Reformed Divine worship."

When the English *régime* began, it evinced more liberality to every sect except the Roman Catholics. The articles of capitulation expressly provided that "the Dutch here shall enjoy the liberty of their consciences in divine worship and church discipline." None but Protestant ministers were allowed to officiate within the government, but difference of judgment was allowed to all who professed Christianity. The English made the maintenance of the ministry and poor a chief care of their admininistration, and their laws and edicts relating thereto are multifarious. They appointed overseers for each parish to levy assessments for the building of churches, the payment of the clergy and the maintenance of paupers, and while they tolerated other forms of faith, they compelled every person to pay the rates of the church "whereof he doth or may receive benefit." Governor Nicolls expressed the exact obligation in

[1] "Olden Time in New York, by those who knew." Published anonymously in 1833.

the order that "every township is obliged to pay their minister according to such agreement as they shall make with him, and no man to refuse his proportion, the minister being elected by the major part of the householders inhabitants of the town." It was the original scheme of the English that in each parish a church "should be built in the most convenient part thereof, capable to receive and accommodate two hundred persons," but this was found impracticable, for in 1655 it was provided that such churches should be built within three years afterward, and to that end a town rate or tax was authorized to begin that year. In default of payment of the church rates by towns or individuals, a summary process was authorized for the collection of the assessments and subscriptions.

It must not, however, be taken for granted that the Church of England immediately became the Established Church in New York. The controversy between Governor Sloughter and the Assembly, in 1693, points the religious history of the time. All the members of the Assembly but one were Dissenters, and in considering a bill for settling a ministry they obstinately refused to incorporate an amendment submitted by the Governor, providing that the bill should be presented to him, "to be approved and collated." His object was to construct it to the advantage of the Church of England, and as the Assemblymen could not be coerced or persuaded, he prorogued the session and scolded them vigorously in an address wherein he notified them that he "would take care that neither heresy, schism nor rebellion be preached amongst you."

This enactment of September 22, 1693, required the establishment of a "a good, sufficient Protestant minister, to officiate and have the care of souls within one year next" in specified districts. Two were ordered for Westchester County—"one to have the care of Westchester, East Chester, Yonkers and the Manor of Pelham; the other to have the care of Rye, Mamaroneck and Bedford." Each was to be paid fifty pounds per annum by a levy laid upon the people, which they might pay "in country produce at money price." Iron-clad enactments protected the pastor against the possibility of non-payment of salary. The justices of the county were required to issue warrants to the constables to summon the freeholders on the second Tuesday of January, to choose ten vestrymen and two church wardens; the justices and the vestrymen laid the tax, and if it was not paid, the constables had the power to distrain for it. At each stage of the proceedings fines were provided for persons or officials who failed to discharge their duties.[1]

The Puritans were keenly affected by this issue. Francis Doughty, who had been expelled by the Congregationalists from Taunton, Mass., is said to have been the first Puritan or Presbyterian minister in New York. He officiated from 1643 to 1648, and was supported by voluntary contributions from the Puritans and Dutch of the city. Puritans were certainly among the early settlers of Westchester. In volume iii. page 557, of the Documentary History of New York, there is an interesting description of a Puritan service at Westchester in 1656, conducted by two laymen, Robert Bassett and a Mr. Bayley, who were probably ruling elders, one reading a sermon and the other leading in prayer. When the colony was surrendered to the Duke of York, in September, 1644, there were within its bounds six Puritan ministers settled with their flocks. There were Puritan bands at Rye and Westchester without pastors.[2]

Governor Andros did not trouble the Puritan churches, which lost some of their veteran pastors, but continued to increase in numbers. Nathaniel Brewster settled at Brookhaven and supplied East Chester in 1665. In 1674 Eliphalet Jones supplied Rye and Ezekiel Fogg supplied East Chester. In 1675 Peter Prudden preached at Rye, and Thomas Denham settled there in 1677. Thus within twelve years there were five Presbyterian clergymen exercising their functions in Westchester County. They and their flocks shared in the struggle which all Dissenters had to make with Governor Sloughter's efforts to establish the Church of England as the State Church, but still Presbyterianism flourished. In Westchester County Rev. John Woodbridge located at Rye and Rev. Warham Mather at Westchester in 1684.

These two clergymen were among the most important personages in the lively episode which followed the conversion of Rev. William Vesey, a Puritan pastor in New York, to the Church of England His change of faith is said to have been procured by Colonel Heathcote, who, upon his settlement at Scarsdale, Westchester County, in 1692, showed himself a still zealous proselyter for the Church of England. In a letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, dated April 10, 1704, he relates a contention that was of great moment at the time:

"The people of Westchester, East Chester and a place called Lower Yonkers agreed with one Warren Mather, and the people of Rye with one Mr. Woodbridge, both of New England, there being at

[1] The language of the act refers only to a "Protestant Minister." "There can be no doubt," says Mr. Dawson, in the "Historical Magazine," "that it was the intention of the Assembly to provide for the maintenance of the Dissenting clergy. The act was very loosely worded, which, as things stood when it was made, could not be avoided. The Dissenters could claim the benefit of it as well as Churchmen, and unless wrested from its true bearing, it admitted a construction in their favor. In fact, it was arbitrarily and illegally wrested from its true bearing and made to answer the purpose of the English Church party, which was a very small minority of the people affected by the operation of the law. The act itself is a conclusive argument against the alleged establishment of the Church of England in the province of New York. It was not established of any law of the province, nor by the ecclesiastical law of England extending over the province, which was thus excluded or modified by express law made by competent authority.

[2] "Puritanism in New York," by Rev. Charles A. Briggs, D.D. *Magazine of American History*, January, 1885.

that time scarce six in the whole county who so much as inclined to the church. After Mather had been with them some time, Westchester parish made choice of me for one of their church wardens in hopes of using my influence with Colonel (Governor) Fletcher to have Mather inducted to the living. I told them it was altogether impossible for me to comply with their desires, it being wholly repugnant to the laws of England to compel the subject to pay for the maintenance of any minister who was not of the National Church, and that it lay not in any Governor's power to help them, but since they were so zealous for having religion and good order settled amongst 'em, I would propose a medium in that matter, which was that there being at Boston a French Protestant Minister, Mr. Bondett, a very good man, who was in orders from my Lord (Archbishop) of London, and the people of New Rochelle being destitute of a minister, we would call Mr. Bondett to the living, and the parish being large enough to maintain two, we would likewise continue Mr. Mather and support him by subscription. The vestry seemed to be extreamly well pleased with this proposal and desired me to send for Mr. Bondett, which I immediately did, hoping by that means to bring them over to the church; but Mather, apprehending what I aimed at, persuaded the vestry to alter their resolutions, and when he came they refused to call him, so that projection failing me, and finding that it was impossible to make any progress toward settling the church so long as Mather continued among us, I made it my business in the next place to devise ways to gett him out of the country, which I was not long in contriving, which being effected and having gained some few proselytes in every town, and those who were of the best esteem amongst 'em, who having none to oppose them, and being assisted by Mr. Vesey and Mr. Bondett, who very often preached in several parts of the country, baptizing the children, by easy methods the people were soon wrought into a good opinion of the church and indeed beyond my expectations."

It is not explained by what means Heathcote drove the Puritan clergymen out of the country, but it is not doubtful that he turned many of the Presbyterians over to the Anglican faith and prepared the way for the work of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, an organization of the Church of England, which sent John Bartow out as a missionary. He was placed in charge of the Puritan Churches of East Chester, Westchester and Jamaica by Governor Cornbury, and the Puritan ministers, Joseph Morgan, of Westchester, and John Hubbard, of Jamaica, were forced to retire from their church buildings and parsonages.[1] The latter made a fight, but Cornbury ousted him in favor of Bartow, who then attacked Morgan, with the result narrated in his own letter of December 1, 1707, to the secretary of the Society:

"Not long after this my Lord (Cornbury) requested me to go and preach at East Chester; accordingly I went (tho' some there had given out threatening words should I dare to come), but tho' I was there very early and the people had notice of my coming, their Presbyterian minister, Mr. Morgan, had begun service in the meeting-house, to which I went straitway and continued the whole time of service without interruption, and in the afternoon I was permitted to perform the Church of England services, Mr. Morgan being present, and neither he or the people seemed to be dissatisfied, and after some time of preaching there afterwards they desired me to come oftener, and I concluded to minister there once a month, which now I have done for about three years, and Mr. Morgan is retired into New England."[2]

Puritanism lost somewhat of its hold upon the people in consequence of the opposition of Cornbury; but with the accession of the house of Hanover to the English throne, in 1714, persecution of the Puritans in America ceased. On November 22, 1718, Rev. Wm. Tennent settled at East Chester and began to rebuild Puritanism in the county. He removed to Bedford May 1, 1720, and remained until August, 1726, preaching in all the townships. When Methodism divided the churches of the colony into antagonistic forces he became one of its leaders. An impetuous revival of faith occurred, which was guided by Thomas Smith at Rye and Samuel Sackett at Bedford. Tennent and his adherents were excluded from the Synod of Philadelphia in 1741, in the absence of the entire Presbytery of New York. The excluded Methodists rallied around the Presbytery of New Brunswick, and in 1745 it combined with the Presbytery of New York in erecting the Synod of New York, all of whose churches were in sympathy with the Methodists. In 1752 the Rye Church united with the Synod and thus all the original Puritan Churches of New York, organized in the seventeenth century, were combined in one compact Synodical organization. On

[1] "Lord Cornbury, equally zealous with his predecessor, Fletcher for the spread of the Church of England, assumed the right that Fletcher had claimed to induct ministers into parishes, and, under color of a law that had no existence, put the missionaries of the Society in possession of churches, glebes and parsonages. This was done, or attempted, at Westchester and East Chester, Rye and Bedford. In Rye only, of all these towns, no church had been built; but a tax was levied upon the inhabitants for its erection, and meanwhile the house and lands which had been provided for a minister and held by a succession of pastors, were taken for the missionary." ("The Presbyterians in the Province of New York," Rev. Charles W. Baird, *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, 1879, Vol. III., Part II.)

[2] "Colonel Heathcote represents that Morgan was ready to conform. But in this case he was hasty in judgment. Morgan was of tougher fibre than Vesey. He resisted all the influence brought to bear upon him and remained faithful. He labored for many years as a Presbyterian minister and died in New Jersey in connection with the Synod of Philadelphia. Rye was taken possession of by Thomas Pritchard and afterwards by Mr. Muirson, and John Jones, pastor of Bedford, was forced to retire to Connecticut after arrest and reprimand before the Council."—*Briggs'* "*Puritanism in New York.*"

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This enactment of September 22, 1693, required the establishment of a "a good, sufficient Protestant minister, to officiate and have the care of souls within one year next" in specified districts. Two were ordered for Westchester County—"one to have the care of Westchester, East Chester, Yonkers and the Manor of Pelham; the other to have the care of Rye, Mamaroneck and Bedford." Each was to be paid fifty pounds per annum by a levy laid upon the people, which they might pay "in country produce at money price." Iron-clad enactments protected the pastor against the possibility of non-payment of salary. The justices of the county were required to issue warrants to the constables to summon the freeholders on the second Tuesday of January, to choose ten vestrymen and two church wardens; the justices and the vestrymen laid the tax, and if it was not paid, the constables had the power to distrain for it. At each stage of the proceedings fines were provided for persons or officials who failed to discharge their duties.[1]

The Puritans were keenly affected by this issue. Francis Doughty, who had been expelled by the Congregationalists from Taunton, Mass., is said to have been the first Puritan or Presbyterian minister in New York. He officiated from 1643 to 1648, and was supported by voluntary contributions from the Puritans and Dutch of the city. Puritans were certainly among the early settlers of Westchester. In volume iii. page 557, of the Documentary History of New York, there is an interesting description of a Puritan service at Westchester in 1656, conducted by two laymen, Robert Bassett and a Mr. Bayley, who were probably ruling elders, one reading a sermon and the other leading in prayer. When the colony was surrendered to the Duke of York, in September, 1644, there were within its bounds six Puritan ministers settled with their flocks. There were Puritan bands at Rye and Westchester without pastors.[2]

Governor Andros did not trouble the Puritan churches, which lost some of their veteran pastors, but continued to increase in numbers. Nathaniel Brewster settled at Brookhaven and supplied East Chester in 1665. In 1674 Eliphalet Jones supplied Rye and Ezekiel Fogg supplied East Chester. In 1675 Peter Prudden preached at Rye, and Thomas Denham settled there in 1677. Thus within twelve years there were five Presbyterian clergymen exercising their functions in Westchester County. They and their flocks shared in the struggle which all Dissenters had to make with Governor Sloughter's efforts to establish the Church of England as the State Church, but still Presbyterianism flourished. In Westchester County Rev. John Woodbridge located at Rye and Rev. Warham Mather at Westchester in 1684.

These two clergymen were among the most important personages in the lively episode which followed the conversion of Rev. William Vesey, a Puritan pastor in New York, to the Church of England His change of faith is said to have been procured by Colonel Heathcote, who, upon his settlement at Scarsdale, Westchester County, in 1692, showed himself a still zealous proselyter for the Church of England. In a letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, dated April 10, 1704, he relates a contention that was of great moment at the time:

"The people of Westchester, East Chester and a place called Lower Yonkers agreed with one Warren Mather, and the people of Rye with one Mr. Woodbridge, both of New England, there being at

[1] The language of the act refers only to a "Protestant Minister." "There can be no doubt," says Mr. Dawson, in the "Historical Magazine," "that it was the intention of the Assembly to provide for the maintenance of the Dissenting clergy. The act was very loosely worded, which, as things stood when it was made, could not be avoided. The Dissenters could claim the benefit of it as well as Churchmen, and unless wrested from its true bearing, it admitted a construction in their favor. In fact, it was arbitrarily and illegally wrested from its true bearing and made to answer the purpose of the English Church party, which was a very small minority of the people affected by the operation of the law. The act itself is a conclusive argument against the alleged establishment of the Church of England in the province of New York. It was not established of any law of the province, nor by the ecclesiastical law of England extending over the province, which was thus excluded or modified by express law made by competent authority.

[2] "Puritanism in New York," by Rev. Charles A. Briggs, D.D. *Magazine of American History*, January, 1885.

that time scarce six in the whole county who so much as inclined to the church. After Mather had been with them some time, Westchester parish made choice of me for one of their church wardens in hopes of using my influence with Colonel (Governor) Fletcher to have Mather inducted to the living. I told them it was altogether impossible for me to comply with their desires, it being wholly repugnant to the laws of England to compel the subject to pay for the maintenance of any minister who was not of the National Church, and that it lay not in any Governor's power to help them, but since they were so zealous for having religion and good order settled amongst 'em, I would propose a medium in that matter, which was that there being at Boston a French Protestant Minister, Mr. Bondett, a very good man, who was in orders from my Lord (Archbishop) of London, and the people of New Rochelle being destitute of a minister, we would call Mr. Bondett to the living, and the parish being large enough to maintain two, we would likewise continue Mr. Mather and support him by subscription. The vestry seemed to be extreamly well pleased with this proposal and desired me to send for Mr. Bondett, which I immediately did, hoping by that means to bring them over to the church; but Mather, apprehending what I aimed at, persuaded the vestry to alter their resolutions, and when he came they refused to call him, so that projection failing me, and finding that it was impossible to make any progress toward settling the church so long as Mather continued among us, I made it my business in the next place to devise ways to gett him out of the country, which I was not long in contriving, which being effected and having gained some few proselytes in every town, and those who were of the best esteem amongst 'em, who having none to oppose them, and being assisted by Mr. Vesey and Mr. Bondett, who very often preached in several parts of the country, baptizing the children, by easy methods the people were soon wrought into a good opinion of the church and indeed beyond my expectations."

It is not explained by what means Heathcote drove the Puritan clergymen out of the country, but it is not doubtful that he turned many of the Presbyterians over to the Anglican faith and prepared the way for the work of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, an organization of the Church of England, which sent John Bartow out as a missionary. He was placed in charge of the Puritan Churches of East Chester, Westchester and Jamaica by Governor Cornbury, and the Puritan ministers, Joseph Morgan, of Westchester, and John Hubbard, of Jamaica, were forced to retire from their church buildings and parsonages.[1] The latter made a fight, but Cornbury ousted him in favor of Bartow, who then attacked Morgan, with the result narrated in his own letter of December 1, 1707, to the secretary of the Society:

"Not long after this my Lord (Cornbury) requested me to go and preach at East Chester; accordingly I went (tho' some there had given out threatening words should I dare to come), but tho' I was there very early and the people had notice of my coming, their Presbyterian minister, Mr. Morgan, had begun service in the meeting-house, to which I went straitway and continued the whole time of service without interruption, and in the afternoon I was permitted to perform the Church of England services, Mr. Morgan being present, and neither he or the people seemed to be dissatisfied, and after some time of preaching there afterwards they desired me to come oftener, and I concluded to minister there once a month, which now I have done for about three years, and Mr. Morgan is retired into New England."[2]

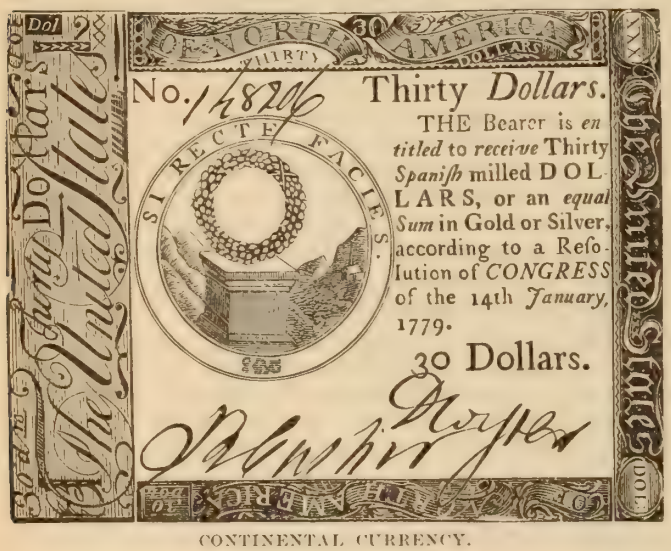
Puritanism lost somewhat of its hold upon the people in consequence of the opposition of Cornbury; but with the accession of the house of Hanover to the English throne, in 1714, persecution of the Puritans in America ceased. On November 22, 1718, Rev. Wm. Tennent settled at East Chester and began to rebuild Puritanism in the county. He removed to Bedford May 1, 1720, and remained until August, 1726, preaching in all the townships. When Methodism divided the churches of the colony into antagonistic forces he became one of its leaders. An impetuous revival of faith occurred, which was guided by Thomas Smith at Rye and Samuel Sackett at Bedford. Tennent and his adherents were excluded from the Synod of Philadelphia in 1741, in the absence of the entire Presbytery of New York. The excluded Methodists rallied around the Presbytery of New Brunswick, and in 1745 it combined with the Presbytery of New York in erecting the Synod of New York, all of whose churches were in sympathy with the Methodists. In 1752 the Rye Church united with the Synod and thus all the original Puritan Churches of New York, organized in the seventeenth century, were combined in one compact Synodical organization. On

[1] "Lord Cornbury, equally zealous with his predecessor, Fletcher for the spread of the Church of England, assumed the right that Fletcher had claimed to induct ministers into parishes, and, under color of a law that had no existence, put the missionaries of the Society in possession of churches, glebes and parsonages. This was done, or attempted, at Westchester and East Chester, Rye and Bedford. In Rye only, of all these towns, no church had been built; but a tax was levied upon the inhabitants for its erection, and meanwhile the house and lands which had been provided for a minister and held by a succession of pastors, were taken for the missionary." ("The Presbyterians in the Province of New York," Rev. Charles W. Baird, *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, 1879, Vol. III., Part II.)

[2] "Colonel Heathcote represents that Morgan was ready to conform. But in this case he was hasty in judgment. Morgan was of tougher fibre than Vesey. He resisted all the influence brought to bear upon him and remained faithful. He labored for many years as a Presbyterian minister and died in New Jersey in connection with the Synod of Philadelphia. Rye was taken possession of by Thomas Pritchard and afterwards by Mr. Muirson, and John Jones, pastor of Bedford, was forced to retire to Connecticut after arrest and reprimand before the Council."—*Briggs'* "*Puritanism in New York.*"

November 29, 1769, Mr. De Witt offered in the Assembly a bill "to exempt the inhabitants of the Counties of Westchester, New York, Queens and Richmond from any taxation for support of the Ministers of churches to which they do not belong." And this was finally passed with amendments applying it especially to persons not in communion with the Church of England.

The Dutch pioneers on Manhattan found it convenient to adopt the currency of the Indians, who took the common periwinkle, called by them "Meteanhock," found in great quantities along the shores, and having broken it so as to secure the thick portion at the stem, they made of this beads about the size of a straw and a third of an inch in length.[1] This was the white *sewan* of least value. A black bead of the same description was made from the large round clam called the "quahaug." These beads were woven into belts, and divided into pieces of different values.



CONTINENTAL CURRENCY.

Four beads counted for a stuyver or two for a cent, and a braided string a fathom long was valued at four guilders, equivalent to $1.66. Sewant was commonly measured by spans, and the Indians, in their traffic with the Dutch, always chose as traders their men who could cover the greatest length between finger and thumb.

But counterfeits sprung up, and the currency in course of time became debased. The Indian money was even imported from Europe, where imitations were made of porcelain, but this base article could not impose on the natives, and the counterfeit failed as a speculation. The "good splendid sewant of Manhattans" was the genuine article and passed in all the Indian country roundabout, for this island and the neighboring sections were the great mint of the Indians. Up the North River, in Westchester and elsewhere, sewant had its legal tender value well defined until so many broken, unstrung and badly made pieces came into circulation that the Dutch government—coin still being scarce—was obliged to find a new currency. Beaver-skins supplied the deficiency and became the next fiat money of the day. This was an article less subject to fluctuations and was divided into "whole beavers" and "half beavers," the former being rated at about three dollars. What little of the Dutch currency was in circulation was known as "Hollands." In contracts for sale and purchase of real estate and personal property, the distinctive sorts of payment were usually expressed; and if not stated, it was understood that sewant was the consideration. There were certain sorts of contracts, however, such as ocean freights, in which, by the customs of merchants, it was implied that payment was to be made in beavers. On account of the debasement of the sewant currency, the Council ordered in May, 1650, that six white or three black sewants should pass for one stuyver (half a cent), and the base strung sewant, eight white or four black for one stuyver.

Legal tender legislation was not then so well understood. Many people refused to accept the base sewant until, in the following September, the Council enacted "that the base strung sewant should be received by every one without distinction, in payment for small daily and necessary commodities in housekeeping, and that it should be current as follows: For twelve guilders or under, all may be paid in base strung sewant; from twelve to twenty-four guilders, half base and half good strung sewant; and in larger sums agreeably to the agreement between buyer and seller." In 1658 the rate was again altered to eight white and four black of the good sewant for one stuyver. The colony was suffering from a superabundant and depreciated currency, which was intrinsically worthless. Beavers, which had an actual value apart from that which legislation could place upon them, appreciated until they were rated at sixteen guilders each; and, as a matter of course, provisions and household necessaries followed the upward movement of the currency which kept anything like an even ratio with real money. Shop-keepers, tapsters, brewers, bakers, grocers and workingmen charged a difference of eighty, ninety or a hundred per cent. between sewant and beaver in taking pay for their goods or their labor. The Council struggled bravely to enhance the value of the sewant by resorting to the fiction that values can be controlled by arbitrary enactment. Its next law (November 11, 1658) was "that the brewers, tapsters, bakers, and other shopkeepers and common grocers, should sell the daily

1 "Reminiscences of the City of New York and Vicinity."—Henry B. Dawson, New York, 1855.

necessary family commodities to the buyers at their different prices, to wit, silver money, beavers and sewant: as for instance, the brewers should deliver one barrel of good beer for ten guilders (about $3.80) in silver money, according to the Holland value of fifteen guilders in beavers, the beaver at eight guilders to twenty-two guilders; in sewant eight white or four black for a stuyver."

It is testimony to the drinking customs of the Dutch families[1] that beer and wine were estimated by the law as necessaries of which no household should be deprived by exorbitant or fluctuating prices.

The cost of the malt liquor was made little enough in this ordinance of 1658, and it was equally accommodating in providing that French wine should cost no more than eighteen stuyvers (nine cents) the pint in silver money; Spanish wine no more than twenty-four stuyvers, and brandywine only five stuyvers for a gill. Yet these prices, which were official, so to speak, were subject to the competition set up by the smugglers, whose illicit trade in the harbor and for a long distance up the Hudson had much to do with stocking the bars of the tapsters and the cellars of the manorial lords, besides furnishing the Indians and slaves with the cheap liquors that incited them to riot, "whereby," says the ordinance of October 26, 1656, "almost all the calamities occur." This omnibus enactment proceeded after the smugglers with a stinging thong. Five hundred guilders was the fine fixed for the first offense, and the forfeiture of the "barque, yacht, boat or canoe" the owner whereof attempted to evade the custom officers, for the second. Still the rewards of the prohibited trade were so tempting, that the many seamen engaged in it continued to run the gauntlet. They brought their cargoes to the numerous secure nooks on the river-shore in Westchester County, and when the contraband goods were once unloaded and run into the back-country, they might defy detection.

In pursuing the smugglers the Council did not omit to pay attention to various frauds perpetrated by lawful traders. The comprehensive enactment aimed at the smugglers also embraced a fulmination against the bakers. It obliged them "at least once or twice a week, to bake both coarse and white loaves of bread, both for Christians and Indians, at the established price and weight of one double coarse loaf, eight pounds, for fourteen stuyvers," and smaller loaves in proportion. The double white loaf was required to weigh two pounds, and to be sold for eight stuyvers. In case of light-weight bread, or overcharges, the bread was forfeited and the baker fined twenty-five guilders for the first offense, fifty for the second, and for the third six hundred guilders and absolutely prohibited from conducting the business. No bakers were permitted "to sell any bread made of sifted bran, whether at wholesale or retail, to Christians or Indians; but the bakers of coarse bread may make their coarse bread of the ground grain as it comes from the mill." It was further enacted that in consequence of "the many frauds in baking and tapping," "no person shall follow the business of baking and tapping without first having made application to those of the magistrates in their respective districts, and having procured from the same or their authorized agents a license for that business," which was to be renewed quarterly.

The criminal law was rigorously administered in the primitive days, and its penalties were almost ferociously harsh. About the time of the settlement of New York hanging was succeeding beheading in the northern European countries as the means of executing those convicted of capital crime, and it was not long before the hangman became one of the officials of the colonies. His methods were far more brutal and painful than those which a more humane civilization has since devised. Instead of the modern trap, or other appliances designed to dislocate the

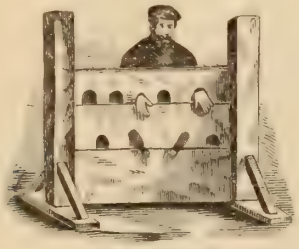
[1] Their English successors followed them bravely in this respect The amount of liquor it required to help in conducting an election in New York in 1738-39 was something startling. The *Magazine of American History* for December, 1884, printed the following bill, indorsed as election expenses for those years and divided equally between James Alexander and Eventhuss Van Horne:

	£	*s.*	*d.*
"To 56½ Gall. Jamaica Rum for Punch, 5½ Gall. ditto for Drams ye morning, 62 Gall. at 3s. 3*d*	10	1	6
To Cash for 3½ Gall. Brandy at 7	1	4	6
To Cash for 8 Gall. Lime-Juice at 4s	1	12	0
To 73¾ ℔ Single refined Sugar whereof is left 9½, Return 65¼ ℔ at 14p	3	16	1
To a Barrill for Wine & Shrub	7	9	0
To 104 Bottels for Wine & Rum whereof there is 3 returned, Remains 101 Bot. @ 40pg	1	8	1
To 7 pds Candles at Two Nights	0	5	3
To the Carting Wine & Shrub	0	2	0
To 2 Loads woode and carting	0	9	3
To 4 Case Bottels broke	0	6	0
To 3 Tapes	0	1	0
To 1 Gugs 0 2 6			
To Mr. Smith for 6 Bottels 0 1 8			
	0	4	2
To Mrs. Lancellet acct. for earthen & Glass Broak	3	5	9
To John Benck acct. for pipes and mugs	0	17	3
To John Berbeck for bread	0	17	8
To John Outhout acct. barrills deducted	4	1	0
To John Brashers acct. for Tobaco	0	15	0
To Garrad Duyke mending glass	0	5	3
To William Walton for a pyd wine	16	0	0
To yi hornpipes	2	0	0
To Robin the fidler	0	12	0
To ye other 3 each 9	1	7	0
To the Drum	0	12	0
To tunis Teahut for a spad stolen	0	7	0
To Mr. Alexander for Cheese, to John Wright	2	16	10
To Zenger & Golett	2	5	6
To Angeneta Adolph	5	0	0
To W^m^ Langford	1	4	4
To Mr. Alexander	1	9	7¾
	£72	5	1¼

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Alexander	36	2	7
Van Horne	36	2	7
	£72	5	2"

vertebræ of the convict, the old-time gibbet was merely two uprights with a cross beam, from which depended the rope and noose. He was driven under it in a cart, the noose fastened about his neck and the cart driven off, leaving him to perish slowly of strangulation. Such malefactors were always hanged in chains and their bodies left swinging in the irons for months, a supposed ghastly and terrible warning to evil-doers. Sometimes the hangman would jump upon the shoulders or swing from the feet of the criminal in order to expedite the strangling process.

The stocks, the pillory and the whipping-post were instruments of punishment for lesser offenses. They were part of the judicial equipment of every county town or seat of government, and stood conveniently near to the court-house or jail, for in the early days both were usually situated in one building. Punishment by the pillory was much the more severe, the victim being in a standing position; but even that by the stocks was exceedingly painful, and it was not uncommon for men to swoon under the agony of either the pillory or the stocks. But while the colonists followed European precedent in the infliction of rigorous penalties, and their laws embraced many



THE STOCKS.

statutory crimes now abolished, yet they made no use of such instruments of torture as the rack, wheel, thumb-screw or pincers, found in all European prisons and even the ducking-stool seems not to have been employed outside of New England.

It will be gathered from the foregoing that the government of New Amsterdam, which exercised jurisdiction over Westchester County, went a long distance into the details of every-day life, and was almost microscopic in its purview of the incidents of trade and personal relations. While this is true, it was yet liberal and generous. Modern criticism may take exception to its religious intolerance, but that was more apparent than real. The Dutch settlers at Manhattan and above on the Hudson were soon joined by English Puritans, Huguenots from Rochelle, Waldenses from the Piedmont country of France, German Lutherans and Anabaptists, Swedes and Catholic Walloons. They lived together amicably, because the Dutch trend in the new country was toward tolerance, whatever it might have been in the old.

Incidents that took place within and around the historic houses of Westchester County during the Revolution reveal much of the methods and surroundings of the people in those days.[1] The phlegmatic Dutchman who then occupied the Livingston house at Dobbs Ferry, was for a time frightened away by the hum of cannon-balls about his premises. When, in 1777 General Lincoln made the place his headquarters, he piled four barrels of gunpowder in a little shed in the rear of the house, answering the proprietor's remonstrances with the remark that "it was a good dry place for it." After the army marched away the Dutchman found that the barrels contained nothing but sand, and had been placed there as a ruse to deceive the enemy if any of their spies should come prowling about.

Here Washington entertained the Duc de Lauzun, Count de Rochambeau, Steuben and others of the distinguished foreign officers, on July 6, 1781. Alexander Hamilton presided, and his graceful manners and witty speeches provoked universal admiration. Here also Washington and Sir Guy Carleton, and their respective suites met to arrange for the evacuation of New York by the British. On the sequestration of the Philipsburgh Manor the property was purchased by Peter Van Brugh Livingston, and it thence took his family name.

The Roger Morris house, at the most elevated point of Harlem Heights, where the steep, rocky right bank of the Harlem River slopes gently to the southwest, was built, in 1758, for the man whose name it bears. He was a captain in the British army, and in that year married the lovely Mary Philipse, for whose hand Washington is said to have been an unsuccessful suitor. A lively fancy may be permitted to call up his emotions when, in September, 1776, as commander-in-chief of the American army, he made the residence of the woman who had rejected him his headquarters, or when, in July, 1790, as President of the United States, he revisited it, she and her husband being attainted fugitives from the home which the new government had confiscated. The wealthy Frenchman, Stephen Jumel, bought it, and his wife adorned it with an exquisite taste and lavish hand. There she lived until her death, in 1865; there, in the days of her widowhood, she married Aaron Burr, and it was over this very valuable estate that her heirs wrangled until the courts disposed of it.[2]

During and after the fight at Chatterton's Hill Washington had his headquarters in the Miller house

[1] Soldiers and marauders plundered indiscriminately in Westchester County, until Washington sent Aaron Burr to take command. A letter from Judge Samuel Youngs, of Mount Pleasant, printed in the "Historical Magazine" for June, 1871, says: "No man went to bed but under the apprehension of having his house plundered or burnt, or himself or family massacred before morning. Some, under the character of Whigs, plundered the Tories; while others of the latter description, plundered the Whigs. Parties of marauders assuming either character or none, as suited their convenience, indiscriminately assailed both Whigs and Tories." Burr came to the county in the fall of 1778 and stopped all this by military rule and strict enforcement of order.

[2] Benson J. Lossing in *Appleton's Journal*, vol. x., 1873.

at White Plains, which until recently was in the possession of that family, by whose name it is still known. He was frequently at the Birdsall house, in Peekskill, which was one of the first buildings erected in the village. It was a favorite tavern and was repeatedly visited by the officers when the allied armies, under Washington and Rochambeau, menaced the English positions in and about New York. It stands on the old post road and is still kept as a tavern. Near by are yet seen the remains of the old fort which crowned this elevated position at the mouth of the Highland Gorge.[1]

It appears from some Revolutionary papers that there were localities in Westchester County which are now unknown. Washington, in his order-book, under date of October 24, 1782, directs:

"The tents being too cold for the accommodation of the sick, the regimental surgeons will send no more to the flying hospital, but have such as are hospital patients sent to the huts at New Boston." Where was "New Boston?"

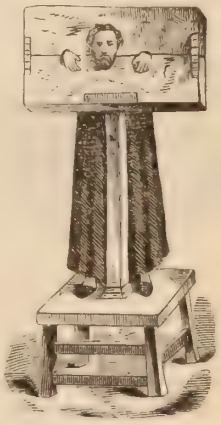
On the night of the 13th of May, 1781, Lieutenant Colonel Greene, the hero of Red Bank, was killed at his quarters on the Croton River, near the site of the present dam, by a party of De Lancey's corps. Paymaster Thomas Hughes, of the American army, who was in the house at the time, contrived to escape. A letter describing the action, written a few hours afterward, he dates at Rhode Island Village. Where was "Rhode Island Village?"[2]

The old-time taverns of the county had their records worthy of preservation. One of the most celebrated of these was the "Blue Bell," concerning the location of which there has been much controversy. In vol. iv., No. 6, of the *Historical Magazine*, June, 1880, Charles A. Campbell thus indicates it in a quotation from an old chronicle:

"The holy sacrament was administered to the Huguenots of New Rochelle four times a year, viz., Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday and the middle of September. During the intermissions that occurred the communicants walked to New York for that purpose. Prior to their departure, on a Sunday, they always collected the young children and left them in the care of their friends, while they set off early in the morning and walked to the city barefooted, carrying their shoes and stockings in their hands. About twelve miles from New York, at a place *since called the Blue Bell*, there was a large rock by the roadside covered with cedar; here they stopped for a short time to rest and take some refreshments, and then proceeded on their journey till they came to Fresh Water Pond, within the bounds of the city. Here they washed their feet, put on their shoes and stockings, and walked to the French Church (the old church Du St. Esprit in Pine Street), where they generally arrived by the time service begun."

A writer in the same magazine (vol. viii., No. 4, October, 1881) located the tavern on the east side of the old King's Bridge road, "opposite the old yellow house now standing south of One Hundred and Eighty-first Street," and added that it was directly east of Fort Washington, and was demolished about 1820. To support his statement against those writers who urged that it was on the west side of that highway, he quotes at length (vol. iv. p. 460; v. p. 142; vi. pp. 64, 22, 300), from the reminiscences and papers of Isaac M. Dyckman and Blazius Ryer. He contends that the mistake arose from the location of another old house about half a mile south of the "Blue Bell," and which was on the west side of the road and was destroyed by fire about 1846. The *Magazine of American History* for November, 1881, reviews all this testimony and draws the deduction that the colonial tavern was on the west side, but that some time after 1802, the first hostelry of the name having been abandoned in 1787, Blaze Moore revived the old sign of the "Blue Bell" at a tavern which he kept on the east side.[3]

Lossing's gossip of this venerable house of refreshment[4] accepts the west side theory and makes it a



THE PILLORY.

structure that, when he wrote, was still standing and occupied as a dwelling. He quotes Cadwallader Colden, who, in October, 1753, wrote to his wife of having rested at it on a journey to New York, when it was "very well kept by a Dutchman named Vanderventer, and our food and lodgings were very comfortable." Tradition says that General Heath occupied it for his headquarters in October, 1776, and that Washington and Lee met there on the morning when they followed the American army and journeyed together to the Bronx. It was the headquarters of the Hessian Colonel Ralle after the assault on Fort Washington. One of his aides fell in love with the pretty sister of young Vanderventer, and promised to remain in America if she would marry him. Her mother and Ralle favored the union, and despite the opposition of her brother, they were married in Ralle's own

[1] *Hist. Mag.* vol. iii. No. 2, April, 1879. The same number mentions that on his entrance to New York, in November, 1783, he stopped at Day's Tavern, opposite the Point of Rocks, at the junction of the Harlem and Kingsbridge roads.

[2] *Histo. Mag.*, vol. vi. No. 1, January, 1881.

[3] The abundant references for this theory include the records of the Van Ohlem's tract. Gauthier's survey of the northern part of New York Island, made by order of Lord Percy, in November, 1776, locates the "Blue Bell" on the west of the road on the lane leading to Fort Washington. In 1848 John Macdonald made the note that "the old stone house in the field west of the road at Fort Washington was the 'Blue Bell' tavern of the Revolutionary war, kept by Jacob Moore."

[4] *Appleton's Journal*, December 13, 1873.

room by his chaplain the night before his departure from the "Blue Bell." The young husband was made prisoner by Washington at the battle of Trenton, and refusing to be exchanged took the oath of allegiance to the United States, and settled in East Jersey.

On October 24, 1783, Washington stood in front of this tavern to review the troops as they were marching into New York. There he confided to the care of Major Robert Burnet, commanding the rear-guard, a young deserter from the British army, who had secretly married an American girl at the "Blue Bell" on the preceding day. Thus twice the venerable inn had been the scene of a clandestine wedding.[1]

The October, 1881, issue of the *Historical Magazine* has these additional notices of old houses on the King's Bridge road,—



THE BLUE BELL TAVERN.

The Cross Keys, the very old stone house on this road, at about One Hundred and Sixty-fifth Street, is probably the only survivor of the outward Revolutionary inns. It was, traditionally, one of Washington's stopping-places, and was known as the Cross Keys, by reason of two keys being crossed on the sign-board. It is said to have been kept by David Wares.

The Dyckman House, the only real Dutch farm-house extant on this road, standing not far from the twelve-mile stone, was built by Jacob Dyckman, as we are told by Isaac M. Dyckman, the present representative of the name at King's Bridge, just after the close of the war, the original family mansion being burned by the enemy. The said Dyckman, a very enterprising and wealthy man, was the projector of the bridge across Harlem River, sometimes called by his name, and owned the land on which the large hotel at King's Bridge now stands. The old one stood on about the same foundation, and was burnt down some forty years ago. Fifty-five years ago it is remembered as kept by James Devoe. General Heath, in his "Memoirs," speaks of it as Hyatt's tavern. This was in 1777. Devoe subsequently hired it to one Jacob Hyatt. Doubtless it was sometimes called Dyckman's tavern, from the Dyckman ownership.

The McComb House, at King's Bridge, long the property of Joseph Godwin, Esq., is said to have been used as a tavern during the Revolution, and Mrs. Robert McComb was accustomed to point out to her guests one of the upper rooms as once the lodging-room of General Washington. The venerable Dr. Bibby, of Cortlandt House, states that this property was purchased, shortly after the War of Independence, of the heirs of Eden Metcalf by Alexander McComb, of New York, the father of General Alexander McComb, of the United States army.

The Century House.—The oldest farm-house now standing on or near the King's Bridge road is that known as "the Century House." It is on the Harlem River bank, and belongs to the ancient Nagle family, original landholders of that part of the island with the Dyckmans. Its date, marked on a stone inserted in the front wall, is, if we remember right, 1734. It is described by W. C. Smith in his article on the Roger Morris house.—*Mag. of Am. Hist., vi.* 103.

There were two "Black Horse" inns of fame. That of the colonial and Revolutionary period was situated near McGown's Pass, and was still standing in 1812. The second was built in 1805 near the Tabby Hook Landing, or what is now called Inwood Street, and was the half-way house for the Albany coaches between their starting-point in New York City and the first change at Yonkers.[2] Henry Norman was its builder and original proprietor, and when the Widow Crawford kept it, a sign, bearing the figure of a black horse, swung from a pole in front of the door. Neither the inn nor the land on which it stands has had many owners. In 1740 John Schuyler, Jr., Philip Schuyler, Stephen Bayard, Jr., and James Stephenson had it by letters patent from the King; from them it passed to John Livingston, who sold it, with all its rights and titles, "except to gold and silver mines," to Johannis Seckeles; he to Henry Norman; he to a Dyckman, and the latter to the Flint family.

These are pictures of days that have long faded into the azure of history, but it seems as if the writer can almost touch the men and women who figured in them as he scans the records they have left of their work and their play, their strong attachments and their fierce resentments, their deeds in peace and war. They are very real when one accompanies them in their homes and follows them through the routine of the day. They were brave, sturdy, passionate, faithful and aggressive people, fitted to conquer virgin soil and found the nation that stands the peer of the ancient commonwealths from which they were derived. Straight down in an unbroken line from them we trace the march of progress that leads to the imperial New York of the present day and the noble environment of Westchester County. Their sons and daughters have been worthy of them, and in the people of the county to-day we see preserved those traits of moral worth, of maternal enterprise, and of lofty patriotism which are the safeguard of the most highly developed American communities.

J. Thomas Scharf

[1] The *New York Packet* of June 10, 1748, contains the following advertisement:

"The Blue Bell Revived.—Stephen Dolbeer begs leave to acquaint his friends and the public in general that he has opened the Blue Bell Tavern, at Fort Washington, where he hopes for the continuance of his former customers and all those gentlemen who please to favour him with their custom shall be waited on in the genteelest manner. Also good stabling and pasture for horses."

In the *Daily Advertiser* of February 17, 1787, John Battin advertises that his porter house, at the sign of the Blue Bell, Sloat Lane, will remove on the first of May to the house opposite to the one he then occupied. The carrying of the sign to the city probably disposes of the Revolutionary Blue Bell, as Colles, in his road map of 1789, marks the old house as Waldron's Tavern.

[2] *Appleton's Journal*, November 7, 1874.

CHAPTER VIII.

GENERAL HISTORY FROM 1783 TO 1860.

BY REV. WILLIAM S. COFFEY, M.A.
of East Chester.

Post-Revolutionary Narrative—Public Works—Political History.

It will be readily conceived that years must have elapsed before the memory of the wrongs and of the emotions which they aroused should have disappeared to any extent among the inhabitants of Westchester County, who had suffered so much in the Revolutionary conflict. The bitter animosities in families and between neighbors which had been engendered, it were hard for the most considerate to lay aside, and it were scarce possible that the most trifling disagreement should not reproduce.[1] The high-handed measures of confiscation, which followed the proclamation of peace, served to inflame anew the old sores; and the accusations, indictments, prosecutions and inflictions for offenses of the war-time, which filled up, for several years after it, the proceedings of the County Court of Sessions, are but indications not more of the outrages reprehended, than of the subsequent unwillingness to condone and forget them. The many missed faces, the traces of care and anxiety on those one did meet, the decayed and vacant houses and dilapidated barns, the marked change in the circumstances of the well-to-do families, the alteration in the moral tone, not only of the young, but of many past the years of early life who in them had been most exemplary, the number of diseased and wounded men, many of whom were hastening to their graves, the often felt presence still of the lawless marauder daring enough to follow his once riskless trade—all this kept up long the general sadness and fearfulness.

This story, indeed, would be incomplete, if mention were not made of the hundreds of excellent people who reluctantly left the county for foreign homes.

But to those who did remain is the credit due that they settled themselves to their old employments, much impoverished, but with strong wills, and not a few with great hopes. Patriotic expressions, declarations of the difficulties of the situation, wise counselings as to the public policy, and as to the courses of action in the several industries and interests, mingle in the letters of the day, with the usual detail of incident, and ever and anon with passionate denunciation of the past follies of neighbors bringing so much trouble.

The farms of the County, with soil none the best to be sure, were in a while restored to their former yielding power, and signs of the old comfort and thrift began to appear. It was not long before it was realized that the former strength and prosperity were fast returning. The population, which had decreased some one thousand or twelve hundred, began to show marks of increase.

Perhaps nothing gave a stronger impulse to the improvement in the condition of the county than the demand, at the beginning of this century, for the products of the American soil in foreign markets, during the distracting and devastating war on the European Continent. The prices which the farmer obtained were almost fabulous, and all the other industries, of course, flourished under the good fortune. In connection with this, it must also be stated that the freedom of the seas was now open, unrivaled, to the new nation, whose fine harbors so distinctively seemed to point out the commercial consequence to which, under a wise policy, she might attain. The Port of New York was especially marked for its activity, and the number of vessels which weekly started, freighted for foreign markets, seem, under all the circumstances, almost incredible. Of course, from this prosperity of the city, Westchester County, in its turn, derived much advantage.

In noting the progress of the several towns, we are struck with the steadily increasing traffic by land and water, and with the multiplication of the facilities for intercommunication. Smaller roads are being constructed and ready access afforded to the mills, to the villages and to the River and the Sound. The old thoroughfares are being improved and new lengths of road take the place of impracticable old ones. On the east side of the county, by act of the Legislature of 1800, under a company of which Philip Pell, John P. Delancy, Cornelius Rosevelt, Peter J. Munroe and Gabriel Furman are the members mentioned in the bill, a turnpike road was constructed from East Chester to Byram River, over which soon passed the eastward stage to Greenwich, Stamford, Danbury, New Haven and on to Boston, of course covering the various villages of the county which were on the route.

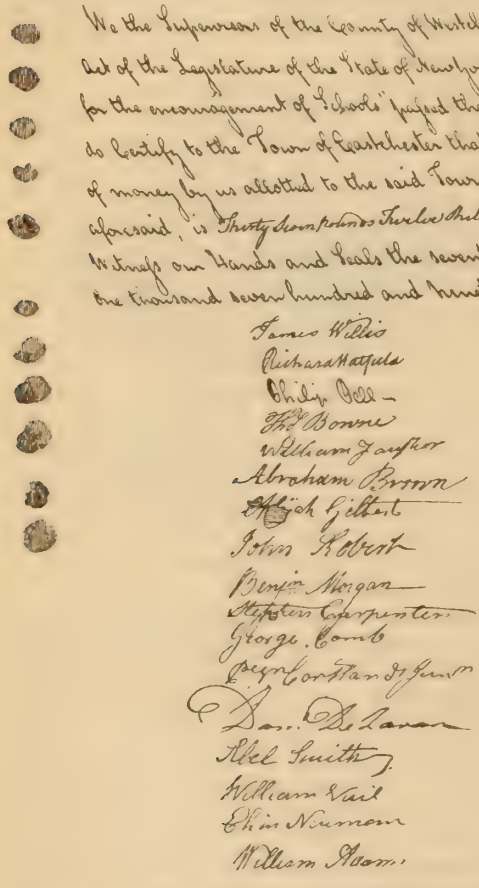
But still other matters attract our attention. The religious services have been resumed at all the old points and the church edifices have been repaired or rebuilt. Where titles were defective and action of the town was required, the steps thought proper were taken at town-meeting, or where an act of the Legis-

[1] Major Samuel Pell, who before the war had become engaged to his cousin, Mary Pell, seems, from letters of expostulation with him of his brother, Philip Pell, to have been very anxious, as the contest was closing, to abruptly leave the service. He had so distinguished himself, especially at the Battle of Saratoga, as to have received the highest encomiums, and his family was anxious lest he should be a loser by his impatience. But at the dawn of peace he returned home and claimed his affianced, who indignantly spurned him with the declaration that she would not have one come near her, who had the scent of a rebel. Neither of them ever married.

Will one wonder at the bitter feelings of an old inhabitant of East Chester, when he remembered that his mother, with himself an infant in her arms, was compelled to escape in the dead of the night from her burning home—set on fire by the enemy, in pursuit of her husband? The very man who had informed them of Captain L.'s arrival home, how must he have been maddened in his turn when he remembered that he had been lashed, again and again, to force from him his money, and had spent night after night away from his home and family to avoid the violence and robbery of hostile neighbors?

lature was needed to protect a neighbor or his family from wrong, it was applied for and obtained. Take, as an instance, the Act passed June 19, 1812, for the heirs of a valued citizen and patriot, John G. Wright, in which it was provided that "letters patent issue for Charity Wright, his widow, and for his heirs for five hundred acres in the tract set apart for the use of the line of this State in the Army of the United States, which said John Wright was a Surgeon's mate in the General Hospital in the Northern Department."

The machinery of the higher courts was set in motion and crimes were promptly punished and wrongs more thoughtfully and certainly redressed. The education of the children became more an object of attention under new incentives and necessities. The provisions of the act of the 9th of April, 1795, by which the sum of one thousand one hundred and ninety-two pounds was given annually for five years for school purposes to the County of Westchester, grew out of this feeling, and were responded to according to the conditions of the gift by the voters of each town, in the appropriation of a sum equal to one-half of what was received, school commissioners being chosen for the distribution of the moneys. The above is a fac-simile of a paper on file in the office of the Town Clerk of East Chester, in which is certified the amount of school money allotted to that town. This was the first apportionment under the act.


We the Supervisors of the County of Westchester pursuant to an Act of the Legislature of the State of New York, intitled "An Act for the encouragement of Schools" passed the ninth of April 1795 do Certify to the Town of Eastchester that the apportionment of money by us allotted to the said Town by virtue of the Act aforesaid, is Thirty three pounds Twelve Shillings and seven pence
In Witness our Hands and Seals the seventeenth day of June one thousand seven hundred and ninety five.
James Willis
Richard Hatfield
Philip Bell
Thos Bonnel
William Jaughter
Abraham Brown
Elijah Gilbert
John Robert
Benja Morgan
Stephen Carpenter
George Coomb
Peyn Cortlan Jr Justs
Dan. De Lamar
Abel Smith Jr.
William Vail
Elias Numan
William Adam

Just as readily, in 1812, when an equal sum to that appropriated by the State was in a new Act asked of each town, the vote was readily given, and the proper officers named. During this period, throughout the county, school-houses were being restored or re-erected. Provision for the poor was also freely made yearly by the several towns and by the Board of Supervisors.

In 1786 eighteen hundred pounds were appropriated for the erection of court-houses and jails at White Plains and Bedford. After the burning of the public buildings at White Plains in the war, prisoners had been confined in the jails at New York, Westchester and Kingston, and in other places, temporarily, for safety, and the courts were held in the Presbyterian Church at Bedford and the church building at East Chester (not yet used for religious purposes).

This steady and quite regular increase is the more wonderful as remembered in connection with the known fact of heavy losses by the removal of some of the best people of the County to large farms and more productive localities in the northern and central regions of the State. To the adjoining city there was, and ever since has been, a large annual contribution of those preferring the haunts of trade. The names of Westchester County settlers appear in large numbers in the City Directory of the early years of this century, and in the Record Books of Deeds, Mortgages and Wills, at the county seats of Northern, Central and Western New York. In many cases the farmer soldiers of the Revolution, or those to whom they had sold out their "rights," were eventually settling on the lands which had been laid out for and divided among the troops of the State of New York. Charles Ward, on the 16th of June, 1795, from Palatine Bridge, on the Mohawk, writes: "Business goes on briskly this summer, and my crops like to be good, and I have the prospect of getting in a large crop of wheat."[1]

At the height of this prosperity the course which England and France thought fit to take to weaken each other in 1806 had the most serious effect upon the United States, whose interest and desire was to avoid all complications and preserve peace. In this "afflicting crisis," the consequences of which were

[1] Charles Ward, eldest son of Stephen Ward, and for several years "after peace" the town clerk of East Chester. In 1803 he represented Montgomery County in the New York Assembly.

felt throughout the land in the depreciation of values, particularly of the agricultural products, the Embargo Act, which prohibited any exportation of goods whatever, brought the people into the still more subdued position, strongly stated at the time as "one in which they shall sell nothing but what they sell to each other" and "all our surplus produce shall rot on our hands."[1] The reduction in the prices went on until it amounted to sixty per cent. Wheat, which had been selling per bushel at two dollars, scarce brought seventy-five cents. And not only were the citizens of the county affected by the diminished value of their goods, but also many of them by the stoppage of the returns from their ventures, in the ships and their cargoes, in which they had joined interest with the traders of the city.

The citizens of Westchester County were prepared without distinction of party to enter with their fellow-citizens of the State into the defense of their common country in the War of 1812. There is abundant evidence that the factious spirit which appeared in New England made but little show in these parts. The questions discussed were rather as to the wisdom and the vigor which characterized the movements in asserting the national dignity than as to the necessity of them. Time had been allowed, since the aggressive act of 1806, to the most partial to realize the narrow and contemptuous feeling of the enemy, and new evidence was continually turning up, in the acts of impressment and uncalled-for interference with our marine, that self-preservation was the necessity of the hour. The numbers of foremost citizens of our towns, who are remembered as in later years referring with pride to their military services in the last war with Great Britain, show that by the best members of the community there was evinced at the time all that zeal, which anxiety for the reputation of the county could desire. In the positions of home defense, as well as of active duty at distant points, and in the invoked labors of placing "the city" in a condition for resistance, the sons of Westchester were behind none of their countrymen.

A careful examination of the condition of the county during the war shows indications rather of prosperity than of embarrassment. The prices were encouraging to labor, and a number of the citizens of those times laid then the foundations of their future wealth. The crops seem to have been abundant. So, when peace was restored, there was a broad basis laid upon which a substantial prosperity might steadily be realized. As in the colonial period, so for many years after it, the population was made up of thrifty farmers, the colored race (not very valuable as help, certainly not as property), of a few tradespeople and mechanics, and of a sprinkling of men of wealth, the influence of whose hereditary or acquired fortunes was distinctly felt in all the neighborhoods in which they had settled. From the following paper may be obtained an impression of the financial strength of the county, and, what will be to many of interest, the names of leading persons in it in the various walks of life:

STATEMENT OF THE AMOUNT OF INTERNAL DUTIES IMPOSED BY THE LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES (EXCEPT THOSE ON FURNITURE, WATCHES AND STAMPS) PAID BY EACH PERSON IN THE THIRD COLLECTION DISTRICT OF NEW YORK DURING THE YEAR 1815.

Agate, Thomas	$25.88	Blain, James	$17.50
Archer, John (of G. B.)	24.98	Baremore, Nathan'l & Son	1.87
Acker, Abraham	19.50	Brown, Aaron	1.25
Anderson, Israel	4.00	Barker, Isaac	22.50
Anderson, Jeremiah	2.00	Baremore, James	22.50
Armor, Catherine	4.00	Bailey, Horras	22.50
Archer, John (of E. C.)	38.54	Bowne, Sidney B	14.59
Adams, Moses S.	1.00	Burket, John	15.00
Ambler, Charles	2.00	Burnet, Thomas	2.65
Adee, Daniel	2.00	Barker, Henry	0.84
Arther, Jacob C.	21.88	Bedle, James	0.49
Austin, Richard	21.88	Banks, Augustus	1.13
Akin, Daniel	27.18	Carpenter, John	4.00
Anderson, Joseph, Jr.	3.18	Carpenter, Joseph	4.00
Brooks, Joshua	2.00	Carpenter, Thomas	1.00
Beekman, Stephen D.	4.00	Carpenter, Mary	1.00
Beekman, G. G.	11.00	Carpenter, Charles	4.00
Barker, William	4.00	Crumwell, John	2.00
Burling, John	1.00	Crumwell, Joseph	2.00
Burling, William	7.00	Clapp, Allen	4.00
Burling, Samuel	1.00	Canada, Robert	1.00
Buckley, Gershum	4.00	Crooker, Moses	2.00
Browne, Hachaliah	4.00	Coe, Ruben	18.50
Bush, Gilbert	1.00	Crawford, Elijah	1.00
Brown, Joseph	1.00	Callum, Thomas Mc	2.00
Brooks, Henry S.	4.00	Cudner, Elisha	2.00
Bates, John	2.00	Carpenter, William	2.00
Bates, Stephen	4.00	Cornell, Thomas	9.10
Bonett, John	4.00	Carpenter, Robert	2.00
Bush, William	2.00	Cornwell, Jonathan	2.00
Brown, David	1.00	Curry, Richard	2.00
Brown, Thomas (of Rye)	9.00	Constant, St. John	2.00
Brown, Gilbert (W. P.)	5.00	Constant, Silas	2.00
Brundage, Joseph	2.00	Cooper, Elias	3.00
Brundage, Edward, Jr	1.00	Coggshall, Gideon	4.00
Bates, Neamiah S	23.88	Crooker, Benjamin	19.50
Brown, Benjamin	2.00	Carvill, George, Jr	2.00
Berrian, Abraham	1.00	Cox, Ann	1.00
Burling, Thomas H	4.00	Cornell, John	1.00
Bonett, John, Jr.	4.00	Cook, Lyman	2.00
Bathgate, James	4.00	Clark, John G.	2.00
Bates, Bassel J	4.00	Coffin, Frederick J.	2.00
Byard, Elizabeth	1.00	Carpenter, Levi	1.00
Bailey, Gilbert	2.00	Carpenter, James	2.00
Brown, Neamiah, Jr.	4.00	Corwin, Elisha	505.46
Bailey, Joseph	1.00	Crane & Titus	77.81
Brown, Lewis	2.00	Clark, Samuel	3.88
Brotherson, John	5.00	Cooper, John, Jr.	29.38
Brown, Stephen (C. T.)	35.76	Church, James	3.77
Baker, Peter	2.00	Colyer & Harris	17.47
Bailey, James	8.00	Covenhoven, Martha	17.50
Bailey, Hachaliah	2.00	Clark, John G.	21.88
Brown, Stephen, Jr. (C. T.)	35.76	Cook, Elizabeth	14.59
Beedle, William	2.00	Clapp, Samuel	21.88
Brown, Thomas (C. T.)	2.00	Coe & Moseman	21.88
Brown, Cornelius	23.38	Cooper, John (W. C.)	21.88
Brown, Robert	1.00	Clark, Stephen	18.00
Brown, John	21.88	Curtis, Charles R.	22.50
Brown, Henry	14.59	Colyer, Moses W.	0.15
Brown, Caleb	14.59	Constant, Lewis	22.50
Baldwin, Ebenezer	17.50	Crasto, D. G.	21.82

[1] Gardenier's speech in Congress, February, 1808, *Historical Magazine*, November, 1873.

Ducher, William $2.00
Delancy, John P. 1.00
Dusenberry, Charles (G. B.). 1.00
Dayton, Martha 4.00
Drake, Moses 24.50
Davenport, Lawrence . . . 2.00
Downing, William 20.50
Delancy, Oliver 1.00
Drake, James 2.00
Dusenberry, Charles (C. T.) 25.88
Dagget, Herman 1.00
Dyckman, Elizabeth 11.00
Delevan, Daniel 3.00
Dewey, James 23.88
Dusenberry, John H. . . . 1.00
Donell, Floro Mc 2.00
Davis, Abraham 8.00
Downing, Richard 1.00
Donald, Alexander Mc . . . 2.00
Dick, James 26.77
Denton, Samuel 2.50
Dingee, Samuel 23.55
Dewey & Birdsall 11.88
Dyckman, William N . . . 17.50
Dyckman, Jacob G. 21.88
Diven, James 17.50
Dean, Benjamin 21.88
Dusenberry, John 14.59
Downey, Amos. 24.10
Dyckman, Benjamin . . . 17.50
Edgar, William 2.00
Enis, George 6.16
Field, Oliver. 771.20
Fairbanks, David 2.00
Foster, Marmaduke 2.07
Frances, Fowler. 1.00
Fleming, Peter 2.00
Ferris, Gideon 2.00
Fowler, Benjamin (of Yonkers) 24.41
Ferris, Elijah 1.00
Franklin, Glorianna 2.00
Field, Charles 13.27
Fountain, Tiler 2.00
Fountain, James 1.00
Field, Benjamin 2.00
Field, Robert 1.00
Ferris, Thomas 1.00
Frost, Isaac 2.00
Flueling, Robert 5.00
Ferris, Stephen 31.15
Ferris, George 22.51
Fowler, Moses 5.24
Forbes, Abraham G 2.29
Flanderine, James 1.75
Foster, Robert K 7.06
Fowler, Benjamin 17.50
Frost, Niles 21.88
Ferris, John G. 21.88
Feak, John 21.88
Fowler, Philemon 14.59
Faile, George 39.30
Faile & Hall 21.85
Ferris, Sands & Benjamin . 21.88
Fowler, Alexander 15.00
Frost, Joseph and Jacob . . 15.00
Frost, Ebenezer 22.50
Griffin, John 3.00
Graham, Isaac G 1.00
Griffin, Henry 4.00
Guion, John (of Rye) . . . 23.88
Gilbert, Jacob 2.00
Gi, Ebenezer 2.00
Gidney, John 4.00
Given, Robert. 4.00
Guion, Charles 1.00
Guion, James 2.00
Guion, Jonathan $1.00
Guion, John (of Yonkers) . 21.86
Gillespie, John B 21.88
Green & Carpenter 21.83
Guion & Lyon 21.88
Green, Thomas 21.88
Graham, Andrew 21.88
Gould & Raymond 1.88
Graham, Henry 21.88
Green, John 14.50
Glover, David T. 17.50
Guion, John (of N. R.) . . . 21.88
Guion, Abraham. 0.42
Glazier, Walker 41.65
Griffin, Daniel 20.55
Green, Caleb 13.46
Howland, Joseph 3.00
Hammond, Abraham . . . 2.00
Hunt, Ward 1.00
Hart, Mary 1.00
Hammond, William 2.00
Hunt, William 2.00
Hevland, Solomon 1.00
Holley, Caleb 1.00
Horton, Joseph 2.00
Hunt, Hester 2.00
Horton, Jonathan P 1.00
Howland, John (of Rye) . . 2.00
Hart, James 1.00
Hawkins, John 1.00
Halsted, Philemon 1.00
Haight, Daniel 2.00
Haight, John 2.00
Hevland, Benjamin 3.00
Hevland, Abijah 1.00
Haskill, Samuel S. 3.00
Halsted, Ezekiel 2.00
Hatfield, Joseph 2.00
Hatfield, Gilbert 2.00
Horton, Azariah 1.00
Hevland, William 2.00
Hopkins, James 2.00
Hait, Jacob 1.00
Halsted, Jane 1.00
Hobby, David 4.00
Homes, David 2.00
Hadley, Charles 2.00
Hustes, Daniel 2.00
Hunt, Lot 2.00
Horton, Elijah 1.00
Harvy, James 9.00
Harvy, Thomas M 4.00
Hoffman, William 1.00
Hayland, Ann 2.00
Hayland, Benjamin 5.00
Hunt, Richard 17.59
Haight, Nicholas 2.00
Hustice, Abigal. 22.88
Haight, Moses 1.00
Hammond, Abijah 33.00
Hallack, Robert 2.00
Hunt, Isaac 1.00
Howard, Ward 23.88
Hunt, Joseph 8.00
Haight, Caleb 2.00
Hayland, Gilbert 1.00
Hoffman, Stephen B. . . . 1.00
Hustace, Joshua 1.00
Hayland, John 17.15
Horton, Bates. 21.88
Hubbard, John 21.88
How, Irenus 22.50
Halsted, Hyatt 22.50
Heister & Smith. 22.50
Harris & Wood 2.88
Hoag, Isaac & Co 22.50
Hyatt, Joseph R 15.00
Haight, Jonathan $14.59
Hazen, Caleb 15.00
Haight, Joseph 22.50
Hyatt, Nathaniel 14.59
Hyatt, John 1.54
Hammond, Israel 13.88
Hunt, Stephen 17.77
Hatfield, Abraham 9.74
Horton, John 21.09
Handford, Andrew 13.66
Hopkins, Ezra 22.26
Haight, Samuel 17.24
Horton, Wright. 11.42
Jay, Mary 12.00
Jasard . . . . . .
Ingersel, John 1.00
Jones, William 4.00
Jay, John 14.00
Jones, Zopher. 26.83
Jarvis, Jesse 2.00
Jackson, Thomas 1.00
Johnston, William 21.88
Jones, Daniel 22.50
John, Wm. S. St. 22.50
John, Gold St. 15.82
Jesop, Samuel. 2.10
Kemeys, William 2.00
Kerney Jno, W. 8.00
Knapp, Sylvanus 1.00
Keeler, Walter 1.00
Knapp, Samuel 2.00
Kirby, Thomas 21.88
Kipp, Gilbert 25.27
Kent, Jeremiah. 1.52
Lockwood, Richard H . . . 11.65
Leonard, Abraham. 3.98
Lawrence, Thomas, Jr. . . 22.47
Lawrence, Isaac & Joseph . 23.87
Lent, Absalom 21.88
Lynt, Jacob 14.59
Lyon, W. S. & A 22.50
Livingston, Philip I. . . . 1.00
Lyon, Jonathan 4.00
Lewis, Margaret 22.88
Lyon, Samuel 1.00
Lewis, James 4.00
Lockwood, Abraham 2.00
Lounsbury, Stephen 2.00
Lyon, James 1.00
Lee, Robert P. 4.00
Lynch, Dominick 9.00
Lane, Abigal 2.00
Lee, Elijah 2.00
Lockwood, Ezra 1.00
Lyon, Holley. 1.00
Legget, Thomas 9.00
Lawrence, Thomas P. . . . 4.00
Lamontagne, Jacob De . . . 4.00
Lawrence, Joel 2.00
Lockwood, Ebenezer, Jr . . 21.88
Lockwood, Solomon 14.59
Lawrence, Sambel 21.88
Lawrence, Isaac 14.59
Lyon, Hyatt 15.00
Legget, Abraham 14.59
Lee, Edward 35.75
Mott, Samuel C 22.58
Martin, Abraham 4.00
McGowen, Mary 1.00
Merritt, Jonathan 2.00
Merritt, Robert 2.00
Merritt, Wilmot 2.00
Merritt, Caleb 4.00
Martine, James 2.00
Miller, Richard 1.00
Merritt, Lot 2.00
Moseman, Willet 1.00
Morrill, Rivers $1.00
Merritt, Daniel 2.00
Martland, Benjamin 2.00
Martin, Caleb. 4.00
Martine, John 2.00
Mead, Joshua 1.00
Mead, Thomas 2.00
Mead, Solomon 2.00
Mead, Allen 4.00
Mandeville, James 26.50
Morgan, Abijah 1.00
Morgan, Moses 2.00
Morgan, Benjamin 4.00
Marsh, John F 2.00
Morris, James 9.00
Morris Lewis 23.00
Morris, Richard V 5.00
Morris, Governor 14.00
Miller, James 1.00
Merritt, Jotham 1.00
Merritt, Phebe 2.00
Mead, Martin 2.00
Mott, Richard 2.00
Morgan, Charles 1.00
Montross, Nathaniel 2.00
Merrit, James 17.60
McKeel Jesse 1.00
Miller, Hetty 1.00
Mabie, John 1.00
Martling, Samuel 0.87
Merry, Thomas H 1.00
McKeel, Jacob 2.00
Mead, Benjamin 1.00
Mesier, Peter A. 214.82
Miller, John 11.69
Miller, James. 43.00
Mandeville, Cornelius . . . 11.31
Marshall, Joseph 3.92
Marshall, Ezra 12.90
Marshall, Moses 13.75
Merritt, Daniel 194.05
Martling, John 26.75
Mortross, David G. 22.50
Marks, Michael 21.88
Marks, Moses I 21.88
Morrel, Susannah 17.50
Mead, Robert 22.50
Marshall & Haight 21.88
Nelson, Absalom 4.00
Nash, Joseph 2.00
Newman, Noah 4.82
Odell, Jonathan D. 2.00
Odell, Jonathan 1.00
Odell, Jackson 4.00
Odell, Isaac. 2.00
Odell, Jacob 2.00
Oppie, John 4.00
Owen, John 23 88
Oakley, Isaac 4.00
Olmsted, David 1.00
Odell, Jonathan 23.75
Oakley, Charles 21.88
Odell, Abraham & Son . . 21.88
Odell, Isaac 14.59
Oakley, Augustus 21.88
Odell, William D 9.77
Odell, Daniel & Co 17.38
Paulding, John, Jr 76.05
Preastly, Edward 4.00
Purdy, Augustus 8.22
Purdy, Elias 1.00
Purdy, Joshua 2.00
Purdy, Benjamin 4.00
Park, Roger 2.00
Pugsley, I. and Jeremiah . 337.90
Purdy, Thomas 4.00
Pugsley, S. and Jeremiah . 380.21

Purdy, Roger	$2.00
Purdy, Nathaniel	1.00
Provoost, Wm. S	2.00
Pine, Samuel	2.00
Park, Jesse	1.00
Park, Jesse, Jr	1.00
Purdy, Ann	1.00
Purdy, William	2.00
Purdy, Neamiah	1.00
Parmer, John	1.00
Purdy, Thomas	4.00
Pears, Daniel	4.00
Post, James	1.00
Post, Isaac	1.00
Post, Jacob	1.00
Pealor, George	18.50
Pugsly, Talman	1.00
Popham, William	2.00
Pell, Caleb	1.00
Purdy, Timothy	3.00
Purdy, Samuel	11.00
Purdy, Elijah	1.00
Pelton, Daniel	22.88
Pell, David I	1.00
Purdy, Ebenezer	1.00
Peck, Jerod	23.88
Pugsley, Hannah	1.00
Purdy, Isaac	4.00
Penfield, Henry L.	19.50
Purdy & Hawley	21.88
Perry, Talman & Monson	55.16
Parker, Isaac	14.59
Philips, James	24.00
Purdy & Bedle	22.50
Penfield, Henry L	17.50
Purdy, Budd	21.88
Purdy, James H	6.57
Quimby, Elijah	
Quick, John	1.00
Quimby, William	3.00
Requa, Isaac	25.88
Reed, Aaron	4.00
Raymond, Joshua	2.00
Rapelye, George	6.00
Ryer, William	2.00
Raymond, Medad	1.00
Rundel, Samuel	2.00
Rundle, John	4.00
Reed, Archer	2.00
Roger, David, Jr	2.00
Raymond, Henry (of Bedford)	25.88
Raymond, Henry (W. C.)	1.00
Reed, Mary	1.00
Romer, John	14.59
Requa & Dean	21.88
Requea, Daniel	17.50
Rundle, Solomon	21.88
Rundle, William	14.59
Raymond, Seth	24 09
Rich, Elijah	18.00
Robertson, Zabud	21.88
Rider, Fowler F	21.88
Roe, Benjamin	3.56
Raymond, Enoch	7.84
Smith, Thomas G	2.00
Smith, William	2.00
Schureman, John	
Sniffen, James	
Strang, Joseph	2.00
Strang, Henry	2.00
Strang, Daniel	22.88
Strang, H. and Joseph	21.88
Seaman, Sylvanus	1.00
Smith, Wm. H	16.59
Sherwood, Jonathan	2.00
Seyman, Drake	2.00
Smith, John	$23.88
Smith, Thomas	23.88
Smith, Philip	23.88
Swartout, Bernardus, Jr	2.00
Sherwood, Bishop	4.00
Smith, Caleb, Jr	2.00
Smith, Isaac and Jesse	23.88
Stymus, Jesper	1.00
Smith, Matson	6.00
Strang, Ebenezer	2.00
Strang, Samuel	4.00
Silkman, Daniel	2.00
Silkman, John	1.00
Sutton, Winford	1.00
Seacord, Daniel	1.00
Simpson, Thomas	2.00
Somerville, James	4.00
Slater, Wm	1.00
Shute, Elisha	1.00
Smith, David	17.50
Shavanah, Patrick	21.88
Scofield, Ebenezer	14.59
Smith, Abel	22.50
See, Peter	21.88
Smith, Benjamin	22.50
Smith & Fish	22.50
Smith, Reuben	50.74
Schofield, Richard	2.78
Sherwood, Gilbert	5.80
Strang, Peter	2.61
Smith, Stephen	2.33
Thornton, Thomas	4.00
Titus, Rebecca	2.00
Theal, Thomas	2.00
Theal, Billey	2.00
Tompkins, Alexander	1.00
Tompkins, W. G.	4 00
Tompkins, Noah	1.00
Trip, Daniel	2.00
Thomas, Mathew	2.00
Thorn, Samuel	4.00
Titus, Samuel	2.00
Thomas, Thomas	2.00
Tompkins, Caleb	4.00
Tompkins, Jonathan G.	2.00
Twitching, Henry	15.59
Thompson, Charles	4.00
Thomas, Tompkins	23.88
Titus, John, Jr	23.88
Theal, Hachaliah	2.00
Todd, Ira	2.00
Townsend, John	4.00
Todd, Abraham	2.00
Taylor, Elizabeth	4.00
Tidd, William	2.00
Tompkins, Noah B.	21.88
Taft, Elias	10.59
Tompkins, G. and S. B.	22.50
Thorn & Conklin	22.50
Taft & Dresbrew	21.88
Trowbridge, Samuel	21.81
Taylor, Samuel	.90
Tertulus, Townsend	1.00
Underhill, Solomon	1 00
Underhill, Bishop	23.88
Underhill, Nicholas	2.00
Underhill, Frederick	4.00
Underhill, Peter	4.00
Underhill, Lancaster	22.88
Underhill, Gilbert	16.59
Underhill, Thomas	2.00
Underhill, Joshua	2.00
Underhill, Caleb	2.00
Underhill, Abraham I	1.00
Underhill, James (N. C.)	2.00
Underhill, James (of Somers)	17.25
Underhill, Robert	2.00
Underhill, John B. & Co	$21.88
Underhill, Daniel	15.00
Underhill & Weeks	14.57
Underhill, B and J. B	22.50
Underhill, Gilbert (of E. C)	31.73
Van Wart, Isaac	4.00
Vantastle, Wm	1.00
Vail, William	2.00
Vermilye, Isaac	2.00
an Cortlandt, Augustus	8.00
Vark, Aaron	22.88
Vashey, Herman	2.00
Van Cortlandt, Pierre	4.00
Verplank, Philip	6.00
Van Cortlandt, Philip	6.00
Voght, John C	16.59
Valentine, Gershum B	21.88
Valentine, Jarvis	21.88
Voght, Joseph C	14.59
Vantastle & Sarles	110.47
Valentine, Jordan	1.40
White, Ebenezer	2 00
Wildey, Caleb	2.00
Wood, Jonas	1.00
William, Merritt	4.00
Wood, Jacob	4.00
Whitmore, Elyckeah	1.00
Wilson, James	1.00
Willet, Samuel	2.00
Willett, Waite	1.00
Williams, Raymond	7.92
Wright, Nathaniel	4.00
White, Henry	8.00
Warner, William	1 00
Warner, John	1.00
Wells, Lemuel	$15.00
Ward, Isaac	1.00
Ward, Jonathan	4.00
Watts, Robert	16.00
Ward, Richard	2.00
Wilcock, Wm	2.00
Wilkins, Isaac	1.00
Williams, George	1.00
Walker, Thomas	6.00
Wilson, Samuel	1.00
Weed, Ananias	1.00
White, Ebenezer J	2.00
Walden, Thomas	2.00
Whitney, Seth	2.00
Webbers, Isaac	2.00
Ward, Ann	14.59
Willsea, Daniel	17.50
White, John	14.59
Wood, Abraham	21.88
Williams, John and George	21.88
Willis, Richard	15.00
Wright, Ephraim	22.50
Williamson, Griffin	15.00
Williams, William	22.50
Williams, Robert	15.00
Williams, Elisha	22.50
Williams, Williams (of Bedford)	21.88
Weed, Derius	24.69
Williams, John	1.40
Williamson, William, Jr.	4.98
Young, Samuel	2.00
Yerks, John F.	21.82
Yale, Oliver	37.88
Yale, Mark	22.50

The emancipation of the slave in Westchester County was undoubtedly less a blessing to him than to his owner. Whatever may be the experience now in the more genial climate of the South, as to the elevation, happiness and increase of the colored race, after the recovery of its freedom, the result here was most disastrous. It was not, however, to the disadvantage of the master, for certain is it that the Westchester agriculturalist found himself called to more intelligent and remunerative tillage when relieved of the scarcely profitable help of his bondman. Such is the universal testimony.

What a sight must have presented itself as over our three great thoroughfares, not only the farmers of the county, but often, as when the river and sound were ice-bound, those of the regions beyond passed into the city with their heavy loads of produce. There were hours of the day when the roads, it is said, were fairly blocked by the heavy traffic upon them, and eye witnesses declare that at night even the floors of the bar and sitting-rooms of the taverns were spread over with the sleepers tarrying to rest themselves and their teams for a few hours on the way.

The activity thus apparent was accompanied with such improvements in the several neighborhoods as readily to attract the attention of travelers. The care taken of the highways and of the various public buildings may be seen in the town and church records. A reference to some of the private accounts shows in the repair of houses and estates a careful and yet liberal expenditure.

It is proper here to say that about this time the

Poor House of the County was built. The date of its construction is 1827. It is situated in the town of Mt. Pleasant, about five miles north of White Plains, and two miles east of Tarrytown, in a beautiful portion of the county. The farm contains one hundred and seventy-three acres, and the institution several buildings of stone.

At about the same period the State Prison at Sing Sing, in this county, was erected. It was built from 1825 to 1829, by the convicts themselves. The prison was built here because of the marble quarries upon which the labor of the convicts might be employed. It covers one hundred and thirty acres of land lying on the Hudson River, and a more healthful or beautiful location could not have been selected.

If the eye be allowed to pass over the Table of Population which will be found inserted at the end of this chapter, he will remark how rapid after 1835 the increase. We turn readily to the cause, and delay for moment to detail the steps taken in the construction of the railroads which afford such facilities for traversing the county.

Public Works. — The New York and Harlem Railroad Company was incorporated by the Legislature of the State of New York on the 25th of April, 1831. And its franchises which were increased by several subsequent acts during the next eight years, covered only the City and County of New York and extended only as far as the Harlem River. The difficulties which the company had here to master, were he cause of much of its embarrassment in after years. The route on Manhattan Island presented the most formidable natural obstacles, and entailed consequently the heaviest expenditures. On the 17th of April, 1832, the Legislature by act incorporated the New York and Albany Railroad, with a charter authorizing the construction of a road, commencing on the island of New York, where the Fourth Avenue terminates and extending to the city of Albany. This Company not being able to avail itself of its privileges, "after six years of vicissitude and vain effort" surrendered its rights in Westchester County to the New York and Harlem Railroad. The compact made between the two companies, the Legislature in May 1840 affirmed, empowering the Harlem Company to construct a bridge over the Harlem River and a railroad through Westchester County to an intersection with the New York and Albany's line of road which would be at the southern boundary of Putnam County. The first portion of the road which it was determined to build, was as far up as White Plains, and amusing enough are the limited calculations made by the engineers of the day, to meet the question as to the ability of Westchester County to support a railroad. The passengers and freight from five supposed points at which they would come on the road, are figured out by one of the engineers on the basis of stage fares and tonnage prices, and the result is that $47,788 would be received from passengers and $60.980 from freight or a total of $108,768, which it was said would fully meet all expenditures and yield a profit of at least 25 per cent. on the capital invested. Another engineer calculates upon an immediate income of $60.000, $950 of which is to come from the Catholic School at Fordham and Powell's School at Westchester. The following is another statement ventured by the President of the New York and Albany Railroad in 1838. "The town of East Chester will contribute along with Kain's Marble Quarry $15,000, and six other towns of Westchester County $16,000 to support a railroad." It is safe to affirm that no one took as much interest in the construction of this road as Mr. Gouverneur Morris. The route found to be the most advantageous after leaving the Harlem, was to aim directly for Mill Brook, and thence along it to the valley of the Bronx near William's Bridge, and thence along that valley to White Plains, the whole distance being 20 miles. Here were found broad level flats above the bed of the streams averaging 500 feet in width, skirted by table lands of gravel 30 feet above the flat and averaging 200 feet in width, affording great facilities for grading. Rock occurs at a few points, chiefly granite and gneiss, offering stone for culverts at reasonable distances and inconsiderable expense. The road was constructed and in use to Fordham by October 1841[1] to William's Bridge by 1842, to Tuckchoe by July, 1844 and to White Plains later in the same year, passing through the towns of Morrisania, West Farms, Yonkers, East Chester, Scarsdale, Greenburg and White Plains. Says one long an employee of the road, "the first running of the trains through the county was a matter of great curiosity, and crowds of people surveyed it from the adjoining hills." From the report of the company in 1846, we learn that the cost of construction of six miles of road from the south side of Harlem River Bridge to William's Bridge was $38,475 per mile, while the thirteen miles of road from William's Bridge to White Plains cost $11,277 per mile. Stages from the important villages, were immediately put on for the nearest stations as the work advanced. It is stated as a fact that the company suffered severely at first from the dishonesty of the conductors who collected their fares on board of the trains. The building of the road above White Plains seems to have been proceeded with, after very little, if any, delay. In the report above cited the completion of the whole distance is promised by May, 1847. Mr. Allan Campbell, the engineer, thus details the route chosen: "It pursues the valley of the Bronx for three miles, when it passes to the valley of the Saw Mill by Davis's Brook and Fly Brook . . . The Saw Mill is then followed to its head-waters, where the ridge (of high broken ground running from east to west about eight or ten miles above White Plains, the principal obsta-

[1] Committee's Report to Stockholders, October 15, 1841.

cle) is passed with a cutting of only nine feet. The line now descends by the Kisco, a branch of the Croton and Muddy Brook, to Cross River; thence over broken ground between this stream and the Croton to the valley which is occupied through the remainder of Westchester,—a very direct line has been obtained at an expense which must be regarded as moderate, only four structures of any considerable magnitude being required, one of sixty feet over the Bronx, one of eighty feet over the Titicus, one of one hundred and twenty feet over the Cross River and one of one hundred and sixty feet over the Croton at the county line—a single track with twenty-five feet width in excavations and sixteen feet at top of embankments—a substantial and permanent track over which passenger trains may be transported at great speed." The road was opened to Croton Falls in June, 1847, and passed through the towns, above White Plains, of Mt. Pleasant, New Castle, Bedford, Lewisboro and North Castle, and through, it is said, ninety-seven farms. The following familiar names of Westchester County have been connected with the direction of the Harlem: Gouverneur Morris, Thomas W. Ludlow, J. Warren Tompkins, Thomas H. and Edward G. Faile, John Alstyne, Samuel E. Lyon, Philip Dater, Francis W. Edmonds, Francis Kain, Lancaster Underhill, Albert Smith, William C. Wetmore, Edward Haight, Peter Lorillard, William H. Leonard, John E. Burrill, Nathaniel P. Bailey, Augustus A. Cammann and others, of whom Gouverneur Morris was for a while Vice-President, and Mr. Wetmore and Mr. Edmonds for short periods Presidents of the road. The following engineers are remembered in connection with its construction and improvement: James J. Shipman, Mr. Shotwell, Mr. Morgan, Allan Campbell, James B. Sargent and J. C. Buckhout. The present incumbent is F. S. Curtis.[1]

The original capital of the company was but $350,000, which, in 1832, was increased to $500,000, with a stipulation that the road should be completed to the Harlem River in 1835. Although this was not done, the Legislature, in the latter year, authorized the company to increase the capital to $750,000, to borrow $400,000, and in 1839 to convert the bonds into stock. When the extension through Westchester County was begun, the capital had been swollen to $1,950,000, and still another increase of $1,000,000 was needed to carry the road through the county. When the line was completed to Chatham Four Corners, in 1852, it had cost $7,948,118, and its liabilities were over $11,000,000. In 1872 the company leased the New York and Mahopac Railroad from Golden's Bridge to Lake Mahopac, and on April 1st of that year was itself leased for four hundred and one years by the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, at eight per cent. in stock and interest on the bonded debt. The amount of stock is $9,450,000; funded debt, $10,618,069; floating debt, $700,000—total, $20,768,069. The road now extends to Chatham, from whence it reaches Albany over the tracks of the Boston and Albany road.

The New York Central and Hudson River Railroad, which, before 1870, was the New York and Hudson River Railroad, passes along the western shore of the county through the towns of King's Bridge (now in the city of New York), Yonkers, Greenburgh, Mt. Pleasant, Ossining and Cortlandt—a distance of about thirty miles. The charter was obtained from the Legislature in May, 1846, but although the importance of the construction of the road was urged in the newspapers of the day,[2] the work was not actually commenced until the middle of the succeeding year. Meanwhile the company had appointed as chief engineer, Mr. John B. Jervis, a gentleman of large experience, and who proved throughout admirably fitted for the arduous duties that fell on him. The company at this time, it seems, complained that they were not met in a fair and equitable spirit by the owners of the land through which the road would pass, "who would derive," it was said, "far greater benefit than the company itself could expect." In the summer of 1847 the route which Mr. Jervis deemed it highly important should follow closely the river, and which had been divided into sections, was placed under contract, and by November all the contractors on the line of the road had commenced work and the desire was to push it forward with all speed Mr. Jervis, by the following remark in his report of January, 1848, indicates his own anxiety: "The contractors cannot induce men to work at night." But the men were found as untractable, when national feuds sprang up among them, and efforts were made to drive each other from the line. This rioting between the "Corkonians and the Far Downs" delayed, of course, the work. But obstacles unavoidable occurred, which, in a large measure were owing to the proximity of the road to the river, adverse winds and tides often hindering the workmen. From the same cause in the cuttings which were found at points very hard, much trouble was occasioned by the flow of the water into the crevices in the rock. The board, however, at the instigation of the engineers did everything it could to encourage the contractors, adopting the principle of making allowances when unforeseen difficulties were presented in the execution of the work.

"The plan of grading," says Mr. William C. Young, who became, in 1849, chief engineer, "for the roadbed south of Poughkeepsie was for a double track, having a width of twenty-six feet in rock-cuttings, twenty-two feet in tunnel cuttings and twenty-four feet between bridge abutments. The embankments

[1] The following toast was given at a celebration of one of the early developments of the road. "The Locomotive, the only good motive for riding a man upon a rail."

[2] See *Journal of Commerce*, January 9, 1874.

have been designed thirty feet wide, having a wide margin of ten feet between the face of the river-wall and the west rail of the track. These dimensions have been carried out in the construction of the road-bed as nearly as could be done consistently with an early opening of the road for public use."

On the 29th of September, 1849, passenger travel over the road as far as Peekskill was commenced. At this time Mr. Jervis became Consulting Engineer of the company. The average number of passengers per day for the first month (October) was eight hundred and thirty, and the total number twenty-one thousand five hundred and ninety-three; and for the next month (November) the average number was ten hundred and fifty-five, and the total number twenty-seven thousand four hundred and forty-one. At this time it was calculated that the land taken for the roadway in Westchester County had cost the company, exclusive of agencies and other charges, $185,905.02, and also that the grading had involved an expenditure of not far from a million of dollars, which was about three hundred thousand dollars above the cost as estimated by the original lettings in 1847. The first train conductors on this road were J. D. Elliot and H. E. Newell.

Of the many interesting incidents in the early history of the running over the road in this county, none perhaps created more of a sensation than the double accident just above Croton, on the 4th of December, 1851. It seems that the four o'clock afternoon train from New York was stopped by the conductor (Carey) to put off two men who would not pay their fare, and was run into by an engine without cars, and five or six passengers were severely injured. But the five o'clock express train (Morgan's) which followed, having switched off to the west track, on coming abreast of the wrecked train halted to render assistance, and while so doing was run into by the five and a-half Peekskill train (Nichols), which had also taken the west track, but was driving ahead heedless of danger at the usual speed. Here again others were hurt, some very seriously. The company exhibited on the occasion great concern for the sufferers, and visited with prompt punishment the offending officials.

The Vanderbilt influence came into control of the New York and Hudson River Railroad in 1864, but the road between New York and Albany was operated independently of the Central Railroad until 1870, when, in accordance with the legislative act of November, 1869, authorizing a consolidation of the whole interest between New York, Buffalo and Suspension Bridge, the consolidated organization assumed the title of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company. The Hudson River road cost, to build and equip, $78,014,954, or $76,272 per mile of track.

The New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad extends through the county, making a junction with the Harlem, at Washingtonville in the town of East Chester, and so passes into the city. It runs in its course from the Connecticut line through the towns of Rye, Harrison, Mamaroneck, New Rochelle, Pelham and East Chester, covering a distance of 13.61 miles. The work of constructing this part of the road was carried on during the years 1847 and 1848. On Christmas day, 1848, a party of gentlemen made an excursion over it from New York to New Haven, returning the next day. The road was opened for business on the following day. The character of the ground of the road in this county is described as "heavy with rough heavy cuttings." It was at first a single track road. The line as surveyed was followed. At Pelhamville the original embankment was as it is now. The numerous curves on the road were caused by the restricted financial condition, making it necessary, as far as possible, to avoid cuttings and embankments. The desire had been to build the road in a substantial and permanent manner, but it was found difficult to complete it in any shape. Mr. Sidney S. Miller, one of the original contractors and most active of the projectors of the road, is still living at Madison, N. J. It is a curious fact that when the trains first commenced to run, the passengers were booked as in the old stage-coach times, their names being duly reported by the conductors to the company. This company was originally "The New York and New Haven," but in 1872 was consolidated with the Hartford and New Haven Company, and the new system took the name by which it is now known. In 1873 the company leased the Harlem River and the Port Chester Railroad, between the Harlem and New Rochelle, and opened it for use. It runs from its depot at the Harlem River through the towns of Morrisania, Westchester, Pelham and New Rochelle, where it joins the New Haven road. It is sometimes denominated, the Harlem River Branch of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, and has opened out one of the most beautiful portions of the county. In the spring of 1872, the work of construction began by filling in the bulkhead at the Harlem River, and a fine dock and slip of land was formed. Blasting had to be done on the Morris estate where rock of a lava-like appearance was found, and seams and colors of the same in fine curves, angles, etc. The pile building came in for a share of careful attention, as after passing Port Morris piles of sixty and eighty feet in length were used, which made a substantial job throughout. The rock cut at Hunt's Point bridge caused a great deal of trouble on account of the wet, spongy nature of the soil,—one would have expected the softest nearest the water. The Bronx River was bridged by a strong Jackknife Draw. Filling for embankment across Pelham Salt Marsh was a tedious job, as firm bottom was hard to find. East Chester Bay reached a fine piece of work was done in building the pile-bridging across it. Too much praise cannot be given to E. W. Reid, General Superintendent of the New York, New Haven and

Hartford Railroad Company, for the substantial and workmanlike manner in which as the whole job, so especially the erection of the piers and approaches of the fine pivot drawbridge was conducted. The stone for the masonry, of the very first quality, was furnished by the veteran Mr. Beattie, of Stony Creek, Conn. Borrow pits were necessary on Bartow embankments and at Timpsons. As material for them was lacking on the whole line, ballast, except the broken stone ballast, was brought from as far as New Canaan. The construction of the fresh water swamp trestle ended the work that was of any size or account before reaching the junction with the main line, near New Rochelle village. The contractors were, Sections one and two, Peter Sanford & Co.; sections two, three and four, Dunn & Lowther; sections six and seven, Beattie & Edwards; sections eight, nine and ten, Richard Dooley. Under Mr. Reid's care the whole line has been since improved in every way and ranks first class. The stations along this road are Port Morris, Casanova, Hunt's Point, West Farms, Van Nest, Westchester, Timpsons, Baychester, Bartow, Pelham Manor and New Rochelle Junction. The road is 12.13 miles in length.

NEW YORK CITY AND NORTHERN RAILROAD.—This road has reached its present condition and assumed its present name after having passed through a very varied experience, and been known under several different titles. The persons with whom the idea originated were John Q. Hoyt and Andrew McKinney, who were instrumental in organizing what was known as the New York and Boston Railroad, in 1871. Of this organization John Q. Hoyt was president, and Andrew McKinney, treasurer. The road was to run from New York to Brewsters, in Putnam County, and was there to connect with roads leading to Boston. The larger part of the right of way was purchased, considerable grading done, and a portion of the track was laid, but much of the right of way was obtained under conditions which were never satisfied, and the land reverted to its original owners. In 1871 a combination was formed between this road, the Dutchess and Columbia Railroad and the Harlem Extension, the consolidation being known as the New York, Boston and Montreal Railroad. Under this new organization, of which George H. Brown was president, large loans were negotiated in Europe, the principal creditor being the Franco-Egyptian Bank of Paris, and Bishop Scheim and T. Gold Schulz of London, who advanced several millions of dollars; but the foreclosure of prior mortgages, and the sale of the road rendered these advances a complete loss, and a suit has long been pending in the United States Courts to determine the personal responsibility of the trustees who had the handling of the funds. At the time of the sale under foreclosure, the road was purchased by the former bond-holders, and was reorganized under its present name, in 1878. The first president was A. B. Stout, who shortly after resigned and was succeeded by Robert M. Galloway, who has retained the position till the present time. The first secretary was Calvin Goddard, who still holds the position. When the road was built, its New York terminus was at High Bridge, but an extension, something over a mile in length, connects with the Eighth Avenue Elevated Road. This extension was made under a separate organization known as "the West Side and Yonkers Railroad," and furnishes the most direct road for rapid transit between New York and the interior of Westchester County.

At the time of the organization of the present company, a contract was made with Louis Roberts, to finish the building, and to equip the road. This task was performed by Mr. Roberts in a most active and energetic manner. The right of way was repurchased, the grading finished, and the track laid and the completed road opened for business in the spring of 1881. The length of this road from High Bridge to Brewsters (Putnam County) is fifty-three miles, and the length of the extension from High Bridge to Eighth Avenue is one and one-sixteenth miles. The benefit of this road to the property holders along its entire length can scarcely be overestimated.

The general superintendent and the heart and soul of the enterprise is Mr. Frank S. Gannon, whose whole life has been identified with railroad management. Mr. Gannon was born in Spring Valley, Rockland County, N. Y., but removed to Orange County when a boy. He became connected with the Erie Railroad in 1867, as telegraph operator and agent at various stations. In 1870 he became connected with the Midland Railroad where he remained till 1875, when he went to the Long Island Railroad as telegraphic train dispatcher and master of transportation, and the value of his services were fully recognized by all who had any connection with that road. Mr. Gannon became connected with the Northern Railroad in April, 1881, construction trains being the only ones then running. The bridge over Harlem River was finished May 1, and passenger trains began running to Brewsters on that day, and in the Fall of that year the road was finished and in good condition. The road was laid through a sparsely settled district and during the first year trains were run at a loss, but from that time to the present the business has been constantly increasing and has now reached large proportions. As an illustration, we may mention that in the Summer of 1881, five hundred cans of milk were brought daily to the city, and at the present time the number is one thousand and five hundred. The New York Central & Harlem Railroads did not at first consider the new road as a competitor, but soon had reason to change their views, and after a war of rates they were glad to make arrangements with the new company. The road has a lease of pier 44, New York City, and cars can now be run

from this road to all portions of the country without breaking bulk. When they first began transporting cars upon floats, three or four cars a day was considered a good business, while thirty or forty are now carried in the same length of time. As one item we may mention that three hundred tons of ore are daily brought from the Tilly Foster mine and other mines along the road, and coal is brought direct from the mines of Pennsylvania to the central portions of Westchester County without change of cars. Under Mr. Gannon's careful management the direction of trains has been so perfect that no accident from collision has occurred since the road commenced running, while the rapid increase of business both in freight and passenger traffic must continue to increase to an indefinite extent.

The value of these facilities for communication with the city, and of the towns and villages with each other, which these one hundred miles at least of rail coaching in the county affords can scarcely be estimated whether we look to the addition of inhabitants or the increase in the value of real estate. This has indeed been attended by a great reduction in the amount of its agricultural productions. Taking the average of crops of the whole county the yield is found to be about two-fifths less than that of forty years ago—before this immigration. The following table will present to the eye the steady decrease which has taken place in this direction since the opening out of this region as a place of residence for business men:

	1839.	1854.	1874.	1879.
Wheat	35,267	35,248	24,426	22,698
Rye	99,574	51,404	57,029	55,130
Oats	449,090	204,759	173,894	238,509
Corn	318,028	402,238½	323,076	377,357
Potatoes	620,920	286,249	334,966	326,092
Hay	77,873	90,496⅞	73,113	69,221
Buckwheat	57,226	20,890¾		13,364
Wool	52,085			6,069

From this exhibit of decline we turn to mark the increase in the value of the real and personal estate of the county. In the year 1840 the aggregate value was $10,650.064; in the year 1860, $41,527,907, and in 1884 $73,860,487.

These values, if viewed by their proportions to the entire estate values of the State of New York in the three years named, show how much the County has kept up its relative financial consequence, notwithstanding the immense growths of the great cities and the subtractions from 1874 of the values of the three towns of Kingsbridge, Morrisania and West Farms. The total equalized estate value of the State in 1840 was $639,171,000, in 1860 $1419,-297,520 and in 1884 $3,014,591,372, the proportion being to that of the county in 1840 as 60 to 1, in 1860 as 34 to 1 and in 1884 as 41 to 1. This it is believed could be even more strongly presented. But while thus noticing the great increase in wealth, it is more of a satisfaction to observe the accompanying advantages moral and intellectual. The schools of the county have been brought up to a standard which will compare favorably with the most approved. Institutions of an eleemosynary character have been organized and opportunities for mental culture, additional to those which proximity to the city affords, are devised and well supported. By the increase of churches and of religious ministrations the spiritual necessities of the people are subserved. Reference also should be made to the newspaper of the county, which has had a usefulness which cannot but with injustice be undervalued. It is a pleasure to speak, with the confidence of due consideration, of the skill and ability which has been displayed in its management, to which is added regret that the files of the more than fifty journals published in the county in the last seventy-five years have not been more carefully preserved. Not only, in consequence, have interesting facts been lost, but the subjects from time to time moving the public mind are not so easily recalled or understood. The first known newspapers of this County were started in the same year, 1810,—the *Somers Museum*, published by Milton F. Cushing, and the *Westchester Gazette*, by Robert Crombie. It would appear that the *Sing Sing Republican* is the legitimate successor of this *Westchester Gazette*. The *Eastern State Journal* and the *Highland Democrat*, (formerly *Westchester and Putnam Democrat*,) both started in 1845, claim rank next for age, succeeded by the two Yonkers papers, the *Gazette* (at first *Herald*) of 1852 and the *Statesman* (formerly *Westchester News*) of 1853. With reference to these newspapers, as also to the many others, which will be named in the history of the several towns it is but right to declare how well, for purposes of information, intellectual advantage, and amusement, the wants of these localities and of adjoining ones have been met by these benefactors.

Political History.—The period between the declaration of peace and the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1789 was marked in Westchester County by little of concerted and united action in reference to the politics of the State or National governments. In 1784 Gen. Pierre Van Cortlandt, of the town of Cortlandt, was Lieutenant-Governor of the State, and Generals Lewis Morris, of Morrisania, and Stephen Ward, of East Chester, were in the State Senate. Gen. Thomas Thomas, of Rye, was in the Lower House, having as his colleagues Philip Pell, Jr., of Pelham, Abijah Gilbert, of Salem, Ebenezer Purdy, of North Salem, Zebediah Mills, and Samuel Haight, sterling men in the trying times just past. The next year's election substituted Ebenezer Burling, of East Chester, and Ebenezer Lockwood, of Poundridge, in place of Messrs. Mills and Haight. In 1786 Jonathan G. Tompkins of Scarsdale, and Samuel Drake were chosen instead of Burling and Purdy, and in 1787 Jonathan Rockwell, Joseph Strang, and Ebenezer Purdy, (who was again returned,) took the

seats of Drake, Gilbert and of Pell, (who had become Surrogate.) The Hon. Richard Morris, of Scarsdale, had been Chief Justice of the State since 1779, and John Thomas, of Rye, or Jesse Hunt, of Westchester, sheriffs since 1777. Richard Hatfield, of White Plains, was Surrogate from 1778 till 1787. In the list of supervisors of the county from 1783 to 1789 occur at least half a dozen of the names of the county officials just given, and to these may be added the following conspicuous members of the Board: Benjamin Stevenson, of New Rochelle, also one of the Judges of the County; Gilbert Budd, of Rye; Abel Smith, of North Castle; Hachaliah Browne and Thaddeus Crane, both of Upper Salem; Daniel Horton, of White Plains; James Hunt, of East Chester; William Miller, of Harrison; James Kronkhite, of Ryker's Patent, or Cortlandt; and Philip Pell, of Pelham, who was, in 1787, also sheriff of the county. From these details may be gathered a conception of the leadership in the political affairs of the County during the period immediately succeeding the Revolution.

The first political differences of a serious nature which arose in the State sprang up as the generally realized insufficiency of the government by a Confederacy brought forth various plans for the increase of its powers and efficiency. It was felt that the union of the States was merely in name, when the credit which that union established was at the mercy of the States in their capricious dealings with it.

To the disappointment keenly enough felt by the enthusiastic friends of the Revolution was added a mortifying sense of the apparent fulfillment of the predictions of the enemies of the Republic, that the whole movement would prove a failure, not more from its own folly than from the incompetency of the untaught and inexperienced movers in it. In speaking of John Hancock and Samuel Adams, one of the Loyalist newspapers says: "When the lunacies of the former are separated from the villanies of the latter, the deluge of destruction that is certainly, though slowly, rolling after them will rapidly come on and overwhelm them and their infatuated votaries in prodigious ruin." Here in this County, where the "Westchester County Farmer" had poured forth his entreaties and forebodings in view of the uprising against the British authority, the anxiety for the success of the new government could not but be intensified by these recollections, and by the daily contact with the many who had anticipated disaster. But notwithstanding all this desire to avoid a failure, there was a deep feeling that the safety of the people's rights was and would be much better secured under the more readily invoked protection of the State than under the distant care, with distracting—oftentimes contradicting—interests, of a General Government. The head of the State of New York at this time was George Clinton, its great war Governor, who, by his popularity, as much as by his office, was possessed of great influence with the people. While professing a sincere desire for the continuance of the then Federal compact, and for its usefulness, and that the General Government should inspire respect at home and abroad, Governor Clinton resisted with ardor and firmness the making of any concessions which should weaken the State authority or further abridge its powers. The influence of his position and arguments on the public mind can readily be seen. But still abler and more practiced pens and voices were showing into what a pitiable condition public affairs were running. General Schuyler, Chief Justice Livingston, John Jay and Alexander Hamilton were setting forth and urging the necessity for a change. Another call, more commanding the country over, was heard from Virginia, suggesting that the powers of the central government be increased.

In the convention which met at Philadelphia this county shares indeed with the State at large in the honor of being represented by General Hamilton, but it is a pleasure to remember that in the person of Gouverneur Morris (a distinguished and influential delegate from Pennsylvania), who was born on Westchester soil and who returned again to represent her in the United States Senate, and whose remains are sacredly enshrined in her bosom, she was present to form that wise and beneficent instrument. The Constitution thus offered to the States for adoption met with the fiercest opposition. Not only were its features faulted, but the conduct of the Convention in transcending, as asserted, its powers, was fiercely assailed. "Instead of amending the Constitution," said Mr. Jones, "it had framed one." In Albany the new Constitution was publicly burned. In the choice of delegates to a convention which was now ordered to meet at Poughkeepsie, to pass upon its adoption by the State, the greatest excitement prevailed, and the terms Federalist and Anti-Federalist, as applied to separate parties, began to be used. The result in Westchester County proved that a deep interest was felt in the maintenance of a union between the States. Thaddeus Crane, of North Salem, Richard Hatfield, of White Plains, Philip Livingston and Lewis Morris, of Westchester, Lott W. Sarles, of New Castle, and Philip Van Cortlandt were chosen over their Anti-Federalist opponents by very large majorities. The Convention met, and on the 26th of July, by a vote of thirty to twenty-seven, ratified the proposed Constitution. In the affirmative vote are found the names of all the Westchester delegates. At the election for members of Assembly the strong party feeling is manifested by a complete change in the representation, the following persons, strong Federalists, being returned: Thaddeus Crane, of North Salem; Jonathan Horton and Philip Livingston, of Westchester; Judge Nathan Rockwell, of Lewisboro; Walter Seaman and General Philip Van Cortlandt. At the assembling of the Legislature in December, however, such was the political complexion of the two Houses that the five delegates to represent the State in the Continental Congress were

chosen from the Anti-Federal party, one of the five being Philip Pell, of this county. The satisfactory working of the new Constitution, the popularity of Washington's administration and the great advantages which the proximity of the seat of government to this county was offering, were all favorable to the Federal party. Majorities in its favor continued through the succeeding ten years, in which two of the elections held—those of 1792 and 1796—had a direct bearing on national politics. Washington entered without dissent upon a second term of office, General Stephen Ward, of East Chester, being one of the electors of this State and in 1797, John Adams, with the twelve votes of the State of New York, was chosen in opposition to Mr. Jefferson. At the election in 1798 there were plain indications of a falling away of the strength of the administration party throughout the State, which, although not borne out by the result the next year, were more than realized at the Presidential contest of 1800. Among the electors chosen by the Legislature was Colonel Pierre Van Cortlandt, Jr., of this county, who had married a daughter of ex-Governor George Clinton, still the leader of the Republican party in the State. General Thomas, of Rye, an active Republican, who had been out of the Assembly for some years, is again restored to it. The hold thus taken upon the popular vote was retained with much tenacity during the whole period of Mr. Jefferson's administration. The country was on the high road of prosperity. All interests shared in the general thrift. The ruling party must naturally benefit from such favoring circumstances. Its leading men in Westchester County in these days of Jefferson rule, besides Judge Thomas and Colonel Van Cortlandt, were Senator Ebenezer Purdy, of North Salem; Abijah Gilbert, of Salem; and Jonathan Ward, of East Chester. The position of Senator Purdy was also a commanding one in the Republican party at large. In 1802 he was a member of the Council of Appointment, in whose hands was the political patronage of the State. In 1803, as chairman of the caucuses of the Republican members of the State Senate, he exercised a commanding influence in securing the nomination of General Morgan Lewis and preventing that of Aaron Burr as the standard bearer of the Republican party in the State in the election for Governor. There is no doubt that the movement which forced his resignation of his seat in 1806 arose from the knowledge of his devotion to Governor Lewis, whose prestige and strength it was thought desirable to destroy. It would seem that General Thomas, who was transferred from the House to the Senate in 1804, was in perfect accord with Mr. Purdy, and being himself a member of the Council of Appointment in 1806, joined with his associates in removing De Witt Clinton, the pronounced opponent of Governor Lewis, from the mayoralty of the city of New York.

An event of much pride to the county in 1806 was the election of Daniel D. Tompkins to be Governor of the State. Mr. Tompkins, although never representing Westchester County in official position, having in early life made New York City his home, was, nevertheless, a native of it, having been born at Scarsdale, and being a descendant of one of the first settlers of the adjoining town of East Chester. His father, Jonathan G. Tompkins, had represented the county in the legislative body, which adopted the first State Constitution in 1777, and also in the convention which framed the second in 1801. He was a member of the Assembly during the Revolution, and several years after the close of the war. He was also for a long period a Judge of the county, and at the time of his son Daniel's election as Governor he had been for twenty-one years a Regent of the University of the State. The opponent of Daniel D. Tompkins was Governor Lewis, the Federalists in this, as in the previous election, not setting up any candidate from their own ranks. It is a gratification to record the promotion at this same time to the State Senate of Jonathan Ward, of East Chester, a son of General Stephen Ward, of earlier fame and usefulness.

In the year 1807 questions arose which, in their bearings on political parties, involved more than personal considerations. The British government, with its usual total indifference to the rights of other nations when its own interests are involved, adopted an order by which trade between its enemies and neutral powers was forbidden. France, in its turn, issued decrees which had the same result. The United States having expostulated with these governments to no effect, Congress, at the instigation of Mr. Jefferson, passed an Embargo Act upon all vessels within the limits of the United States. No clearances were to be furnished, and vessels sailing from one port of the United States to another therein were required to give bonds that the goods with which they were laden should be landed in some port in the United States. The object of this bill, in the language of Mr. Madison, was to make it "the interest of all nations to change the system which has driven our commerce from the sea." "Great Britain will feel it (this embargo) in her manufactures, in the loss of naval stores, and . . . in the supplies essential to her colonies." "France will feel it in the loss of all which she has hitherto received through our neutral commerce, and her colonies will be cut off from the sale of their productions and the source of their supplies." "They have forced us into the measure by the direct effect on us of measures founded in an alleged regard for their own eventual safety and essential interests." "The ocean presents a field only where no harvest is to be reaped but that of danger, of spoliation, and of disgrace."[1] It will be readily understood that this measure, bearing so hardly upon the interests of all classes

[1] *National Intelligencer*, Dec. 23, 1807. *Hist. Magazine*, Nov. 1873, p. 315.

of the community must have called forth the most violent objection and put to the severest strain the devotion of the Republican party to their great Head, the President, and to his destined successor, the then Secretary of State. The Representative in Congress from this District, General Philip Van Cortlandt, voted against the Embargo, and was drawn into opposition to Mr. Madison's aspirations. It is certain also that the Vice-President, George Clinton, did not approve of the "Act." But notwithstanding their dissatisfaction, these gentlemen still adhered to their party affinities, and by their course, no doubt, greatly counteracted the tendency of these measures to produce political changes among their followers in New York. So their columns seem not to have seriously wavered in Westchester County at the next Senatorial election, when the Southern District, which lay in New York City, Long Island, Staten Island and Westchester County, elected both the Republican candidates. In the selection of Presidential electors, which soon followed, the fact that the difference on this point in the party was regarded of no moment is apparent in the concession of six votes to George Clinton, one of whom in all likelihood was Mr. White, of Westchester County. The Embargo bill was repealed before the close of Mr. Jefferson's administration, and in place of it was enacted what has been entitled "the Non-intercourse Law," which forbade both importation and exportation. This change, in connection with fresh evidences of English animosity, seems to have had the effect to intensify the national feeling, and the consequence was, in 1810, an overwhelming defeat of the Federalists in all portions of the State. But the divisions in the Republican party that succeeded this victory gave their opponents the opportunity in the Presidential contest two years after to decide to which of the Republican candidates should fall the vote of the State, and the suffrages were given to De Witt Clinton. Mr. Madison was, however, re-elected.

General Van Cortlandt ardently supported Mr. Clinton; but Governor Tompkins, though unwilling to be regarded as inimical to him, yet felt himself bound to support Mr. Madison as the representative not only of the national Democracy, but of the measures which Congress had adopted for the maintenance of the national honor. But Mr. Clinton would allow of no half-way support. The consequence was that the difference soon shaped itself in the State as between these two favorite citizens, and it needed but little time to prove that the largest sympathies were with the farmer's boy, as the Governor was styled. Mr. Tompkins is described as a man of much more than ordinary intellectual strength and culture, but is better remembered for a cordiality and kindliness of manner that gave him great acceptableness and influence in his public and private relations. In the year 1815 Mr. Jonathan Ward, who had represented Westchester County in the State Senate, was sent as member of Congress to Washington, and there is little doubt that this election had much political significance, from Mr. Ward's known opposition to Mr. Clinton. When the Presidential choice was to be made of a successor to Mr. Madison, it was evident that the choice lay between Mr. James Monroe and Governor Tompkins. The preferences of Mr. Madison had much weight with the Republican party, and Mr. Monroe was elected, with Governor Tompkins as Vice-President. With the removal of this gentleman to Washington, the fortunes of De Witt Clinton revived, and the Republicans naming him, he was, almost without opposition, elected Governor of the State. But the truce in party dispute, so welcome, was but the precursor of a contest in the State, and in the County of Westchester, of uncommon bitterness. It might be right here to state that the championship by Mr. Clinton of the measures for the construction of the Erie Canal, the importance of which was the more evident as the work progressed, gave him an increased hold upon the confidence of the people. This however was more immediately felt in the neighborhoods to be benefited than in others, as Westchester County, where the influence could only be indirect.

"It was a deceitful calm," says the historian of "New York Politics," speaking of Mr. Clinton's all but unanimous election. The elevation of one so regardless of party restraints was a bitter realization to the extreme Democracy. The Federalists, in their turn, in expectation of some advantage, were only too glad to revive the old controversies, and Mr. Clinton was inclined, in his party conduct, to draw the line as between his personal friends and opponents. In Westchester County the election for Senators, in the spring of 1819, was carried on with great animation. Mr. John Townsend, of East Chester, who had been, a year or two before, a member of the Lower House, was elected Senator in opposition to Pierre Van Cortlandt, the Clinton candidate. It was at this time that the significant name, "Bucktail," designating the opponents of Mr. Clinton, sprang into use. To the Tammany Society, a secret political organization of New York City, this gentleman was particularly odious, and, as one of the insignia of this "order" was the tail of the deer worn in their hats, the other party soon applied the term to all who sympathized with them in their feelings and action. The bucktail, an emblem of success in the chase, was gladly appropriated by the Anti-Clintonians and became the favorite decoration in each political campaign. It must have been somewhere about this time that the following incidents, related in a Journal of a trip to visit Chief Justice Jay and General Philip Van Cortlandt, occurred: "We now found ourselves in the town of North Castle, the inhabitants of which were assembled at this time to choose their officers. We discovered that they were all Bucktails. My friend, whose enthusiasm counterbalances his prudence, ven-

tured on the hopeless task of converting them to Clintonism. Accordingly, having singled out one who appeared to be the decentest man among them, he led him into a long argument, by which to convince him that Tompkins was a defaulter, and consequently unfit to be entrusted with the highly responsible office of chief magistrate of this great State. That the Bucktail, in his attempt to prove the immaculate purity of the man of his party, was foiled by the superior address and ingenuity of his antagonist, is not saying that he was convinced." We give this other extract from the journal—"'Who is this?' whispered I. 'Dr. C——k, the sheriff of the county,' replied my companion, 'and a warm Clintonian.' 'And you, doctor, I am glad to see you, too; how goes the election?' Here a dialogue commenced on the topic next to the heart of these two men, who, alike forgetful of the rain, which now began to fall, . . . these two mad politicians kept up their jabber a full half-hour, cold, wind and rain notwithstanding." Another extract—"A few minutes sufficed to bring us to the ancient seat of the Van Cortlandts. . . . I had not another opportunity of drawing Hannibal into the recital of his campaigns till the hour of retiring; his attention was wholly occupied by Cooper and his plans for bringing in De Witt Clinton."

Notwithstanding the fact that Governor Clinton was re-elected in 1820, a deadly blow was the actual result, for both to the Senate and Assembly pronounced majorities against him were returned.

Mr. Tompkins, who had been brought out to oppose Mr. Clinton, had a majority of three thousand two hundred and thirty-one in the Southern Senatorial District, which included Westchester County. The address at this election of a body of Federalists, which, it is asserted, had very little influence with the main force, is here recalled, because on the list of signatures to it the first is that of a greatly respected citizen of Mamaroneck, Peter Jay Munro, a lawyer of much eminence in this county, and because the list includes also that of James A. Hamilton, son of General Hamilton, long a resident of Tarrytown, on the Hudson.

The significance of this paper was not only its open assault on the friends of Governor Clinton for their devotion to him, but in this galvanic display of the death scene of the distinguished party to which they had belonged, the signers sought their own future political advancement.

It is proper here to say that for two successive terms the Third Congressional District of the State, which consisted of Rockland and Westchester, was ably and faithfully represented by Mr. Caleb Tompkins, of White Plains, and that for three years, from 1820 to 1823, the position of County Judge was held by William Jay, son of the Chief Justice.

The great political event which now falls under notice is the assembling of the convention ordered for the revision of the State Constitution, and the presence in it of three distinguished citizens of the county, all members of its bar—Peter A. Jay, Peter J. Munro and Jonathan Ward. It would seem that whatever the motive elsewhere, the political did not enter in the selections thus made in Westchester County.

Governor Tompkins was called to preside over the convention, and in the appointment of committees it is a matter of no little honor to Westchester that Mr. Monroe was made chairman of the committee on the judiciary department and Mr. Ward a member of that on the council of revision. One of the marked periods in the debates of this body was that in which the right of the colored population to vote at elections was discussed. The question was handled very dispassionately, but Mr. Jay's speech appears to have been one of the very ablest on the subject. By far the severest work of the convention was the consideration of the report of the Judiciary committee, when strong political feeling was aroused. The question really was the deposition of the old Judges. Mr. Munro, although assisted by Mr. Van Buren, struggled unsuccessfully to prevent the sweeping change.

At the session of the Legislature following the convention, Senator John Townsend, of East Chester, was made a member of the Council of Appointment, the sessions of which were the last held in the State, its powers passing by the new Constitution to the Governor and the Senate. Mr. Townsend, at the next election in the county, was made its Sheriff and Mr. John Hunter, of Pelham, was returned under the new apportionment one of the four Senators of the Second Senatorial District. In 1824, in the list of Presidential electors, the last selected by the Legislature, are the names of the two brothers John and James Drake, both natives of Westchester County, the first residing in New York, but the latter on his estate at East Chester.

As well-known, the election for President was thrown into the House of Representatives, where Mr. John Quincy Adams, after several ballotings, was elected, Mr. Joel Frost, of Putnam County, the member from the Fourth Congressional District, giving his vote to William H. Crawford, of Georgia, then Secretary of the Treasury.

The following detailed statement of the Electoral vote of Westchester County, beginning with the year 1828, will give a fair idea of the political opinions of the citizens of Westchester County from that date to the present time:

ELECTORAL VOTE OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY.

Year.	Name of political party.	Name of candidate.	Number of votes.
1828		Andrew Jackson	3788
		John Quincy Adams	3153
1832	Democratic	Andrew Jackson	3133
	Whig	Henry Clay	2293
1836	Democratic	Martin Van Buren	3009
	Whig	Wm. H. Harrison	1749
	Scattering		287

1840	Democratic	Martin Van Buren	4354
	Whig	Wm. H. Harrison	4083
1844	Democratic	James K. Polk	4412
	Whig	Henry Clay	4258
1848	Democratic	Lewis Cass	2146
	Whig	Zachary Taylor	4312
	Free Soil	Martin Van Buren	1312
1852	Democratic	Franklin Pierce	5283
	Whig	Winfield Scott	4033
	Scattering		61
1856	Democratic	James Buchanan	4600
	Whig	Millard Fillmore	4450
	Republican	John C. Fremont	3641
1860	Union	Stephen A. Douglas	8100
		John Bell	
		John C. Breckenridge	
	Republican	Abraham Lincoln	6771
1864	Democratic	Geo. B. McClellan	9353
	Republican	Abraham Lincoln	7593
1868	Democratic	Horatio Seymour	11,667
	Republican	Ulysses S. Grant	9641
1872	Democratic	Horace Greeley	11,112
	Republican	Ulysses S. Grant	10,223
1876	Democratic	Samuel Tilden	12,050
	Republican	Rutherford B. Hayes	9574
1880	Democratic	Winfield S. Hancock	11,858
	Republican	James A. Garfield	11,367
1884	Democratic	Grover Cleveland	12,524
	Republican	James G. Blaine	11,286
	Prohibition		435

In referring to the thirty years before Mr. Lincoln's election, some of the facts and events are important and interesting enough for record and consideration. General Aaron Ward of Sing Sing was, six times elected a member of Congress fulfilling his duties to the eminent satisfaction of his constituents and the pride of his neighbors. General Ward was an officer of the War of 1812, and for some years Brigadier General of the Fifteenth Brigade and Fourth Division of the Militia of the State. In the convention in 1846, for amending the constitution, General Ward represented the county and was made chairman of the committee on the militia and military officers. Mr. John Hunter of Hunter's Island, Pelham, in 1823, for one year, and from 1836, for eight years Senator from Westchester, was a man of large wealth and high social position and an affable and a considerate gentleman. He was a very strong supporter of Mr. Van Buren, during whose administration Mr. Philip Schuyler, a brother-in-law of Mr. Hunter and a resident of this county for many years held the consulship at London. Mr. Hunter was also a member of the constitutional convention of 1846.

Mr. Allen McDonald of White Plains held a seat in the Senate for two terms and is said to have been exceedingly popular. In 1836, he was appointed Adjutant General of the State. Mr. William Nelson, of Peekskill, who commenced his political career by two terms in the Assembly, in 1819 and 1820, had already in 1815 been district attorney of the Eleventh District and was again in 1822 of the county. From 1824 to 1828, Mr. Nelson was State Senator and from 1847 to 1851 the member of Congress from this District. In all these positions Mr. Nelson merits the approbation due for faithful service. He died in 1866 or 1867.

The Anti-Masonic excitements at such a high pitch in the western part of the State much less either politically or socially affected this county The brethren of the order quietly abandoned their local organization and bided the passing away of the storm. The effect, however, of this ephemeral political movement was to make the Democratic party as a party more compact and consequently stronger and better prepared for its mission. This was illustrated no where more thoroughly than among the "once set not easily moved" farmers of Westchester County.

But the business disasters of 1837 made much more of an impression upon them. The impulsive trifling of President Jackson with the finances of the country, which at that time was supposed to throw a halo around his inflexible will and courage, brought upon his successor, through the troubles which in his administration the people were made to suffer, an obloquy and blame which Mr. Van Buren did not individually deserve.

The fact that the Democratic majority in the county was reduced from over one thousand two hundred in 1836 to two hundred and seventy in 1840 shows, making all allowances for the humors of the "log-cabin and hard cider" campaign, that a deliberate, sober, first and second thought of the people was making Mr. Van Buren and his great party eat the bread of affliction. From this time for some years the two parties were more closely matched. In fact the lines of both were much disturbed. The questions of the Tariff and Internal improvement were those which divided the professed politicians, but personal preferences and antipathies in certain divisions and localities were confounding plans and calculations. The advent, too, of a secret political organization, styled Native American, which had in the several towns a large following, was very unsettling as to the county and town nominations and elections. To be added to all this was the dissensions which sprang up as the question of the extension of slavery was discussed. As a consequence, the majority of Mr. Polk in the county over Mr. Clay was still less than that of his party four years before.

The admission of Texas into the Union, which increased the Southern strength and the war with Mexico, which necessarily followed it, added new subjects for difference of opinion and debate. At the Gubernatorial election, in 1846, the defection in the Democratic party, which ensured the defeat of Silas Wright, brought on confusion and revolt. The feeling was intensified when the death of Mr. Wright in the succeeding August was announced. During that summer, at the primary meetings and conventions of the Democracy, bitter struggles were taking place. In September the State convention met at Syracuse, and the Radicals, being deprived, as they alleged, of their proper representation assembled in October, at Herkimer. Mr. Hunter's name appears in the call. In this internal dissension the question involved was

the extension of slavery into the territories. The Herkimer convention demanded that the principle of non-extension, called also the Wilmot Proviso, be introduced into the party platform. The Whigs in the canvass of 1847 were signally victorious, but the seat of Mr. James E. Beers in the Assembly was contested by Colonel J. R. Hayward, who had held it the previous year. Mr Hayward was unsuccessful. In 1848 the breach between the two factions was made still wider at the meeting of the two conventions styled the "Old Hunker" and the "Barnburner," in both of which Westchester Democrats were represented. Among the names best remembered in the ranks of these two divisions are in the first, Dr. Benjamin Brandreth, Jesse Lyon, Andrew Findlay, Warren Tompkins, Abraham Strong, and in the second Joseph H. Anderson, Colonel Hayward, Judge Schrugam, Honeywell Watson, Robt. H. Coles, William Fisher, Dr. Finch, and Samuel Ferris.

Upon the nomination of General Lewis Cass for the Presidency a complete division took place, and separate National and State tickets were selected. Mr. VanBuren was named as the Free Soil candidate for the high position which he formerly held. In the election which followed the Whig candidate General Zachary Taylor, who was elected, received in this county a majority over the entire opposing vote. General Cass fell behind Mr. Van Buren six thousand votes in the State but largely exceeded him in Westchester County. Some of the most ardent leaders of the Democracy of earlier days had by this time become the stanchest friends of the policies advocated by the Whigs. The old Senator and Sheriff, John Townsend, is mentioned in this connection.

The history of the next four years is of the weakening of the hold thus obtained by the Whigs. The death of General Taylor, the accession of Mr. Fillmore, whose views were materially different from Gen. Taylor's, and the exactions of the "Southern Oligarchy," as Mr. Sumner used to style the Southern leaders of both sides, brought in serious dissensions among the friends of the party in power. The Compromise measures of Mr. Clay, however, served both the great parties as a cement for the divisions in their ranks and within the old lines was carried on the Presidential contest of 1852. The county of Westchester gave Franklin Pierce, who was elected, twelve hundred clear majority. The number of votes cast had increased, it would seem, over sixteen hundred. Little is remembered of an exciting or important nature during this national administration, so far as this neighborhood is concerned, save the hardly-suppressed indignation (first) at the quite unnecessary strain which the abettors of the Fugitive Slave Law were putting upon the feeling of loyalty and obedience among the people and (second) at the intervention for conscience or for effect, of the small body of Abolitionists, who really had no following in this county.

But the Presidential election of 1856 developed the fact of great impatience, and of great unwillingness to be made uncomfortable, by extremists. Although the free soil vote, less than one-fourth in 1848, was, in 1856, more than one-third, it meant not for a moment interference with slavery in the Southern States. The sentiment of abhorrence for the institution never took form beyond its non-extension, and the rights of the States were as fully cherished, as devotion to the Union was afterward the absorbing principle. State sovereignty had free and open statement, and the charge of intermeddling, whenever alleged, was laughed down as an absurd insinuation.

The course of Mr. Buchanan in his Lecompton policy, which was believed to be in direct contradiction to the principle of popular sovereignty, upon which he was elected, brought out the indignant opposition of a portion of his northern and western supporters, and their representatives in Congress, prominent among whom was Mr. John B. Haskin, the member from the Ninth District of New York, in which was Westchester County. In the Congressional election of 1858, in this District, the course of the administration was made the issue, and Mr. Gouverneur Kemble, having been nominated by the Democratic party, Mr. Haskin was placed by his friends in the political field. He was supported by the Republicans, and elected, by a small majority, over his opponent. To this election, and that in the sixth district of Pennsylvania, where Mr. Hickman, an associate of Mr. Haskin, was in like manner opposed by the whole strength of the administration, the eyes of the whole country were turned. Said a gentleman from Morrisania, "Should Mr. Haskin be defeated, and an administration candidate be elected, every post-office and every office of the Government would be illuminated." An incident in Congress, of a startling nature, in the early part of 1860, brings to notice the continued, determined and ardent part taken, after his re-election, by the representative of Westchester County in the fulfilment of his duties. While addressing the House Mr. Haskin accidentally let fall from the breast pocket of his coat a loaded revolver. On the question of the propriety of carrying this weapon into the House, not only in Congress, but among his constituents and throughout the country, warmest discussions followed. The explanation given was preparation for self-defense in the unprotected neighborhood in Washington, in which Mr. Haskin resided, in which much lawlessness prevailed.

Many years have passed since this incident, but, taken in connection with the Rebellion which soon followed and the tragic and dastardly scenes in it, it illustrates the dangers in public life at the time and the unflinching determination of those called to mingle in the discussions introductory to the strife.

We come now to the stirring canvass and election in which Mr. Lincoln was carried into the Presidential chair, and when the party which had so long,

almost continuously, conducted the government, passed into that long exile which has just been terminated. At the State Convention of the Democratic party, in which Thomas Smith, Gilbert S. Lyon and Abraham Hyatt represented this county, the Hon. Edwin Crosswell, of Greenburgh, was named as one of the two delegates from the Ninth District to the National Convention of the Democratic party, to be held at Charleston in the next April, to nominate its candidate for President. At a convention of Democrats of the Ninth District, dissatisfied with the action of the State Convention, William Radford, of Yonkers, afterward member of Congress, was chosen delegate to Charleston.

The State Convention of the Republicans was held in April, 1860, at Syracuse, and E. F. Shonnard, of Yonkers, and Harvey Kidd, of Westchester, from the First Assembly District, Edmund J. Porter, of New Rochelle, and John J. Clapp, from the Second Assembly District, Odle Close, of North Salem, and J. H. Platt, of Ossining, from the Third Assembly District, represented this county. The Hon. Edmund J. Porter, formerly Corporation Counsel of the City of New York, was chosen as the delegate to the National Republican Convention at Chicago, at which Abraham Lincoln was nominated.

On the ticket voted for Presidential Electors, on the Republican side, the Ninth Congressional District candidate was the Hon. William H. Robertson, then County Judge; and on the other ticket, whose motto was said to be "Union for the sake of the Union," was placed the name of the Hon. Abraham B. Conger, of Rockland, formerly State Senator. Amid the heated discussions in the county, at the public gatherings preparatory to the election, peace and order were everywhere preserved; and when the result was reached, although the majority in Westchester County was decidedly against Mr. Lincoln, the verdict was, as readily as after any previous contest, accepted and sustained.

Among those chosen for office at this time was Edward Haight, who, although in the opposition, proved to be a valuable and useful member in the Lower House at Washington, during the first two years of Mr. Lincoln's administration.

With a statement of the patriotic movement, before the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, to save the Union, in which this county participated, we complete this bird's eye view of its political history. To the convention to be assembled at Albany, delegates from the three Assembly Districts were chosen, and the following well-known citizens attended its sessions: W. W. Woodworth and Thomas Smith, of Yonkers, Darius Lyon, of East Chester, Dr. W. J. McDermott, of Westchester, from the First District; Alexander M. Bruen, the Hon. James E. Beers, of Port Chester, the Hon. John W. Mills and the Hon. E. G. Sutherland, both of White Plains, from the Second District; Judge Robert S. Hart, Uriah Hill, William S. Tompkins and James M. Baird (afterward Register of the county), from the Third District.

The following gentlemen had been selected as alternates: William Radford, James Parker, P. L. McClellan, Abraham Hatfield, William L. Bard, Henry E. Bird, Frost Horton, Columbus W. Seeley, Drs. Benjamin Brandreth and William P. Woodcock, and the Hon. Jacob Odell. The assemblage proved to be one of the most august in the history of the State. The call and the resolutions passed had in view the urging upon the government of a conciliatory course, the non-enforcement of its authority unless attacked, and the adoption of measures of compromise.

Perhaps the effect of this action in New York and of others at the time, was the longer restraining the arm of the government until some overt act against its constituted authority should be committed which would unite the whole people in rebuking secession and disunion. A resolution offered by Judge Hart, of this county, and passed by this convention, looking to the possible necessity for further deliberation and action by this body, makes the more clear how, by the precipitancy of the South, these well-meaning and persistent efforts for conciliation were rendered ineffectual.

We present now, from the several censuses of the State and General Government, a view of the growth of the County in the number of its inhabitants from the beginning of the Colonial period to the year 1880.

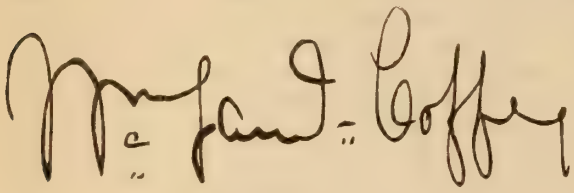
THE TEN COLONIAL CENSUSES OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY.

	1698.[a]	1703.[b]	1712.[c]	1723.[d]	1731.[e]	1737.[f]	1746.[g]	1749.[h]	1756.[i]	1771.[j]
Men	316	.....	.....	1050	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Women	294	.....	.....	951	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Children	307	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Negroes	146	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
White Males under 10	.....	.....	.....	.....	1054	930	.....	.....	.....	.....
" under 16	.....	.....	672	.....	.....	.....	2435	2511	3153	3813
" above 10	.....	.....	.....	.....	1879	2110	.....	.....	.....	.....
" 16 and under 60	.....	472	560	.....	.....	.....	2090	2312	2908	3204
" above 60	.....	.....	75	.....	.....	.....	303	228	1039	349
" children	.....	382	.....	1048	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
White Females under 10	.....	.....	.....	.....	707	944	.....	.....	.....	.....
" under 16	.....	.....	577	.....	.....	.....	2095	2263	2440	3483
" above 10	.....	.....	.....	.....	1701	1890	.....	.....	.....	.....
" 16 and upwards	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1640	2233	2379	5266
" 16 to 60	.....	.....	539	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
" above 60	.....	.....	62	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
"	.....	469	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
" children	.....	386	.....	912	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Black Males	.....	74	.....	155	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
" children	.....	50	.....	92	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
" under 10	.....	.....	.....	.....	176	153	.....	.....	.....	.....
" under 16	.....	.....	72	.....	.....	.....	187	303	296	793
" above 10	.....	.....	.....	.....	269	304	.....	.....	.....	.....
" 16 and under 60	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	180	270	418	916
" over 16	.....	.....	127	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
" above 60	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	27	66	77	68
Black Females under 10	.....	.....	.....	.....	151	140	.....	.....	.....	.....
" under 16	.....	.....	62	.....	.....	.....	138	238	267	766
" above 10	.....	.....	.....	.....	96	254	.....	.....	.....	.....
" above 16	.....	.....	72	.....	.....	.....	140	279	280	887
"	.....	45	.....	118	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
" children	.....	29	.....	83	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
All above 60	.....	39	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
TOTAL	1063	1946	2818	4409	6033	5745	9235	10703	13257	21745

[a] N. Y. Col. MSS., vol. iv. p. 20.
[b] N. Y. Col. MSS., vol. v. p. 339.
[c] N. Y. Census, 1855, Introd. p. v.
[d] Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. i. p. 693. N. Y. Col. MSS., vol. v. p. 702.
[e] N. Y. Col. MSS., vol. v. p. 929. Doct. Hist. N. Y., vol. i. p. 694.
[f] N. Y. Col. MSS., vol. vi. p. 133. Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. i. p. 694.
[g] N. Y. Col. MSS., vol. vi. p. 392. N. Y. Census, 1885, Introd. p. vi.
[h] N. Y. Col. MSS., vol. vi. p. 550.
[i] Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. i. p. 696.
[j] N. Y. Col. MSS., vol. viii. p. 457. N. Y. Doc. Hist., Vol. i. p. 697.

THE POPULATION OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY FROM 1782 TO 1880.

Year.	Population.	Year.	Population.
1782.	8,524	1840.	48,686
1786.	20,554	1845.	47,394
1790.	24,003	1850.	58,263
1800.	27,373	1855.	80,678
1810.	30,272	1860.	99,497
1814.	26,367	1865.	101,197
1820.	32,638	1870.	131,348
1825.	33,131	1875.	103,564[1]
1830.	36,456	1880.	108,988[1]
1835.	38,789		



CHAPTER IX.

THE CIVIL WAR, 1860–65.[2]

BY FREDERICK WHITTAKER.

Late second lieutenant and brevet captain Sixth New York Veteran Volunteer Cavalry.

From Lincoln's Election to the Taking of Sumter—The Two Years' Volunteers—The Three Years' Volunteers—Home Affairs to the Election of Governor Seymour—The Draft Riots—From the Riots to the Close of the War—The Aid Societies—The Bounty Bonds—The Return of the Volunteers—The Roll of the Dead—The Drafted Men—The Grand Army Posts.

FROM LINCOLN'S ELECTION TO THE TAKING OF SUMTER.—From the day when the votes were counted, after the famous election of 1860, the question of Civil War was reduced to one of time. The party that then came into power affected to believe that it would not come; but its adversaries steadily predicted its occurrence, or confined themselves to the expression of a hope, against probability, that "the evil might be spared the nation." Westchester County, from its position, close to the metropolis of American commerce, might be expected to take a commercial view of the question, and did so. The distribution of parties within its limits was similar to that in the city of New York, and the issue between the supporters of opposite views of the government was strongly marked.

As in New York, the three factions into which the one party was divided, sunk their issue in a common electoral ticket, whose expressed bond of union was hatred to the "Black Republicans" and "Abolitionists" as a class. The leading papers of the county were the *Eastern State Journal* of White Plains, the *Highland Democrat* of Peekskill, and the *Yonkers Herald*. All three were well established, marked by vigorous writing, well able to support their editors, and all exist to-day, under the same names, except the *Herald*, which was changed to the *Gazette* in May, 1864.

The attitude of parties in the county is best exhibited by the way in which these papers treated the question on the eve of election and immediately thereafter. The headlines of the *Eastern State Journal*, which we have taken as a fair specimen of the whole, and wherein the tickets were printed on the 2d of November—the Friday before election-day—read thus:

"Union Electoral Ticket, Anti-Lincoln, Anti-Black Republican."

No President is named. There are thirty-three electors, and W. Kelly is named for Governor. The editorial on the subject says,—

"This is the day on which the fate of battle is suspended. Let every true man do his duty. . . . Be at the polls early. . . . Vote before breakfast if possible. Permit no Black Republican enemy of his country to deprive you of a sacred right, or swerve you from your purpose. Challenge every illegal vote. Permit no *insolent, paid and drilled* Wide Awakes to dictate the law or your duty. . . . Stand firm and defiant—and get in every vote possible for the Union Ticket.

Further on, and scattered through the paper, are statements that the 'Black Republicans are panic-struck;' adjurations to 'bring every man to the polls;' 'to vote against the Negro and Black Republican ticket, next Tuesday.' 'Cast your vote against Negro Suffrage. Be true,' etc.

The result of these appeals comes out, two weeks after, in the official canvass of the vote: "Union Electoral" ticket, eight thousand one hundred and twenty-six; "Republican" ticket, six thousand six hundred and seventy-one. The majority of one thousand four hundred and fifty-five cast against the latter ticket is not sustained in other cases, the majority for Kelly for Governor being about a thousand, while that for the Congressman is only six hundred and fifty. The neighboring counties of Putnam and Rockland show about the same state of parties.

The editorial comment on the result of the election,

[1] If to these last two enumerations be added the population of West Farms, King's Bridge and Morrisania, which, in 1874, were annexed to the city of New York, the number of the inhabitants within the bounds of the old Westchester County was, in 1875, 139,758, and, in 1860, 150,614.

[2] The information contained in this chapter, as to the towns of Cortlandt and Yorktown, is from material gathered by the editor-in-chief. The records of Cortlandt were carefully kept by Mr. Coffin S. Brown, who was supervisor at the time of the war, and took a pride in the matter. The items concerning the men enlisted come from the reports of the State Adjutant-General, in the form of the original muster-rolls of all the regiments that left the State. Of recruits that joined, after first muster, it was impossible to obtain a full and authentic list; therefore I have not attempted a partial one. The information as to bounty bonds is obtained from the records. The particulars as to relief societies are credited as follows: Port Chester, Mr. John E. Marshall, treasurer, who kindly loaned me his book of accounts; Ossining, Mrs. Catharine E. Van Cortlandt, secretary and treasurer of the society, who sent me the final report of its work, having hunted up the same with much trouble; Cortlandt, Mr. Andrew R. Martin, from Mr. Coffin S. Brown. I have further to acknowledge use of the files of the *Eastern State Journal*, from Mr. Hendrickson, the present proprietor; of the *Yonkers Gazette*, in the year 1864, from the gentlemen in charge of the office. The sources of other information are mentioned in the body of the chapter. A history of the county during the war might easily be expanded into a volume of a hundred pages or more.—F. WHITTAKER.

[Much valuable and interesting matter relating to the late Civil War can be found also in the respective town histories published elsewhere in this work.—EDITOR.]

after an admission that the country districts had carried the State for the Republicans by "about sixty thousand majority," is as follows:

"The result is deeply to be regretted, not so much on party grounds, as for the continued peace and prosperity of the country. . . . The election of a sectional President—against which WASHINGTON warned his countrymen in his farewell address—has now been tried, and we are to witness the result. We hope for the best, yet we are not without serious apprehensions. . . . The Union Electoral ticket gets about thirteen hundred majority, but the State is black enough. New York City gives the Union Electoral Ticket 28,000 majority."

From this time forth the tone of the paper is morbidly mournful; but few comments are made till the assembling of Congress, when President Buchanan's message is praised as being "an able, statesmanlike and patriotic production," and the rest of the paper, up to the 4th of March, 1861, is occupied with copies of letters from prominent Southerners, in advocacy of secession, including the "farewell" of Howell Cobb, in which he alludes to Mr. Buchanan as the "last President of the United States." The points of Mr. Buchanan's message, briefly stated, were,—that the Union was in peril; that there was no similarity between the attitude of South Carolina in the nullification of 1832 and her secession of December 20, 1860; because, in 1832 the sympathy of other States was against her; while, in 1860, that of the Gulf States was with her. That the trouble had arisen in consequence of the Northern States interfering with slavery—a thing they had "no more right to meddle with, in other States, than in Russia." That the question had arisen, what was to be done? That he was of opinion that secession was "unconstitutional," but also of opinion, "after much serious reflection" that the United States "had no power to coerce a seceding State," closing this part of the argument with the remark: "The fact is, the Union rests on public opinion, and can never be cemented by the blood of its citizens shed in civil war." A week after the secession of South Carolina the *Eastern State Journal* published a sermon, by Rev. H. S. Van Dyke, in Brooklyn, on "Abolitionism," in which the Bible defense of slavery was promulgated, and Abolitionists were denounced as "infidels." This sermon occupied ten columns of the paper, in small type, and the editor drew attention to the leading point—the "identity of Abolitionism and infidelity." Extracts from Southern papers form the staple of news for the next few weeks, and on January 11th the editor announced, "The mission of Black Republicanism is the destruction of the Union. The mission is rapidly being accomplished. South Carolina leads off in seceding. . . . Those who organized the Republican party are responsible for the present condition of affairs." January 18th, the statement was made that "Yancey, Toombs and Rhett are no more disunionists than Horace Greeley." In this morbid strain the opinion of the majority of the county appears to have run till February 1st, when a "State Convention of Democrats" was announced, to "insist" that there should be "no coercion, no civil war," with the assertion: "The border States *will not permit* Lincoln to coerce the Gulf States." [The italics are copied.]

I regret extremely that, from this period to the 10th of May, there is a gap in the files of this paper; so that it is not possible to say how the Westchester County Democrats officially took the news of the firing on Fort Sumter. It can only be judged from the coincidence of the tone of this and the other papers of the county with that of the New York papers of the same opinion. That it could not have changed materially is plain from the first heading that strikes the eye on May 10th, which is "Peace! Peace! Down with the Black Republicans," though, among the news items, appears the drilling of a company in White Plains, raised by Captain (afterwards Colonel) James J. Chambers, in which complimentary notice is given the men.

The news of the attack on Fort Sumter, and especially that of its surrender, as is well known, produced a great change of public opinion in the city of New York, in favor of the administration of Mr. Lincoln, and of an effort to put down the Rebellion.

The bombardment of the fort began on Friday, April 12, 1861; the place was surrendered by Major Anderson on Saturday, 13th, after an attack in which one man was wounded—none killed—on the side of the United States forces. The news was published in the papers of Sunday, the 14th, with the head-line, in the *New York Herald*, "Dissolution of the Union," and the people had all Sunday to think over the news, and the comments made thereon by the opponents of the administration. The exasperation of feeling produced by the news itself was intensified by the way in which these comments were made, and especially by the call made for a "peace meeting" in New York City. The *Herald*, in the same issue in which the surrender of the fort and the "dissolution of the Union" was announced, stated that a "preliminary meeting" had been held on Saturday evening, at which steps were taken to call a great mass-meeting, to "force" the administration to surrender, and desist from Mr. Lincoln's expressed intention to "coerce the seceding States." Westchester County was represented at this preliminary meeting by some prominent officials, who held to the extreme Democratic doctrine of "States rights."

On Monday morning, April 15th, appeared Mr. Lincoln's proclamation. It called for seventy-five thousand militia, for three months, to suppress the Rebellion. That proclamation had the effect of a spark to a train of gunpowder in the city of New York, and the effect was felt in the county of Westchester in a proportionate degree. Men who had been waiting, sick at heart, in view of the quiet way in which the government was apparently submitting to destruction, realized that the end of submission had come at last, and that public opinion might be invoked to repel the suicide of a nation. Then came

the sudden outburst, in the city, of a popular anger, which filled the streets, in five minutes from the first rush into the open air, with a dense crowd of excited men, whose only purpose seemed to be to make every Democratic newspaper in New York "hang out the flag." They were roused at last.

THE TWO YEARS' VOLUNTEERS.—When such a state of feeling showed itself in a city which had cast a heavy majority against Mr. Lincoln, it may well be supposed that in Albany, where his friends and partisans were in the ascendant in the Legislature, it would rise still higher.

Such was the case; and the singular anomaly was presented, in the history of that stirring time, that the President's demand found itself far behind the popular judgment of the needs of the case. The call was for seventy-five thousand militia for three months' service. It arrived on the 15th of April. On the very next day the New York Legislature passed, with an unexampled celerity, and the Governor signed, a law providing—in addition to the quota assigned to New York State under the call (thirteen thousand two hundred and eighty men)—for thirty thousand volunteers, to serve for two years. The law authorized the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, comptroller, attorney-general, State engineer and surveyor, and State treasurer, or a majority of them," to "accept the services, and to cause to be mustered into the service of the State," the volunteers named, "in addition to the present military organization of the State, and as a part of the militia thereof." It further provided for pay and allowances, the same as then prevailed in the United States service, to the force to be raised, and that the men should be "liable at all times to be turned over to the service of the United States, on the order of the Governor, as a part of the militia of the State, upon the requisition of the President of the United States."

The first formal identification of Westchester County with the two years' volunteers, and the only one in the county in the shape of a body of men accredited thereto, came from the village of Port Chester, in the shape of Company B, Seventeenth Infantry, known as the "Westchester Chasseurs."

The interest that attaches to this company, as being the first to volunteer, in a body, for the credit of the town, makes its personalty worthy of special notice. The following is a copy of the muster-roll, with remarks on the military history of the company and its officers:

Captain, Nelson B. Bartram; First Lieutenant, John Vickers; Second Lieutenant, Charles Hilbert; First Sergeant, James Fox; Sergeants, Thomas Beal, Louis Neething and August Dittman; Corporals, William Crothers, John Beal, Joseph Beal and Robert Magee; Drummers, Stephen Floots and William Fairbanks; Privates, Aug. Adams, Charles H. Burns, John Burns, William Baker, Ardemus Barnes, Edward Bowen, George Buckley, Edward Bradley, Darius Butterfield, Frederick Cross, Amasa Conover, James Cunningham, Richard Conkling, John P. Dempsey, Thomas Donohue, Silas Downes, James Dooley, John G. Dewire, Thomas C. Ely, Edgar Ferris, William Farrington, Charles Frear, John Fay, John Ferguson, John Gibson, Benjamin Glauson, Conrad Graff, George Gurtsey, W. S. Gregory, Charles Gedney, John Hart, Barney Hammil, Joseph Hibbert, William Hennessey, S. J. King, Daniel Keyser, W. H. Lee, T. H. Lockwood, Seaman Morrell, Alexander McCloud, Theodore Miller, Christopher Menken, George and Henry Marshall, John Murphy, John Murty, C. McGrath, T. McKay, William McKeel, John Martin, T. McQuade, W. O'Reilly, Jared Palmer, Henry Siltz, Robert Sergeant, T. Topping, Morris Thomas, James H. Taylor, James Worden, Anthony Warner, W. Whelpley, W. Woods, Max Weber and Louis Zulnaga.

Remarks.—Captain Bartram was promoted to major November 2, 1861, and to lieutenant-colonel June 20, 1862, being mustered out with the regiment June 2, 1863, from the expiration of the term of service, which was two years. Lieutenants Vickers and Hilbert were both promoted to be captains, and mustered out at the expiration of term.

Sergeant James Fox was promoted to second lieutenant, but resigned in a few months; Thomas Beal was promoted to a commission August 3, 1862, and mustered out with the regiment as second lieutenant in the following year.

Captain Bartram, at the time of his enlistment, was vice-principal of one of the New York public schools, earning a good salary; and many people thought him one of the most foolish of men, to throw up a good place, merely for the purpose of "serving his country," so low had then become the popular estimate of the value of patriotism. The effect of such publications as we have briefly noticed in the case of the White Plains paper, echoed, in terms of the same or greater strength, by other papers of the county, had certainly not tended to encourage good feeling; and it reflects on Bartram and the town of Port Chester a credit that no other town in the county can share, that he managed to get his company mustered into the service, in its entirety, as he did. He appears to have begun his work, almost the day the law was promulgated—April 18th—in the form of a general order from the adjutant-general of the State,—and had his men ready to leave Port Chester before the end of the month. Even then, however, they might never have been mustered in as a company, had it not been for the energy and patriotism of a few men in Port Chester, who took hold of the matter and held up his hands. This matter brings us to the history of a movement started at the same time, in which, also, the town of Port Chester set the rest of the county a good example.

Before the Bartram company was fairly organized, it became plain that something was necessary to supply the families of the volunteers of the town, who were, in many instances, married men with children. Therefore, on the 30th of April, Mr. James H. Titus, a well-known citizen of the place, set the ball rolling by subscribing a hundred dollars towards a fund for this purpose, with twenty-nine dollars additional, to pay the fares of the men to the camp of the Seventeenth Regiment in New York. He was closely followed, May 3d, by Mr. W. P. Abendroth, with a hundred dollars, and, by the 9th of May, the subscriptions amounted to four hundred and forty-four dollars. All this money, and much more afterwards, was raised by a "Union Defense Committee," of which Mr. Titus, an ardent Republican, was chairman, and Mr. John E. Marshall, an equally uncompromising Democrat,

of the war stamp, was treasurer. This union of both parties, in the same cause, did much to soften the acerbities of political strife in Port Chester all through the war, and makes the personality of this Defense Committee—the first in the county—as interesting as that of the banner company of the county, for whose assistance it was originally organized. The names are as follows:

Chairman, James H. Titus; Secretary, George P. Titus; Treasurer, John E. Marshall.

Military Committee: Messrs. S. K. Satterlee, August Wiggen, August Van Ammeringe, William L. Bush, George P. Titus and Augustus M. Halsted. Relief Committee: Messrs. William P. Abendroth, Noah Tompkins, John W. Lounsberry, George L. Cornell, James H. Titus and E. Sones. Finance Committee: Messrs. E. S. Swords, William B. Halsted and John E. Marshall.

In all the money raised by this committee during the war, to which reference will afterwards be made, the only item which is not that of relief, in weekly payments, to the wives and parents of actual soldiers, is found in the sums first subscribed by Mr. Titus, and applied to the purposes of the company itself. The hundred dollars served to keep the men together, by enabling their board to be paid in the city till accepted; while their fare was provided for to the camp. It is probable that, if this sum had not been raised, the company would have disbanded, and been lost sight of, as were others. The town of Cortlandt, almost at the same time, sent out sixty men, raised by Mr. Benjamin R. Simpkins. For the want of the money that kept the Port Chester company together, this fine body of young men became lost in the great city of New York, and drifted into different regiments, so that not a man of the sixty was ever credited to the county, and not a few of them returned home. Another party of sixteen went off to White Plains, under the command of Mr. William M. Bleakley, of Verplanck's Point. On the roll of Company A, Twenty-seventh Regiment, they appear as credited to Elmira, of all places in the world. Mr. Bleakley afterwards became Captain Bleakley in the Twenty-seventh, and was discharged in February, 1862. The company of Mr. Joseph J. Chambers is another instance of the same state of affairs; for, though the men undoubtedly hailed from White Plains, they are likewise credited to Elmira, their captain being made lieutenant-colonel on the 21st of May.

Yorktown also lost a great number of men in the same way, no mention of them being found in the official records of the two years' volunteers; and of other towns there is still less trace, in any documents by which official proof can be furnished of the facts. The whole history of the two years' volunteers, in Westchester County, is one of men pressing their services on the government, which seemed not to want them; and it cost more trouble in the months of April and May, 1861, to get into the army at all, than it afterwards did to get out of the draft. Captain Bartram, being a man of sense and experience, with a pride in his place of residence, managed to identify Port Chester, officially, with the movement, but no other town in the county could boast an equal record, either in volunteering or in patriotic efforts to help soldiers by private means. But the two years' volunteers were not long in being filled up; and the serious nature of the war, with the equally serious way in which it was regarded by the Legislature of the State, appeared, almost before the last man was mustered into the United States service. The first order of the adjutant-general, April 18th, called for "seventeen regiments of infantry or rifles." A second order appeared, on the 25th of the same month, calling for twenty-one regiments more; so that the complete quota of two years' volunteers, in the State of New York, included all regiments, up to the Thirty-eighth. Within a week from the time the Port Chester company was finally mustered into the United States service—May 22d—the Thirty-ninth Regiment was mustered in as an additional force, and the term of service of the men enlisted was three, instead of two years. From henceforth the history of the county, during the war, was to become one of quotas to be filled and calls to be met, while the ideas with which the two years' men had gone away, that the struggle would soon be over, had settled down into the sober conviction that the three years' term would be the earliest within which the battle would be terminated.

THE THREE YEARS' VOLUNTEERS.—The first regiment taken into the United States service from the State of New York for the term of three years was mustered in on the 28th of May, 1861. The first identification of Westchester County with the three years' volunteers comes on the rolls of the Fourth New York Cavalry, which was mustered by companies, beginning August 10 and ending November 15, 1861. The muster-rolls of the regiment disclose the following names:

The non-commissioned staff has (from Yonkers): Sergeant-Major, Reinhard Kuehl; Hospital Stewards, Max Lechler and Charles Reiss; Color Sergeant, T. R. Dodge; Veterinary Surgeons, F. H. Walter and Rudolph Rodenhausen; Quartermaster-Sergeant, John R. Suiter; Commissary-Sergeant, Charles E. Cormoer.

[N. B.—The muster-roll of the above men in the State adjutant-general's office does not show the certificate of the United States mustering officer, nor is it dated; but the men served, as far as can be ascertained].

The company rolls are more regular in form, and the following is their report as affecting Westchester County:

Company B (from Yonkers).—Captain, Wm. R Parnell: First Lieutenant, Christopher Dolan; Non-Commissioned Officers, C. R. Frampton, James McDowell, T. H. Philipsen, Henry T. Clench, Duncan Murchison, August Ittmann, John Crean, Michael Cogan, William Hillman, James P. Mist, Emil Bossart, Charles Dingler, Francis H. Tarleton, Charles Kirk, Martin Rabin, Merritt Livingston, Dennis Costello, John McAdams.

Private soldiers: Michael Barry, Albert Burbank, William Bren, Peter Burns, Peter Brown, Thomas Brady, Owen Creally, John Cunningham, Patrick Coffey, William Crozier, Thomas Conroy, William Cass, Fred. Delinger, Rudolph Deimar, Jacob Da Costa, Edward Durier, William Davis, John Freeman, Michael Fanning, John Geary, Matthew Guinan, Joseph Garry, Michael Hirlig, Michael Hyland, Patrick Joyce, Charles Jacob, John Johnson, John Kuntze, Jacob Kern, August Koch, Charles

Le Gard, W. Meyer, W. Maeder, William McHale, George Montgomery, Peter Murray, Arthur Murphy, Donald McDonald, Conrad Meyer, Thos. McCarthy, Patrick Maloney, Philip Meyer, Patrick O'Connor, William O'Connor, Henry Peasha, Philip Plessing, Thomas Ronan, Patrick Roach, Jacob Roth, Julius Richter, Michael Smith, James Smith, John Smith, Owen Sweeny, Joseph Shoran, George Swan, Edwin Teal, Edward Turner, Jabez Weeks and Walter Wall.

Company C (from Yonkers).—Captain, Ralph H. Olmstead, the only commissioned officer; Non-Commissioned Officers, Charles H. Hawking, James Olmstead, James Magarity, Charles R. Smith, John Lowry, Malachi Kelly, William H. Keeps, John Mulheren, Henry M. Hyer, George F. Kuhn, John H. Davis, Peter F. Gownas, Thomas Giff and Joseph A. Moore, Alfred Eyre, Lewis H. Denison and William B. Miner.

Privates as follows: William Barton, Daniel Buddy, James L. Coleman, Reuben H. Chase, John Cole, Samuel Conroy, Alanson H. Comstock, Daniel J. Cronin, John R. Dodge, Gilbert B. Edwards, Monroe Estes, William Forrest, George Giles, Michael Gormly, James Gray, Gilbert Hummel, James Hitchcock, Jas. H. Howell, Jeremiah G. Huckey, Daniel Lewis, Peter Mallon, George H. Miner, Charles Miller, John Henry May, Michael McGinniss, Thomas Mullen, Arthur Murdoch, Andrew Overbaugh, Philander Payne, Dennis Ryan, Sam'l Smith, David Shaw, Henry Stone, John R. Suiter, Moses H. Terwilliger, Charles T. Terwilliger, Thomas P. Terwilliger, Richard Vaughan, Eugenius Walker, John Welsch, Alva Wickham, Garry B. Wheeler, Nicholas Wolvan and Joseph T. Ward.

Company F (from Yonkers).—Captain Samuel Genther the only name.

The names of Henry Jones, of Rye, and Jacob Rosenbaum, of Tarrytown, in Company L, with that of James McAvoy, of Rye, in Company M, make up the total in the regiment credited to the county of Westchester.

The next organization in which the county appears to have taken any official part is the Fifth Independent Battery, mustered into the United States service November 8, 1861, in New York City. The roll of this battery contains the names of Privates Charles Cadigan and John Turbitt, from Yonkers; Benjamin Moore and Charles Moore, from Mount Vernon; and Charles Travers, from Peekskill.

The First Regiment Mounted Rifles, which was mustered into the service in squadrons and companies, all the way from August 31, 1861, to September 9, 1862, can be noticed here, although a little out of its order, to make room for the only regiment in which Westchester County could be said to be fully represented during the war. The rolls of the First Mounted Rifles contain, in Company F, the names of John Blatchley, Charles Polhemus and Peter See, of Tarrytown; Thomas Gerhardt, James D. Nation, George D. Newman, James W. Porteous, Albert Sherwood and William Wallace, of Mount Pleasant; and Frederick Gertman, of Harrison.

This concludes the three years' volunteers raised in Westchester County as organizations, of which the records are accessible, in an official form, up to the raising of the regiment whose rolls are next in order.

The Sixth Heavy Artillery was originally raised at Yonkers for the One Hundred and Thirty-fifth New York Infantry, and mustered into the service from the 2d day of September, 1862, for three years. It then consisted of eight companies, but, in December of the same year two more were added, and the whole was mustered in as the Sixth Heavy Artillery at Fort McHenry, Baltimore, Md.

Company A contains the following names:

From Peekskill: Privates, Gabriel S. Adams, Charles E. Orne, J. H. Wright, C. P. Crueger, W. N. Lent, D. R. Goethius, W. T. Travis, J. C. Halstead, John Smith, W. H. Dutcher, C. E. Snedicor, T. Garrison, D. A. Lent, W. M. Austin, Aug. Acker, Lewis Blakely, J. Bartlett, Val. Beninghoff, Daniel Conklin, John Cook, G. A. Cruger, T. A. Conklin, Harvey Conklin, Patrick Curtis, Patrick Conly, Emmanuel Dadson, Willett Denike, Howard Diven, D. H. and W. B. Dykmans, Martin Dallaway, John Dobson, Levi Ellis, W. Fitzgerald, Hiram Fisher, Abram J. Fields, H. M. Gillette, David Giles, James Griffin, W. A. Giraud, Isaac W. Howland, Stephen Hyatt, Jackson Head, Alonzo Hadden, W. Halstead, John Henry, Jr., Peter Haines, Joseph Hanlig, Michael Kelly, W. Kurte, Samuel E., Richard and Jerome Lent, J. H. Lantz, Abraham E., Thomas and William E. Lounsbury, James and Henry Lindsey, Patrick and John Lynch, Ferdinand Lent, W. J. Malone, Joseph McClain, Aaron Mackey, James Moriarty, Jefferson McCoy, H. W. Owens, William A. and Obediah Robertson, A. H. Rooke, Alex. Soper, L. Shoulder, S. S. Starr, C. W. Smith, Bruce Scribner, Richard Tamer, John Turbush, G. W. Tompkins, John Van Tassel, John Wessels, John W. Williams, Nathan Wright, David H. Williams, Samuel Williams, Fred. Young, Cornelius Zelyph, J. O. Ryder, W. H. Townsend.

From Yonkers, J. H. Boyce, J. B. Black, Frank Birdsall, Charles E. Bennenta, Walter R. Boyce and Willett Frost.

Company B contains the following:

From Greenburgh: Privates, B. Armstrong, U. T. Archer, A. Sylvester, Joseph Archer, David Brown, J. W. Brown, Oscar Brown, W. H. Brown, J. H. Brewer, John Conlan, Theodore Coles, H. R. Gilbert, G. W. Lint, O. D. King, W. H. Lush, Samuel H. Lynt, Orlando Melrose, M. McCullagh, James Mosher, William O'Brien, W. Storms, Thomas Secord, Simeon Lee, J. S. Secord, W. P. Tompkins, J. H. Van Tassel, Theodore Yerks and William Lakin.

From White Plains: Privates, W. A. Ackerman, W. P. Andrew, Allen Ames, Fremer Brickles, Michael Butler, John Banta, D. P. Barnes, W. H. Baldwin, A. M. Bogart, W. Benedict, J. H. Carpenter, Victor M. Collins, Michael Dempsey, H. R. Finch, H. Fowler, John Gedney, D. O. Greenough, J. T. Hatfield, Con. Hollyer, S. H. Hopkins, W. H. Horton, William Jephson, Devins Lloyd, Robert Moore, M. Moroney, M. Metzler, Felix McLeod, N. F. Norris, N. S. Northrop, Martin O'Rourke, Patrick O'Donnell, S. C. Purdy, Eugene Purdy, Charles Pruck, Richard and Martin Rourk, Mervin Sniffen, N. P. Sniffen, J. G. Terrell, J. A. Tompkins, Alexander Vosburgh, Jerome Weeks, Morris Welsh and F. W. Hagner. (See also Co. I.)

From Scarsdale: Privates, J. M. Boulton, Asa Carpenter, Patrick Conley, Andrew Champion, James Deboe, A. L. Dobbs, Elbert Fuller, Patrick Gorman, S. V. Lake, Lawrence Lowe, Robert Ogden, Jacob Steoffen, Eli Tifford, Charles Wrede, David A. Weed.

From Harrison: Privates, Patrick Burns, Joseph W. Haviland.

Company C was raised at West Farms, as follows:

Captain, Benjamin B. Valentine, and First Lieutenant, James Smith, from that place, with Second Lieutenant, George C. Kibbe, from Yonkers; Sergeants, James D. Turnbull, George Borland, James C. Cogswell and Andrew Wood, from West Farms; Corporals, William Rasperry, John Williamson, Joseph Hueston, Eugene Maginnis, from same place.

Privates, Samuel Archer, J. N. Buckridge, W. Blake, Thomas Conner, W. Corsa, William Carroll, J. F. and William Carson, T. Cromwell, Jas. Connaughton, Gilbert Cromwell, Chas. Day, W. R. Eaken, G. Edmeston, J. B. Eakens, H. B. Ferguson, W. B. Frazier, Alex. Gowdy, Richard Graham, Bernard Glenson, James Grayson, Michael Graham, Job Hargreaves, John Hannon, F. Hitchcock, Abram Hinchcliffe, Jeremiah Hanson, Stephen A. Harris, John Julian, W. Kelley, Matthew Kerrigan, David Kinlock, John Lounsberry, James Lummel, Paul Lounsberry, James McGill, W. McCord, Aaron Miller, Andrew McIntyre, Glass McNair, John Moody, John Murphy, William Mitchell, W. H. Maxwell, Charles Messer, Michael Murray, Andrew Moore, Michael Moran, Chas. Moran, Richard Mitchell, Patrick McCord, Thomas Nichols, James Ormeston, Samuel B. Pierce, Robert Parsons, W. K. Raymond, James R. Raymond, S. G. Ridgway, James Sloan, David H. Scofield, Jas. Sherry, H. W. St. John, James Schneider, C. H. Stanley, J. W. Taylor, W. Totman, James Thompson, John Valentine, George Wallen, W. Wright, Patrick Weldon, Robert Walsh, William Wesley, John Weeks, James T. Wilson, Henry Webb, Matthew Kelley, all from West Farms.

Company D shows the following list of names:

From Bedford: Privates, D. I. Darby, Benjamin Ballard, W. G. Hallett, David Osborn, Isaac Adams, Elisha, Enoch and William A. Avery, W. F. Banks, Uriah Blennis, Frederick Bullman, William H. and William A. Clark, John Craft, John Crook, E. C. Devoe, James Elmore, H. F. Finch, Charles Fisher, N. Gaming, George Harrison, G. W. Holley, Tim. Hinchy, Daniel Hoolam, Ed. Jackson, Alex. Johnson, John Kalt, David Knitfin, Oscar Lent, J. H. Lounsberry, Lewis Matchett, Stephen

Matthews, William McGlynn, David, Frank, James and William J. Miller, David Mosher, David Moulton, John Powers, John Rogers, Henry Schoyfler, Daniel Springsteel, Charles Waterbury, W. A. Waterbury, George W. Zar.

From North Salem: Samuel S. Austin, Andrew Quick, H. B. Slauson, James B. Payne, Halstead Baker, Charles H. Bates, M. F. Brundage, J. N. Cree, J. E. F. Ferguson, Mortimer Higgins, David Knapp, Marsden Light, Stephen D. Merritt, Ezra Miller, George Reynolds, Cornelius Smith, Alva Tompkins, John C Wood.

From Poundridge: Alpheus Birdsall, Charles H. Brush and Alanson Dickson.

Company E contains the following names:

From Port Chester: Sergeants, Charles Mackintosh, G. W. P. Bouton, Cephas Peck and James Reynolds; Corporals, Thomas M. Smith, John L. Little, Thomas Conlin, Frank Kelley and James Taylor, Jr.; Musician, John Townsend; Privates, William Ashby, Peter and Jeremiah Butterfield, J. A. and Edward Billington, G. S. Burger, W. E. Briggs, Thomas Colvin, Owen Duffy, Henry C. Fox, Thomas Golden, Luke Gaffney, Thomas T. Halpin, John Hughes, John Miller, Joseph H. Morrell, Michael Madigan, Barney McDonald, William Reynolds, Walter and George E. Rood, John Riley, John St. John.

From Harrison: Sergeant, Theodore M. Swift; Corporal, Henry C. Weeks; Privates, Thomas L. Ackerman, Philander Blauvelt, Joseph Brooks, Stephen Burger, Samuel B. Farrington, Allen M. Foster, Mathias Houff, Nehemiah Harris, Henry M. Hees, William Hicks, John Haines, David King, T. W. Johnson, Harvey R. King, Henry Lowrey, W. H. Mosier, Alphonso D. Peck, W. H. Romer, Jacob Schiele, Stephen Waterbury, John M. Weeks, George Wood, Robert Farrington.

From New Rochelle: Corporal, John Flandreau; Privates, Dennis Buckley, Martin Burns, R. W. Deveau, Joshua Fields, Fred. Hatfield, William Mercer, W. Pagan, W. Schwab, James Secor, Charles Thatcher.

From Scarsdale: Musician, George W. Downing; Private, Benjamin Odell.

From Westchester: Privates, John Costlow, William Geary, W. W. Hollen, W. Leonard, Christopher Mulligan, Michael McCaw, Henry Reinmuller, Richard Sullivan.

From North Castle: Elisha Ferris, G. W. Knapp, Jacob W. Lewis, D. R. Merritt, C. S. Palmer, Edward Tucker, Cornelius Van Scoy, William Williams, William Glennon.

From Yorktown: Elias Fountain.

Company F contains the following names:

From Yonkers: Sergeants, Thomas R. Price, Patrick Kelly, Abel Waters and Lemuel R. Kniffin; Corporals, J. J. Brady, James T. Earle, J. E. Beasley, Benjamin Price, Judson Abbott and Edgar C. Nodine; Privates, Nat. Archer, James Burke, William Bragg, James Boyne, Michael Bennet, F. E. Barnes, James Brown, Daniel Casey, Patrick Collins, Andrew Conlan, James Carroll, John Coghlan, Joseph Cain, John Darlington, Michael Donohue, John Foley, S. B. Forman, Patrick Gorman, J. D. Gilbert, Francis Goodwin, John Henry, Jacob D Haines, James Hart, Hugh Hurst, William Hamilton, Demetrius Hallett, Timothy Kelly, William Kailey, Thomas Kain, T. W. Lounsbury, William Lindsay, Solon Lapham, Thomas Lanny, J. T. Morris, J. T. McMahon, Philip McGraw, Michael Norris, John O'Donnell, Michael O'Rourke, William Pope, Thomas Ryan, James Pilson, Thomas Reiff, James Reid, Geo. Rein, T. A. Smith, J. E. Sherwood, R. Sherwood, William Thompson, Wm. Vail, Geo. Voltz, Stephen Van Wart, Cornelius Vandervlandt, Richard and James Welsh, William Watson, Aaron Whitlock.

From Peekskill: Sergeant, George Hanlock; Corporals, Thomas Tuttle and Jacob Giles; Privates, Robert Brown, Dennis Bradley, Jacob Boyce, Andrew Corry, John Conover, W. D. Cannon, Michael Fagan, William H. and Gilbert Gilleo, T. J. Head, Robert Hamilton, William Harl, Aulick Joyce, Barney Key, Abraham Lent, John Laforge, James Lafferty, T. McLaughlan, Stephen McGovern, Jeremiah Miller, Barnett McCann, James Maguire, George W. Mott, Jesse B. Miller, J. W. Powell, W. H. M. F. Seward, W. S. Shrimpton, Fred. Stockholm, Elijah Travis.

Company H contains the following names, all from the village of Morrisania, then a part of the county:

Captain, Henry B. Hall; First Lieutenant, David Hazel; Second Lieutenant, Gouverneur Morris, Jr.

Sergeants, James E. Jacobs, John E. Myers, George Denerlein; Privates, Christian Auchter, Jos. H. Brown, John Baur, Peter Bergenger, Joseph Behrens, E. H. Blauvelt, Jacob Bock, J. J. Callahan, W. Campbell, W. B. Conlon, George Cramer, John Campbell, Frank Dicks, Joseph Dawson, Phil. Deahl, T. M. Dean, Henry Donohoe, Philip Fox, John J. Folks, Richard Freischbier, Wm. Green, Mortimer and William Gressbeck, Andrew Gourty, James Gilhooly, John Graff, Michael Golden, Henry Herbst, Fred. Herron, Burkhard and Joseph Haas. J. A. Hoyt, Morgan Hogan, R. H. Herrington, Morris Hoag, George Hutton, Fred. Kolbe, C. R. Kellner, Peter Koos, Jacob Kraus, George Kassel, Garrett Keany, John Klotz, James Lyons, James Lawrence, E. S. Myers, Henry Miller, Pat. Meagher, John Malone, John Murphy, Thos. Murray, Gottlieb Metzger, John Metzger, John McNally, Francis Myers, Paul Miller, George K. Mills, Pat. Nolan, Charles H. Nichols, James O'Brien, Charles H. Platt, Wesley Philips, Daniel C. O'Neil, Henry Quackenbush, Timothy Redden, John Steiner, Charles and Thomas M. Stevens, John A. and Charles Shintler, George Smith, Andrew Stackinger, Wm. Schwartz, Frank Steiner, A. Sanguinetti, William Tanner, Joseph Tremmell, Edward Warner, William Walsh, Edward Wilkinson, John S. Wallace, Anthony Webber, Fred. Wessel, George Van Winkle, Conrad Zaff, William Groshon.

Company I contains the following names:

Captain Clark Peck, First Lieutenant Charles C. Hyatt, and Second Lieutenant J. H. Ashton, from Ossining; with First Sergeant Leonard Cronk, from the same place.

From Ossining, besides the above: Privates Benjamin Ackerly, George W. Briggs, C. H. Chapman, J. M. Clare, Stephen C. Chadeayne, Martin Cavanagh, Charles Dingue, James H. Doty, Thos. Donohue, Jos. Dingue, Wm. Garrett, Alonzo Geroe, Aaron L. Griffin, Peter Ganong, Peter Hughes, Jonathan Knight, Wm. Knight, George W. Knapp, Daniel Luther, Abm. M. Miller, Thos. Taffee, J. L. Van Wort, James Wilson and James Young.

From New Castle: Abel Adams, Abram Harrison, Harrison Adams, J. M. Birdsall, James Brundage, Wm. Brindley, George Daniels, George Emier, Charles Fisher, Henry Feeks, L. H. Hutchings, Edward Melrose, Eugene Marshall, James Magin, George, William and Warren Outhouse, W. E. Reynolds, Christian Raper, C. R. Reynolds, John Scully, Hiram Smalley, Alexander, William H. and James Yerks.

From Yorktown: Michael Barnes, J. M. Craft, Anson Edwards, John S. Johnson, Clifton R. Nichols, Joseph Rhodes, Jesse K. Sarles, Jackson Young.

From Cortlandt: Privates, John Brackin, William Connor, Charles Hartman, Robert Hitchcock, Elvin Howes, Henry C. Purdy, Daniel Ryan.

From North Castle: Privates, W. H. Dayton, Lewis M. White.

From Mount Pleasant: Privates, John W. Farrington, Ab'm B. Hammond, Henry E. Higgins, Benjamin F. Melrose, James O. Yerks and Theo. Young.

From Bedford: Privates, James Feeks, David Miller, Charles A. Miller Alfred C. Miller, William Taylor, Hiram, James E. and Jonas A. Worden.

Company K contains the following names:

First Lieutenant, Frederic Shonnard, from Yonkers.

From Harrison: Private, Peter Busket.

From White Plains: Privates, Martin Bennett, Patrick Connolly, Henry Earle, Jos. Flanigan, Adam Fowler, F. W. Hagner (see Co. B) Robert E Higgins, William Lyons, Henry Luens, Thomas Moore, John Moulte, John Conlin, F. C. Purly, John McCullough.

From Scarsdale: Privates, Asa Carpenter, Elbert Fuller, Othniel Merritt.

From West Farms: Privates, John Claude, Edward Cromwell; Peter Dodge, Simon Kurkabittich, John F. Mullin, Martin Moran, John Schappler, John Roan, Orlando Vreeland, William Phelps, Charles and Frederick Sageman, Joseph Davis, George Philips.

From Greenburgh: Privates, Edward Fulun, John Golden, George Lloyd, Michael McCulloch, Joseph O'Malley, Francis Talaor, W. B. Adams.

Company L was chiefly recruited in Putnam County, but it has the following names from Westchester County:

From Yorktown: Sergeant, William Emmerson; Corporal, John Hamilton; Privates, Jordan Ackerman, James Barnes, John D. Crawford, Herman G. and Samuel M. Grey, Thomas Higgins, John Ritz, John W. Weeks.

From Yonkers: Privates, James McCann, John Soth.

From Cortlandt: Private Abraham Florence, and from Greenburgh, Privates James Britliffe, William Denke.

Company M is the last from the county, and has the following names:

Captain Joseph T. Tompkins, from Morrisania; First Lieutenant, Justus T. Crosby, from North Salem.

From Mount Pleasant: First Sergeant J. H. Goodell, and Privates Henry Brown, James H. Devlin, Patrick Galloon, Cina Giusippa, Thos. Mullen, Richard Seeley, Antonio Superno.

From Yonkers: Sergeants W. Elmendorf and David C. Munson, with Privates Peter Brooks, Chas. Baker, Lewis Baur, Alonzo Bird, W. Kline, Abram Cornell, Charles Cape, Thomas Connor, Michael Delaney, Michael

Dorr, John Gleason, Dennis Harrington, Francis Helminger, Thomas Hampson, George Hendrickson, Daniel Losee, H. R. Mason, W. McCauseland, John G. McLean, Wm O'Neil, Fred. Raisler, Seymour H. Reynolds, John Smith, Pati Victor, Oscar Weeks, Charles L. De Witt.

From North Salem: Privates, Daniel Crane, James Dailey, George Fuller, Lewis Higgins, Henry Hawley,

From North Castle: Corporal, Frederick Kratz; Privates, David Marshal, Hudson and George Reynolds.

From Bedford: Sergeant, Edward T. Palmer; Privates, John Banker, George A. Felt, Joshua Fowler, John A. Keeler, John A. Lockwood, Abram Philips, John Rich.

From Poundridge: Corporals, Theodorick Barrclaugh, Andrew Scofield; Privates, James Allstream, Theodore Birdsall, George Dixon, Charles Hamilton, Thos. E. Halford, Joseph M. Halford, Isaac W. Miller, John Platt, Nathaniel W. Sylvester.

From Lewisborough: Privates, William Bennett, Frank Gruba.

From Ossining: Privates Joseph E. Brown, Miles O'See, Harvey G. Ross.

From White Plains: Private John Cooley.

The last organization with which the county appears to have been identified is the Sixteenth (Sprague Light) Cavalry, which was mustered into the service from June to October, 1863. The companies of this regiment in which the county furnished men, officially accredited thereto, were K, L and M, in which the following names appear:

Company K.—Privates Charles H. Ackerman, Philip Apel, Henry Apelhaus, John Baker, John Baureis, Anthony Chichester, Robert Clark, Gustavus Dahlgren, Ernest Diezelski, Gustavus Francis, Lorenzo Hacket, Frederic Haller, John Hoffman, William Moore, Theodore Pickery, Henry Raymond, James T. Scanlan, William Shields, Walter Smith, Henry R. Thompson, George Thompson, John Walsh and Henry Zollinger, all of Mount Pleasant, chiefly recruited by Captain Ronald McNichol.

John Armstrong, Edwin D. Barlow, Franz Carl Digel, Thomas Dunn, Pat. Haviland, Milton A. Hewen, and George Weaver, of Yonkers.

Theodore Bennett, Patrick Byrne, William H. Collyer, John Harkins, John Kurzook, Dennis Murley, John Murphy, John Quicker, Frank Verder and Joshua R. Williams, of Greenburgh.

Company L.—James Kirwin, William Marshall, Daniel C. Bannatine, James Murray, John Schwartz, Nicholas Seray, Archibald Van Orden, of Greenburgh.

John Breadle, John M. Bloom, Patrick Brennan, Michael Collins, Henry Davenport, Andrew J. Fleming, John Fitzpatrick, John Hunt, Charles Hart, Charles Lewis, of White Plains.

Company M.—William Norris, Richard A. Adams, Richard Bell, of Greenburgh, appear as sergeants, while Corporal Edward H. Lynch hails from the same place,

Privates Michael Buckley, Charles B. Brown, Patrick Byrnes, John Barrett, William Biederbeck, William Collyer, James Carroll, John Carey, Henry Connor, Thomas Clark, J. H. Connors, Thomas Cusick, Charles Coyle, James Clark, Martin Dooley, William Davidson, Michael Driscoll, Patrick Donnelly, Henry Davis, Charles Damain, James W. Elliott, John Gilligan, W. H. Gibbs, William Gregory, Richard Hore, Conrad Hauser, Thomas Hill, Isidor Hausle, Armand Jouanne, Thomas Kearns, Charles Keenan, Peter Ledgwidge, Patrick Larkin, Charles P. Lange, Patrick Lyons, Henry Lehmuhle, John McGrath, James Mooney, John Miles, John Miller, Robert Milligan, Charles Mader, John O'Connell, Martin Peterson, Francis Quinn, James Rogers, Hugh M. Robertson, Martin Rauan, Charles Radetzky, David Shannon, George Smith, Francis Smith, W. H. Smith, Charles H. Von Tine, Laurence Williams, Thomas White, Dick Williams, Albert Wilson, Joshua Williams and August Yobiges, of Greenburgh.

This closes the history of the three years' volunteers in Westchester County, as far as the original enlistments are concerned, the names being taken from the original muster-rolls, but not including subsequent enlistments, which do not appear in the publication issued by the State adjutant-general. It is a matter of regret that this has never been done, as in some other States; but, the population of New York being so large and the men sent from the State so numerous, this has been hitherto deemed impracticable.

The doings of the men who went from the county to the field, their sufferings and losses, will be best told under a later head.[1]

Home Affairs, to the Election of Governor Seymour.—A history of the county during the war, which did not take notice of the bitter political divisions within its limits, would be a farce; but it is important, in stating the facts that appear, to bear in mind the pre-existing prejudices which had made them possible.

The prime cause of the divisions was the near neighborhood of the city of New York, on which the county depended for mental and moral aliment, and whose opinions and passions it reflected. As in the Revolution, Westchester County became a sort of debatable ground, where both parties raged. The reproachful terms of "Whig," "Tory," "Cowboy" and "Skinner" were changed to "Abolitionist," "Copperhead," "Nigger-Worshipper" and "Traitor." Families were divided, churches rent into factions, and actual fighting was only saved the county, during the draft riots of 1863, by the fact that the rioters did not get their courage to the fighting point till it was too late to do anything.

The most prominent factor in the feeling, as shown in the comments of the *Eastern State Journal*, already quoted, was intense dislike of the Republicans, rather than active sympathy with the Secessionists. At the time of Mr. Lincoln's election the majority of the voters of the county honestly believed, with the *Eastern State Journal*, that all Republicans were designing knaves, who earnestly wished to break up the Union.

Up to the death of the old Whig party, the distinction between that and the Democracy had been broad, simple and easily understood. The one party was centralizing, the other decentralizing. The disturbing element of slavery had altered all this; the old line of demarcation had vanished; but extreme partisans, on both sides, kept on talking and thinking about abstractions that had ceased to have any real existence. Under the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law, the Democrats had become advocates of "Federal Coercion," in favor of slavery, in Kansas; while the Republicans preached the most extreme doctrines of "State-rights," in the "personal liberty laws," by which the Northern States resisted or evaded the

[1] To complete the history of the three years' volunteers who actually went from Westchester County would involve the names of all men who enlisted after the formation and mustering of each company. I contemplated gathering these in as far as possible, but soon found that a complete list would be impracticable, while an incomplete one might give just offense to men whose names would be unavoidably left out, from lack of information. I have, therefore, preferred to insert only those names found in the official muster-rolls, published by the State, which contains ninety or ninety-five per cent. of the actual enlistments. After the draft began, in 1863, the records are no guide, as men were credited to any place where bounties could be obtained—the higher the better.
—F. W.]

operation of the United States marshals, whenever it was sought to enforce the act. Individuals of the party, like Wendell Philips, openly denounced the Union as "a covenant with death, and a league with hell." Furthermore, a spirit of sectional pride, roused by the arrogant bearing of Southern members of Congress and by the assault of Brooks of South Carolina, on Charles Sumner, was gradually becoming more and more prominent. The young men of the party, not unjustly denominated "sectional," in the North, were getting ready to fight, just as the Southern youths were preparing, in their own States, for the coming conflict. The Democrats, who, under Thomas Jefferson, had been distrustful of the Constitution, and insisting on amendments in the direction of personal liberty, had, in 1860, become the most ardent of "Constitution-worshippers," insisting on the absolute perfection of the instrument and on the right of Southern States to the fullest protection, under its provisions, for their slaves, in the free States. In the legal aspect of the case, they had the advantage of the Supreme Court on their side. The Republicans, on the other hand, treated the "constitutional" arguments as not practical, and constantly shifted the ground to that of the *right or wrong* of slavery. They cultivated habits, which did not leave them, during the war, of decrying their opponents as "dough-faces;" "trucklers to the South;" "men devoid of proper spirit," and, after the war had begun, even as "traitors." The Democrats retorted, with equal conviction, charges that the Republicans were not "true Union men;" that they were not "for the Union, under all circumstances, with or without slavery."

It was the grain of truth at the bottom of all these recriminations that rendered them so exasperating, causing party feeling to run higher in the county than in any other part of the Union, save the city of New York, Southern Indiana or New Jersey.

It has been often said that "the war between the North and South would never have taken place had the people of the two sections known each other better." It is equally true that the party divisions that rent Westchester County would never have risen to such proportions and bitterness had the members of both parties tried to see, in the minds of the others, the real convictions which underlay the apparently radical differences in politics. The literature of the time, carefully perused, now that the film of passion has cleared from the mental sight, will show that there was not an actual "Secessionist" to be found in the county. Even the Democrats disapproved of secession, though they held to Buchanan's doctrine that the Union "rested on public opinion," and "could never be cemented by the blood of its citizens." Their real hatred of the Republicans was owing to a fear of centralization and military despotism, which after-facts showed to be unjustified by the designs of Mr. Lincoln's adminstration.

The *Eastern State Journal*, from which we continue to quote, as being published at White Plains, the county-seat, and as the official county paper, will show the state of feeling of eight thousand voters of the county better than anything else.

The *Journal*, on the 17th of May, 1861, put at the head of its columns the following card, which it kept up till the November of the following year, as an explicit statement of its position in the contest. It was as follows:

"THE TRUE SENTIMENT.

"*Mr. Lincoln is not the United States government. The government is* OURS *and we owe allegiance to it. Mr. Lincoln is not ours, and we do not owe allegiance to him. Mr. Lincoln's term of office is brief and fleeting: the government, we hope, will last forever.*"

The leader, in the first paper in which this "true sentiment" is put forth, is an argument to prove that, when the war is over, the Fugitive Slave Law should at once be enforced. On the 21st of May, the editor, in answer to a Republican paper just started—the *Morrisania Journal*—explains the "true sentiment" at length; accuses the Republicans of carrying on the war for party purposes, simply, and ends with the assertion: "the Republicans stand by *their* administration; the Democrats by *our* government." From this time to the battle of Bull Run, the fight is carried on with the *Morrisania Journal*. The paper is full of sneers at "Abolitionists," and teems with assertions that "the volunteers in the field are in the proportion of three Democrats to one Republican," with the further assertion that "all Abolitionists are cowards." In July the paper drops politics on the first page, and begins to put in serial stories, paying much attention to local items, and ignoring the war as much as possible. It is full of a Fourth of July local celebration; and the only indication of the old feeling crops out in a paragraph, "No abolitionism. The border Slave States might be conciliated, if a promise was given them that their slaves should be retained." The editor hopes that "Horace Greeley will be thrown overboard," and that "Democrats will be called to advise Mr. Lincoln."

The news of Bull Run brings a marked approval of the "peace resolution," introduced by Mr. Benjamin Wood in Congress, and laid on the table by Mr. Washburn, of Illinois. The editor asks, "When will the war end?" and says that "another administration must come in before peace is likely to be restored to the country." In August the editor indignantly repudiates the assertion that "the anti-slavery feeling is spreading at the North," but admits the "apostasy" of several Congressman, who are voting with the administration to prosecute the war. It glories in the fact that Mr. Haight, the member from the home district, is still opposed to the prosecution of the war. It further glories in the fact that the Democratic State Convention has refused to join the Republicans in nominating a "Union State Ticket" of both parties, united only in prosecuting the war.

This refusal is justified by the radical difference on the subject of slavery. August 16th begins the bitter controversy on the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, when the sheriff of Kings County tried to get out of Fort Lafayette the Baltimore police commissioners, confined there under an order of General Banks, for treasonable action in Maryland. From this time it seems that the Republican papers, recently established in the county, are beginning to "strike back," for the editor is very indignant at being classed with the *Yonkers Herald* and *Highland Democrat* as "three penny-whistle, traitor sheets." He indignantly asks, "if all the men opposed to the Mexican War and that of 1812 were traitors?" and answers:

"No, we are not traitors. We admit that the secessionists forced the war on us. . . . But we hate Abraham Lincoln's principles. . . . We have exposed corruption wherever we have found it. . . . If this be treason, make the most of it. . . . If hatred of the Chicago platform be treason, we are traitors. So are three-fourths of our soldiers, and they would refuse to march a step if they thought that their loyalty was to be measured by such a standard. . . ."

Next week the White Plains paper, with the *Highland Democrat* and *Yonkers Herald*, were formally presented by the grand jury in the following terms:

THE PRESENTMENT.

"The Grand Jury of the county of Westchester, recognizing the existence of the war in which the country is now engaged, with an armed rebellion in a portion of the confederacy; and the necessity for its vigorous prosecution, until an honorable peace is conquered; and desirous of having public opinion so fixed, and individual action so shaped, in the hitherto loyal county of Westchester, in regard to the war, as to prevent breaches of the peace; feel it a duty to call the attention of all loyal citizens and the magistracy of the county to the importance of every one within its borders contributing every honorable effort to the sustaining of the Federal arm, in maintaining the supremacy of the laws of the land and in crushing out the *rebellion of the southern traitors*. They therefore admonish all citizens of the fact that in a state of war, international as well as local law declares the giving of aid and comfort to the enemies of a government, either by overt acts, in assisting its enemies, or by WRITINGS or PUBLICATIONS, tending to give such aid and comfort, the crime of *misprision of treason*, to be punished, on conviction, by imprisonment.

"The Grand Inquest of the county, having had brought to their attention sundry articles, which have appeared in newspapers, published within this county, *denying the justice of the war* in which we are engaged, *treating it as a party war*, and not involving in its issues the government itself and our national existence, and therein sympathizing with the traitors to the Republic, deem it proper, in conservation of the peace of the county, that the proprietors and editors of these papers should be by them publicly admonished of the great moral, if not legal, crime, in which, from partizan motives, they have been indulging, to the danger of the peace and quiet of the people, And, lest injustice should be done to loyal newspapers, the following journals are particularly designated as disseminators of doctrines which, in the existing state of things, tend to give aid and comfort to the enemies of the government, and to prevent a vigorous prosecution of the war, by which alone the supremacy of the government is to be maintained, and national peace and prosperity witnessed in the land.

"The *Yonkers Herald*, *Highland Democrat* and *Eastern State Journal* have, from the time of the issue of the President's Proclamation, immediately after the firing on Fort Sumter, steadily treated the war which has followed, in the extracts and articles they have published, as an *unholy and partizan war, unjustly commenced and prosecuted by the administration*. In so doing, it has evidently been their purpose to consolidate a party, by the aid of whose opposition and influence they might prevent enlistments and retard the successful prosecution of the war.

[Two New York City papers are further mentioned as circulating in the county, with similar doctrines and the presentment proceeds:]

"The Grand Jurors, therefore, invoke the attention of the District Attorney of this county to the prosecution of the editors and proprietors named, if hereafter, after this public notice of their evil course, they should persist in thus continuing to give aid and comfort to the enemies of the government, and they request him to certify and transmit a copy of this presentment to the United States District Attorney of the Southern District of New York, with a view to his commencing such proceedings thereon as the nature of the circumstances requires.

"STEPHEN LYON, *Foreman.*
"W. SWINBURNE, *Clerk.*"

This document naturally produced quite an excitement in the office of the *Eastern State Journal*, and the editor, being a White Plains man, living within a stone's throw of the court-house, and personally known to all the members of the grand jury, exerted himself to the utmost to get rid of the stain it produced on his reputation. He managed to get a letter from the foreman of the grand jury, which he published in his next week's paper, stating that he (the foreman) had voted against putting the *Eastern State Journal* on the list of papers presented, but that he had been outvoted and therefore had signed the presentment. Mr. Lyon, in thus letting out the secrets of the grand jury room, did what he could to save a neighbor by further saying that he was "one of nine" who voted to strike the *Journal* off the list. Next week the indefatigable editor managed to get two more men who were on the grand jury to say that *they* voted against the presentment, and as soon as this consummation was reached he burst out into indignant denunciation of the men who voted *for* it, as a "corrupt and debauched clique;" "curs who have snarled and snapped at our heels for years," who need "a sound kicking" for "besliming and befouling all they touch," while "their putrid breath so corrupts the air" that the editor can hardly draw his breath.

The presentment, however, had a marked effect on the tone of the paper for some weeks, for the next editorial conclusion on "what patriotism demands of party organization" in the crisis is that the Democrats should, in future, "stick together on local issues" and let the administration carry on the war without interference.

Next week the editor speaks of the "determined and loyal course of the President." After that he explains his motto in a different spirit; prints Union letters and speeches, in one of which a War Democrat declares "compromise impracticable;" and so the paper swims quietly along until the State election, at which Democrats are exhorted to "Stick to your party," "Vote the Democratic State Ticket," "Stand by the old party," "Don't be humbugged by the cry of no-partyism," "It is an old dodge," etc., etc. The result of the election—for Secretary of State and other officers, in the off year—giving the Republicans a majority of all they wished, with the first appearance of Judge Robertson in the capacity of State Senator, the editor finds comfort in the removal of Fremont—effected about the same time—which he assumes as a

mark of "proper respect to the sentiments of the Democracy of the North."

It would take us far beyond the limits of such a chapter as this to follow the course of political opinion at the county capital with any minuteness; but the tone of the *Eastern State Journal* grows stronger and stronger in opposition to the prosecution of the war during the year 1862, though the obnoxious "true sentiment" is dropped. There are no more articles openly abusing "Abolitionists;" but the paper sticks to the doctrine, as late as April 20, 1862, that "the general government has, even in war, no more power" to coerce a rebellious State "than the Constitution gives it," and therefore none to confiscate slaves or set them free. The abuse of "Abolitionists" is changed, as the summer goes on, to philippics on "lazy, mindless negroes," and predictions of a "San Domingo massacre" if the slaves of the South are ever freed. As the autumn comes on, however, the nomination of Horatio Seymour puts the editor on his feet again, and he begins to threaten the "Abolitionists" more boldly every day. In December he closes the year 1862 by referring to the coincidence of the Emancipation Proclamation of Mr. Lincoln and the election of Mr. Seymour to be Governor of New York as "The Two Proclamations." The one he concludes to be mere "waste paper, impossible of enforcement," while the other is "A proclamation that the State of New York is free once more." The lines "The Democracy Triumphant," "The Administration is not the Government," came out in every issue, and it is a noticeable fact that in this paper, as in the *Yonkers Herald-Gazette*, as the virulence of the tone increases, so does the pressure of the county advertising increase also, showing what powerful influences were behind the papers, in the shape of the county officers.

The extracts from the *Eastern State Journal* have been given in full, because, as appears above, a part of the grand jury thought it not quite disloyal enough to be included in the presentment, and therefore its tone can be taken as that of the more moderate Democrats who stayed at home during the war and voted for Horatio Seymour, as they did. The figures of the election in the county are rather against the assertion of the *Journal* that "three-fourths of the volunteers from the county were Democrats," for the vote cast for Seymour for Governor is seven thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, a decrease from the Presidential vote—given at the beginning of this section—of only two hundred and sixty votes, while the Republican vote is only five thousand five hundred and fifty-six, which is a decrease of one thousand one hundred and fifteen votes from that cast for the Lincoln electors two years before.

THE DRAFT RIOTS.—The most conspicuous incident in the home history of the county during the Civil War, after the election of Mr. Seymour, was the occurrence of the draft riots, which, beginning in the city of New York, partly spread into the county itself.

The troubles in the city began on Monday, July 13, 1863. The New York papers of that day record that the draft was begun on the previous Saturday, in the Twenty-second Ward, at No. 677 Third Avenue, and that "all was quiet, with plenty of good-natured joking at the names of the citizens as they were drawn." They also announce that the next place to be opened would be at the corner of Broadway and Forty-fifth Street, on Monday morning. Thus it will be seen that, as in the case of the Fort Sumter excitement, a serious action had taken place on Saturday and that the people had all Sunday to think over it. In the first case the result of the thought had been in the direction of patriotism; this time it was to be different, owing to the difference in the character of the individuals composing the two crowds. That of 1861 was raised down-town among men who were, for the most part, well educated and self-supporting, actuated by a sentiment in which nothing personal was contained. No matter what its object or action, the crowd which, in April, 1861, compelled the hanging out of the flag, was "a mob" to all intents and purposes. Its action, however, was marked by no single instance of violence, and it required no act from the persons at whom its anger was leveled beyond the simple "hanging out of the United States flag."

The mob of July, 1863, was of a very different character, and it began its work in districts high up-town, then chiefly occupied by squatters' shanties, pigs and goats. The men composing it were animated by no sentiment beyond escaping the draft in some manner, they knew not how. Their general ignorance made their action, from the first, one of unreasoning violence, quickly degenerating into murder, arson and rapine of all sorts.

Briefly catalogued, the first day's work was the burning of the provost marshal's offices, the destruction of the lists (under the idea that if they were once destroyed the draft could not be enforced), tearing up railroad tracks, cutting of telegraph wires, mobbing of individual soldiers found on the streets, murder of some of them, resistance to the police accompanied by murder, burning of an orphan asylum for colored children, burning and sacking of many private houses, hanging of negroes wherever they were to be found by the mob, attack on the counting-room of the *New York Tribune*, rescue of the same by a charge of police under Captain Thorne.

Second day: murder of Colonel O'Brien, of the Eleventh Regiment, when he was away from his troops, general control of the city by the mob, troops telegraphed for, fierce fighting by the police to maintain a semblance of order.

On this day Westchester County became involved in the disturbances. Crowds visited the enrolling offices of Morrisania and West Farms, tore up the en-

rolling lists, destroyed the telegraph offices at Williams' Bridge and Melrose, ripped up some rails on the New Haven and Harlem roads, near the Bronx River, had pickets on both roads as far as Mount Vernon to signal when a general attempt to tear up tracks might be safe, but were quieted in Morrisania and West Farms by appeals made by Supervisor Cauldwell and Mr. Pierre C. Talman. A telegraph operator on this day tried to put an instrument into a store at Hunt's Bridge, near Mount Vernon, but the proprietor was intimidated by a message from sympathizers with the mob, that, if the instrument was not removed, the store would be gutted. On this, the second day, there was a complete reign of terror, though no violence seems to have been committed in the county beyond the acts chronicled above.

On Wednesday evening a meeting was called in the town hall, at Tremont, which was heavily attended by the people of West Farms, Morrisania and the vicinity. This was presided over by Mr. John B. Haskin, and is fully reported in the *New York Herald* of Friday, till which time the notes of the reporter seem to have been crowded out in the pressure of other news. It may be remarked that the *Herald* reports of the incidents of the week seem the best to be found, the facts being given fully, without attempt to color them in either direction. The *Herald* report is here used,—

"Mr. Haskin, in taking the chair, said that:

"They had met in a crisis which required the greatest coolness and judgment on the part of the people. He hoped that the proceedings would be characterized, hereafter, as the conduct of honest and law-abiding citizens. That it was not their interest to uphold the Administration in the odious and unconstitutional Conscription Act (cheers), but there was a way to test it, in the courts. In his opinion, the act of 1792, providing for calling out the militia, was fully equal to the present emergency in the history of the Rebellion. That the men who made the Constitution passed that act, with the express object of giving power to raise the troops necessary in emergencies. When Mr. Lincoln made his first call, it was good enough for the purpose. Then the State had a Republican Governor. Now it had a Democratic governor, and the old law was worthless. The chief executive of the State was to be deprived of his power, that his duties might be transferred to government satraps, to execute the will of the irresponsible authorities at Washington (cheers). This was an insult to Mr. Seymour, and an insult to the loyal people who elected him (great cheers). If the Administration were afraid to trust the governor, afraid to trust the people of the State, it was a fresh proof of the imbecility of the men who now controlled the destiny of the Republic (cheers). He argued that the State courts must declare the act constitutional or unconstitutional, and by their decrees the Government must abide. Therefore, why this excitement? Their rights would be protected, their privileges maintained, no matter at what hazard or what cost (cheers). He referred to the exemption clause ($300.00) as being an invidious distinction between the rich and poor (Yes, yes). It was undemocratic, unwise, and he did not wonder that they objected to it. He preferred the old law, under which all classes bore equal responsibility (cheers). Our recent brilliant victories made it easy for volunteers to be raised, to put down the rebellion. Let the Government abandon the conscription act and throw itself on the patriotism of the people (great cheers). There were men enough to volunteer, good men, of their own free will. Such men would fight better, and be an honor to the service. He went on in this strain, for some time, and then denounced the rioters for robbery, and declared the hanging of inoffensive negroes a disgrace to the age in which we live. They ought rather to be protected, as the weak have a right to the protection of the strong. He was sure that this meeting did not approve of the burning of Orphan Asylums, be they for blacks or whites. There should be no distinction of nationalities, colors or races. Then the speaker denounced the excesses of Know-Nothingism bitterly, the audience applauding heartily. He alluded to General McClellan, who was cheered enthusiastically, and General Grant's name was also greeted with cheers, the news of Vicksburg being fresh at the time.

"Mr. Pierre C. Talman followed in a similar strain, expressing his confidence that the meeting before him would be the last people in the world to violate the laws. He reminded them that the abolitionist fanatics, who were rapidly losing their grip on the people, desired nothing better than to regain it, through the excesses of a mob. (Groans for the Abolitionists). But the workingmen of Westchester County were always ready for peace and the law (cheers). He animadverted on the exemption clause, as an odious distinction, and reminded them that the Governor (great cheers) wanted it tested in the State courts and declared unconstitutional (cheers). Then he denounced the excesses in New York, which, he said, were all committed by thieves, who had taken advantage of the excitement to disgrace the people. Mr. Talman was much applauded.

"During his speech, however, he was interrupted by a man, who asked if it was not true that Mr. Haskin had a negro in his employment and what right he had to keep one? Haskins got up at once and replied that he had such a man, the same who hoisted the first Union flag on Roanoke Island, that it was no one's business whether he kept an Irishman, German, Swede, Negro, or anybody else in his employment; that he intended to keep the man as long as he pleased. The statement was cheered and his questioner was silenced.

"This meeting adopted a set of resolutions, condemning the draft; expressing confidence in Horatio Seymour, in his efforts to get it declared unconstitutional; affirmed the judgment of the people of Morrisania and West Farms, that the act was unconstitutional, and deprecated mob violence. They appointed Messrs. Talman, G. W. Caldwell, Franklin W. Gilley, Thomas E. Sutton, John B. Haskin, John Kirby and Terence Kennedy, a committee, 'to wait on Moses G. Sheard, Esq., Federal Provost Marshal of the district,' to 'insist that the draft be stopped, till the State court could decide whether it was constitutional.'"

The proceedings of this meeting have been given in full because it was the most important occurrence in the county during the draft riots. The speakers managed the mass of ignorant and excited men, whom it was their task to quiet, with singular skill. They flattered them artfully with assurances that their opposition to the draft was all right; appealed to their self-respect in the most ingenious way, and the appointment of the committee ended the whole matter. The county was quiet thereafter, the more so that the same day, the return of the troops from Pennsylvania and the report of fierce fighting in the city, in which the mob was getting the worst of it, had a tendency to kill the idea that attempts at violence were to be made with safety.

In other parts of the county the disturbances went no further than aimless tumults, which resulted in no actual bloodshed as far as the facts can be ascertained. Mr. Thomas J. Byrne, the county enrolling officer at White Plains, was fired at on Monday evening as he was driving home, but returned the fire with a revolver and got away safe. His house was visited by a mob on Wednesday evening, after dark; the enrollment papers burned, the house sacked and his wife and two children forced to take refuge in the house of Mr. Edward Haight, for fear of violence. Mr. Byrne himself was away from home at the time or the consequences might have been more serious.—*New York Herald, summary of Friday.* On Wednesday the Hudson River train was stopped at Yonkers, the rails having been torn up between that place and the city, so that the Canadian mail had to be taken to New York on the boat. The citizens of Yonkers formed two

companies of Home Guards to keep property and life safe, but there was no serious disturbance. The arsenal was guarded day and night.

At Tarrytown a guard was also formed, and procured a cannon to overawe the mob, so that all was peaceful along the Hudson River. On the same day —Wednesday—there was very nearly being a serious disturbance in the town of East Chester, at the village of Mount Vernon, which illustrates the character of the ignorant prejudice, that culminated in such excesses as were committed in New York City.

A mob of men, from the quarries at the village of Tuckahoe, actually set out from that place, gathering recruits from the villages near them, armed with sticks, stones and any rude weapon they could lay their hands on, and took up their march for the village of Mount Vernon, with the avowed object of "burning down the houses of all the Republicans in the place." These ignorant men were probably excited by the accounts given in the city papers, of the way in which the same vengeance had been meted out to well-known Republicans in the city, one house having been actually burned down "because Horace Greeley once boarded there," as reported by *Tribune*, *Herald* and *World*. At all events, they started out, and the news reached Mount Vernon, where a Home Guard had been hastily formed of the citizens, who were much alarmed at the idea of being attacked, both from the city and the river. Volunteers were called for to reconnoitre the enemy; and a drummer-boy, home on sick furlough at the time, was found, who said he would go. A horse was furnished him, and he—boy-like—must needs put on his uniform and ride off. He met, about two miles from the village, coming out of the lane from Bronxville, towards Mount Vernon, a confused crowd of men, who stopped him and asked "where he was going." He replied "To Bronxville;" and asked in turn "Where are you going?" The reply was "We are going to raise hell." With that they began to throw stones at him and yell, so that he was glad to wheel the horse and gallop away. Probably the fact of his youth and apparent innocence saved him from serious harm, for no effort was made to pursue him, and he got off safe. Returning, and trying to take a short cut across the swamp towards Mount Vernon, he got his horse mired just behind the house of Mr. John G. Satterlee, afterwards known as "the Corson Place," and had to leave the animal and run the rest of the way to the village on foot. Preparations were made to receive the expected rioters by the Home Guards, who occupied two buildings, one being a cartridge factory on Fifth Avenue, near First Street. Towards the end of the afternoon the rioters made their appearance, but, in the mean time, they had been met by several prominent Democrats of the place, at a turn in the road, known as "Sageman's Corners," where they were induced to give up their design of actual arson, but were obstinate in their determination to march into Mount Vernon. They came down the White Plains road, where it runs into Fourth Avenue, Mount Vernon; threw stones at windows in First Street, at the corner of Fourth Avenue, and in Fourth Avenue itself; shouted, flourished sticks and yelled; but after marching a little way down First Street, turned back at the bridge over the New Haven track, known as "Scott's Bridge," and went away, dispersing to their homes.

Thus ended the last actual attempt at violence in the county of Westchester, of which any trace exists. The Mount Vernon affair is mentioned in none of the journals accessible at the time of writing, and the facts have been collected with considerable difficulty.

Two of the ringleaders of the mob, who marched at their head in Mount Vernon, were recognized by one of the witnesses, but it is not necessary at this late date to mention their names. One is since dead; the other was, for several years after the war, a town official and one of the best-natured of men at ordinary times. The whole history of the little fracas shows the state of excitement into which the more ignorant people of the county were worked by the inflammatory appeals of the papers opposed to the war, and how nearly the county was disgraced by bloodshed. Men, who at other times would not have harmed a kitten, were frenzied with imaginary wrongs and ready for any violence, short of actual murder. That they were not ready for that, save under strong provocation, is shown by the fact that they spared the rash little drummer-boy, who actually rode into the midst of them *in uniform*.

His horse was struck by a few stones, but they could not have seriously intended to hurt the boy, or they could have done so when they had him in their power, through his own ignorance of the duty of a scout. His name was Joseph H. Porter, and he afterwards enlisted in the Thirteenth New York Cavalry, from New York City, and served to the close of the war. His statements are corroborated, as to the behavior of the rioters in Mount Vernon itself, by Mr. Donald Ferguson, of Mount Vernon, Mr. A. B. Kitson, one of the Home Guard, now a resident of Boston, Mass., and others.[1]

[1] The above account of the part taken by the draft rioters at Mount Vernon has been obtained with considerable difficulty, on account of the lapse of time since the events occurred, and the indisposition of most citizens of the place to speak of what they considered a disgrace to the village.

The main facts—that a mob was organized near Tuckahoe, with the object of riot and arson at Mount Vernon; that the mob actually marched to the village; passed through First (or Front) St., and retired without doing any damage of consequence; and that their arrival was signaled by a rash little drummer boy—seem to be fully established.

The Home Guards, as I learn from one of the surviving members, first organized on Tuesday afternoon, and elected William H. H. Barker their captain. They expected an attack in the night, and threw out pickets towards Scott's Bridge, at the foot of Eleventh Avenue, in Mount Vernon, the main body remaining at Hoole's shop, in the village. The pickets remained out all night and came in at daylight on Wednesday morning, when the whole force was dismissed, the danger being judged

From the Riots to the Close of the War.—The suppression of the draft riots in New York City, the capture of Chattanooga, and the general advance of the Armies of the Potomac and the West, in the spring of 1864, had their influence in Westchester County to effect a change in the conduct of the leading papers. In Yonkers, in particular, this change was judged so necessary that, on the 7th of May, the editor of the *Herald*, of that town, formally resigned his place, and the *Herald* passed into the control of a stock company, known as the "Yonkers Democratic Publishing Association," under which the paper (which seems, from the farewell of the editor, to have been in a far from flourishing condition) was carried on to the close of the war. Its tone, under the new control, is no longer one of open hostility to the prosecution of the war, but deals chiefly in personal attacks on Mr. Lincoln, on account of his "frivolous nature" and "buffoonery." On the 21st of May, 1864, the celebrated forged proclamation of Joe Howard and the suppression of the copies of the *World* and *Journal of Commerce*, which contained them, are noticed, with much outcry for the "liberty of the press." The split in the Republican party, threatened by the nomination of Fremont, under the inspiration of Gratz Brown (who afterwards ran with Horace Greeley, in 1872, on the Democratic ticket), is noticed, with unconcealed hopes of a favorable issue for the Democracy.

The cry of "corruption" was thus raised in the same issue of the paper,—

"The stench of official corruption in Washington at this moment is ranker than that even arising from the thousands of unburied bodies of horses and men, that strew the soil of Virginia. There may have been corruption under previous administrations; but under that of 'honest old Abe' it is positively frightful."

On the 28th the *Yonkers Herald* wants General Dix punished "by damages in a civil action," since he "cannot be reached by the State courts, or court-martial," for having closed the *World* and *Journal of Commerce*, because there is "no hope in Congress"—it is "too thoroughly servile." "No Senate, in the corruptest days of Rome, registered every decree of its military tyrant with more slavish alacrity than is displayed by the administration majority in fulfilling the will of Abraham Lincoln."

Noticing the nomination of Lincoln at the regular Republican Convention, the *Yonkers Herald* remarks:

"Another four years of 'Honest old Abe' would leave nothing but the shadow of a Republic on the American continent." It thanks the *Eastern State Journal* and *Highland Democrat* for the welcome extended by them to the paper under its new management. On the 4th of June the name of the paper is changed to the *Gazette* (under which it still exists) and a great "boom" begins in the advertising columns, from the quantity of county advertising thrown in, as in the case of the *Eastern State Journal*, by the county officials. On the same day begins a series of controversies with the *Yonkers Statesman*, formerly the *Examiner*, the leading Republican newspaper of the county, with regard to accusations against the *Gazette* of "disloyalty." The extract is,—

"We confess to the smallest possible amount of respect for Republican professions of 'loyalty,' or Republican charges of 'disloyalty.' The word is not American, nor Republican even—here it originally expressed the treasonable attachment of the loyal Tories to George the Third, in his wanton war against American liberty; and, as now used, it generally means partisan devotion to Abraham Lincoln, not in resistance to a Southern Rebellion, but in a would-be second war on the liberties of American citizens."

June 11th comes the notice of the Democratic Convention being called by August Belmont, on which the editor exhorts his readers that "Civil liberty cannot survive another term of Abraham Lincoln." Next week comes an article on "Reconstruction," from which we extract,—

"What is the political relation of the rebellious States to the Union? Have their own acts and ordinances taken them out of it, as they themselves claim? If not, has the President, or Congress even, the right to expel States from the Union? If these States are still members of the Union, can new States be carved out of them without their own consent, against the prohibition of the Constitution on that head? On some of these points we entertain very decided opinions, which we refrain, however, from expressing in this article."

From thence, through July and August, the *Gazette* is much exercised at the "progress of military despotism" in regard to the suppression of the bogus proclamation, and especially when the New York grand jury, appealed to by Judge Russell to investigate in the matter, considers it "inexpedient to enquire into the action of the general government as to certain newspapers in this city." The *Gazette* calls on the judge to summon another grand jury, and on Oakey Hall, the district attorney, to do his best to

over for the time. When the mob really came, the few men who were at the cartridge factory and elsewhere were not regularly organized.

The route of the mob to the village was down the extension of Fourth Avenue, and when they had made their short march they went to Gould's Hotel, where they consumed a great deal of liquor. They were dissuaded from fighting by prominent citizens of the place, among whom the names of Judge Stevens, Judge Pemberton, George Gould and Darius Lyon are mentioned, as the men who really saved Mount Vernon from a bloody riot.

As the rioters came along, they pressed into the service every man they met on the road.

On their return they passed by the houses of John G. Satterley and John F. Jarvis, who then resided at what was afterwards known as "The Corson Place." Part of them were on foot and part driving in all sorts of vehicles. Part had guns or pistols, a few old swords, but the majority had nothing but clubs made out of fence pickets. In front of Mr. Satterley's house, and in plain sight of Mr. Jarvis's, they had a drunken fight, in which some shots were fired, of which more than one struck the porch pillars of Mr. Satterley's house. A club, in the course of this fight, was thrown over Mr. Satterley's fence into his garden, and was kept, for some years after, by the family, as a relic of the draft riots.

The witnesses examined by me, in investigating the affair, unite in their stories as to the above facts.

They are Mr. A. B. Kitson, of 37 South St., Boston, Mass. (then a member of the Mount Vernon Home Guards); Mrs. Higgins, of Mount Vernon (at the time of riot Miss Eva Satterley); Mrs. John G. Satterley, her mother; Mr. John F. Jarvis, of Mount Vernon; and Mr. Joseph H. Porter, the drummer-boy of the story, who afterwards entered the 13th N. Y. Cavalry and served to the close of the war.

Mr. John G. Satterley died a few years since.

secure a conflict between the State of New York and the United States on the subject, saying,—

"We sincerely trust the authorities of the state will not be intimidated by this declaration of war upon them by Mr. Lincoln. Let it be made known to him that he cannot play the dictator over the people and laws of the State of New York, or let us prepare for worse than Austrian slavery."

From this time to the middle of September the *Gazette* is occupied with definitions of principles, such as this: "He who avows that he is not for the Union, without conditions, is disunionist, let him be Abraham Lincoln or Jefferson Davis. . . . The only Union man is he who is for the Union, *without* conditions." There are also a number of stories about the "branding" of United States recruits, which are repeated from week to week, with the obvious intention of discouraging ignorant men from enlisting.

As the election approaches, the *Gazette* becomes more and more pronounced in its appeals to the people in favor of slavery, such as this:

"The Difference.—The Democratic Platform is, the Union at all hazards; the Republican Platform is, Abolition at all hazards. The difference between the candidates, Lincoln is for the Union, without slavery; McClellan is for the Union, with or without slavery; Lincoln is for the Union on certain conditions; McClellan, at all hazards; Lincoln has been tried and found wanting; McClellan has always shown himself equal to the emergency. With this brief and intelligent view of the merits of the present contest, no thinking man will hesitate regarding how or where his vote shall be cast."

From henceforth (October 1, 1864) to election the paper is full of reports of mass-meetings, political advertising and appeals to voters to "Register, register," till November 13th, when the conclusion is, "The grand old Democratic party of the State of New York yields the battle-field, covered with all the glory a nobly contested struggle can confer upon it." A touch of humor is conferred on this issue of the paper by a glance at the advertising column, exactly opposite to the editorial. The advertisement is as follows:

"The Re-election of ABRAHAM LINCOLN, and
The election of ANDREW JOHNSON, and
The UNIVERSAL UNION TRIUMPH will be celebrated in Yonkers, Tuesday evening, November 15th, by a TORCHLIGHT PROCESSION and ILLUMINATION. All UNION men and LOYAL citizens are cordially invited to take a share in the celebration. Yonkers, Nov. 9, 1864.

"N. P. Otis, *Sec.* John V. Paddon, *Chairman.*"

The *Gazette* subsides after this till December 3d, when a sermon is preached, from which we cull:

"Charity.

"The meddlesome notions of New England Puritanism . . . found a congenial topic in the slavery question, and decreed, at an early day, that there should no longer be peace on earth or good will among men unless the negroes were emancipated. . . . The full fruits of such teachings are just now visible in the want of charity manifested by the supporters of Mr. Lincoln's administration towards their political opponents. Differences of opinion . . . are made the subject . . . of unjust charges of disloyalty and treason to the country. . . . This bitterness and uncharity are a stain on the national character. They constitute a state of feeling discreditable to charitable people and which deserves the severest condemnation. For the credit of our common humanity, we wish there were less of it prevalent among us."

December 24th the *Gazette* says:

"Any President, not wedded to a line of policy which he knows the South will never acquiesce in,—the abolition of slavery,—would see that it is just the time to extend the olive-branch of peace"; but announces, with great relief, that the "Yonkers quota is at last filled." Great troubleseems to have existed on this point of quotas during the year, for there are frequent appeals to the "rich men of Yonkers to come forward, especially those that have not been drafted, and help the rest to buy substitutes." This is especially the case in the issue of June 18th, when the drafts were threatened.

February 4, 1865, records the passage of the constitutional amendment against slavery with a great lamentation as being "irritating to the South." February 11th records the fact that "in the Legislature of this State the Democrats all voted against the adoption of the amendment."

February 18th, comes the following:

"If McClellan had been elected, the *Albany Argus* truthfully says, the people of the South, who long for peace, would have been looking as eagerly for the Fourth of March as the Democrats of the North. General McClellan would have treated with the States of the Confederacy, separately, for a return to the Union; would have appealed to the people; would have concerted with the generals of the Confederacy to detach their armies from the dynasty at Richmond."

March 11th the paper rejoices over the rejection by New Jersey, Delaware and Kentucky of the Constitutional Amendment, and hopes that one more State will follow their example, so as to make the adoption impossible.

The quota continues to be a subject of grave anxiety, and the fact is noticed that Yonkers has spent $195,000 in town bonds, with $144,000 in county bonds, in filling the different quotas.

April 8th, "Richmond is ours at last." The paper wants a "magnanimous peace and amnesty." Notes the fact that "three hundred millions have been paid out in four months to bounty jumpers," and that "only two hundred thousand of the half million called out in July, 1864, have reached the field."

April 15th, "Praise God from whom all blessings flow." "Stop the draft." Very bitter flings at Jefferson Davis, in a burlesque proclamation.

April 22d comes a sudden change. "The National Bereavement." The assassination of Mr. Lincoln is referred to thus: "The darkest crime that ever occurred in the history of this nation has been committed, and forever after will leave a foul blot on its pages . . . Party lines are obliterated in the presence of the nation's dead. . . . He has been removed when we least could afford to lose him . . . Our beloved President . . . His well-known kindness of heart. . . ."

The editor, in commenting on the assassination, admits that it "might have been a wise move at the beginning of the war or during the darker days of the struggle;" but regrets it as being so "foolish and useless" at the moment when it occurred. He pleads for mercy to the South, and so closes the connection of the *Yonkers Gazette* with the history of the war in Westchester County.

There was quite a little excitement after the close of hostilities, when every one was hastening, like the editor of the *Gazette*, to add his kick to the fallen Davis, as to a plot to blow up the Croton Dam, which was alleged to have been seriously considered in Canada under the orders of the notorious Jake Thompson.

A man who claimed to be a government spy, and who passed by the aliases of James Watson Wallace and Sanford Conover, in his testimony in Washington, swore to having had conversations with the aforesaid Jake in January, 1865, concerning this and other plots.

Later in the year (July, 1865), in the *Toronto Globe*, appeared a letter from this same Wallace or Conover, in which he, on 20th March of that year, makes to Thompson the proposition to have the dam destroyed, on the ground that "one of my aunts, a Virginia lady, an enemy of everything Yankee, owns the land on which the dam is built, and her residence and out-buildings are only a few rods from the abutments of the work. This will afford you some idea of the facilities we have at command to accomplish our object. The necessary men for the business are engaged."

This letter appears to be genuine and shows on its face that it was a mere decoy to get Thompson to answer explicity that he *approved* such a scheme. Instead of this, the man who took him the letter swears that he said: "Is the man mad? Is he a fool?" and tabooed the whole proposition.

The scheme, as hatched by the United States detective, was an ingenious one, to make Thompson think the project of blowing up the Croton Dam a feasible one, but, as a serious measure, it never had any existence, outside of the brain of the detective.

THE AID SOCIETIES.—We have noticed, under the head of the "Two Years' Volunteers," the patriotic manner in which all parties joined, in Port Chester, in the effort to avert suffering from the families of the first company that went from the county. Other towns were by no means idle in the good work; but it is much to be regretted that the records of these societies have, for the most part, perished, and that particulars of names and of the work done are not accessible.

The local papers from which they might be gleaned have for the most part perished, the editors keeping no regular files; and the references to Westchester County in the city papers are few and far between. From the *New York Herald* of August 17, 1861, we learn, by an item, that the town of Bedford held a fair on the 16th, under the auspices of the ladies of Katonah, in which Judge Robertson auctioned off the goods, and read a letter from Mrs. Lincoln, stating that she had presented the "Havelocks" sent from Katonah to the Second, Ninth, Twenty-seventh and Tammany Regiments, and that they had been received "thankfully and with cheers."

The town of Cortlandt, thanks to the care of Mr. Coffin S. Brown, who was supervisor at the time, has preserved the names of the members of the first society raised in that town, April 27, 1861. The officers of this, which was denominated the "Soldiers' Relief Association," were: President, Mrs. Daniel Jones; Secretary, Miss Amelia B. Mills; Treasurer, Miss Sarah Taylor. The committee to raise funds was;—Mrs. John B. Mills, Mrs. Conrad Quin, Mrs. Edward Mills, Mrs. Joseph Mason, Misses Amanda Wright and Augusta Taylor. This association held weekly meetings throughout the war, sent out large supplies of lint, bandages, clothing and supplies for the Sanitary and Christian Commissions, and otherwise did noble work, being one of those bands of noble women in the Northern States who, together, managed to raise the sum of *seventeen millions of dollars*, by strictly voluntary contributions, for those great charitable societies.

No record is accessible of the work done by this Cortlandt committee; but in this, as in all else, Port Chester sets a good example, by the careful way in which her papers were preserved by Mr. Marshall, the treasurer.

These records, already referred to, under the topic of the two years' volunteers, show that the first fervor of patriotism required much stimulation to keep it at a comfortable point. The first week's work in Port Chester left the treasurer with a balance of over two hundred dollars to distribute; but the next, in spite of new contributions, the fund sunk to eighty dollars, and the Tituses, father and son, seem to have had to stir themselves to get subscriptions. By the 4th of June the balance rose to a hundred and eighty dollars; on the 8th, Mr. S. K. Satterlee appears to have taken up the business of collecting, for he brought in two hundred and six dollars in a lump, all of which was paid out the same day, for the families of soldiers, or to the military committee for expenses of recruiting. The balance sunk, by the 7th of July, to seventeen dollars and ninety cents, the payments made being in small sums to wives or parents of soldiers, on a weekly allowance, scaled according to the number of mouths to feed. The low state of the fund seems to have started the committee to work again raising subscriptions, for, on the 8th, the balance rose to two hundred dollars, brought in by members of the committee. During the rest of the month the debit side of the treasurer's cash account is empty, while the drafts for families are unceasing till the 20th of July, from which time to the 23d there was a stream of subscriptions, attesting the way in which the news of the disaster at Bull Run (July 21st) had waked up Port Chester. The end of the month left the balance, in spite of the same drafts as usual, $333.63, which was increased, on the 11th of August, by fifty dollars from George Cornell and five dollars from William P. Abendroth. John Palmer is credited, August 20th, with fifty dollars; September 12th, John A. Merritt gave a hundred dollars; but these are the only items worthy of particular notice, and the aspect of the account was by no means encouraging—the givers being few, while the wives of soldiers, on the other side of the page, increased in number, as the weeks went on and the war progressed. By the 25th of September the balance sunk to sixty-six dollars. All the efforts of the committee to increase the subscriptions seem to have been useless, for the debit side of "cash" continued to grow smaller and smaller, till, by the 5th of October, 1861, it sunk to its lowest point during the war, *seven dollars and eighty-nine cents*. This state of things excited the committee to redoubled exertions, and they raised one hundred and fifty dollars next day; but by the end of the month, in spite of this and two hundred more, the balance on hand was only twenty dollars and forty-nine cents.

The committee was reaching the limits when such work was a proper measure for the relief of the families of volunteers. By the end of the year the fact is revealed that the members had raised, by voluntary subscription, in the village of Port Chester, the sum of $3289.25, and had expended, for relief, $3215.57, almost of all which was given in sums of from three to six or seven dollars per week. During the early months of 1862 the amounts contributed for the relief increased notably, and especially do the names of the donors increase in number, every member of the committee seeming to have been hard at work, while other people were inspired by them to "go and do likewise," so that the balance never fell below a hundred dollars, and was generally nearer two hundred,

in spite of increasing appeals for help. At the close of the "voluntary period," as it may be called, when the system of helping the families of volunteers gave way to the juster and more practical method of relief by town and county bonds, the record shows that there had been raised, in Port Chester, $4403.75, of which the balance remaining on hand, when the first bonds were received, was $218.53—a result that shows, even at the present day, when the paper is yellow with age, the ink faded and brown, that the hearts of the people of Port Chester, in the persons of their relief committee, were in the right place during the war.

But the time had come when this system of relief was to give way to another. On the 1st of September, 1862, came the first town bonds, into the hands of the committee, and with them, alas! the first token of that "bounty system," which was to do more to degrade the name of the American soldier than anything that occurred in the whole course of the war. The account of this change brings us naturally to the facts on record, in regard to the cost of the war to the county, made necessary by the unconcealed aversion of a part of the people to engage in a struggle from which the romance had departed, and where nothing remained but the grim reality of death, to be faced as best the heart might be found therefor.

The work of the Union Defense Committees, therefore, gave way to that of the "Ladies' Aid Societies" and the "Councils" of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions, whose sphere of action was different. I am glad here to give a specimen of what that sphere was, by the final report of the Sing Sing Council, which has come into my hands since the above was written. This report is dated 27th of July, 1865, after the return of most of the volunteers, and we extract as follows:

"This Association commenced its labors the 27th of April, 1861, just four years and three months ago. Since that period they have received $3766.88 from donations, festivals, church collections, lectures, &c., and the Sanitary Commission Sociables. These sociables sent in $129 by their treasurer, Miss Hubbell. They have expended $3378.09, leaving a surplus of $388.79. It must be remembered that nearly an equal amount has been given in garments, materials and hospital stores, and during the past year, also, the Christian Commission has had in active operation a Society in this village, sending constantly to the front supplies of clothing and hospital stores. Taking all this into consideration, Sing Sing has great reason for congratulation that the cry for help fell not on unheeding ears, and that her children have not been weary of well doing. The number of garments sent away exceed 9000. Several pieces of muslin were sent away by the Woman's Central Association to be made up; and when after battles the calls were urgent, efficient help was rendered by the ladies of New Castle, Pine's Bridge and Pleasantville. It would occupy too much time and space to thank all who have aided in this noble work, but the managers must express their grateful obligations to the clergy of the village for their co-operation and hearty good-will, and also to the editors of the two papers who have constantly published all their reports and notices free of expense. They also desire heartily to thank Messrs. Tallcot and Burrhus for the use of the rooms for several years. Since the commencement of this society three active and useful managers—Mrs. Neff, Mrs. Weston and Mrs. Truesdell—have entered into their rest. Their associates gratefully recall their labors and pleasant companionship. . . While unfeignedly grateful to their Heavenly Father that war has ended and peace dwells again in the land, it is with saddened hearts that the managers recall the thought that they will never again meet as a Soldiers' Aid Society. . . The great motive for labor, which united them and caused so close a bond, has passed away. The many pleasant and painful associations are things of the past. . . United in our common Christian work, we can never in after days forget the bond of union that kept us together during the four years of the war.

"(Signed by) Mrs. Jesse Ryder, first directress; Mrs. Pentz, second directress; Mrs. J. M. Smith, third directress; Mrs. J. Van Wyck, fourth directress; and Mmes. Van Hoesen, J. S. King, G. Brandreth, Dr. Provost, Cunningham, Howsley, L. Miller, Campbell, Marsland, Woodruff, Barnes, C. Smith, Benjamin and McCord, and Misses Sing, Ryder, Ludlum and Snowden.

"List of articles sent from Sing Sing Union Relief Association from the spring of 1861 to July 25, 1865:—1080 flannel shirts, 501 flannel drawers, 581 cotton shirts, 57 double gowns, 53 Canton flannel bedgowns, 982 pairs of socks, 58 pairs of mitts, 171 havelocks, 12 pairs Canton flannel drawers, 15 blankets, 92 quilts, 505 sheets, 84 surgical shirts, 472 towels, 1363 pocket-handkerchiefs, 200 pillow-cases, 61 bed-ticks, 371 pairs of slippers, 64 pairs cotton drawers, 336 needle-books, 123 eye-shades, 62 arm-slings, 218 ring-pads, 98 hop-pillows, 18 napkins, 17 pillow-ticks, 96 pillows, 88 sets of bandages rolled, 800 bandages, 24 flannel bandages, 8 caps, 3 cravats, 43 old linen shirts, 105 packages lint (large bags mostly), 37 packages old muslin, 86 packages old linen, 2 pieces new muslin for bandages, 63 neck comforters, 3 coats, 2 pairs pantaloons, 1 jacket, 1 vest, 6 packages half-worn garments, 12 bbls. dried apples, 2 bbls. pickles, 20 jars pickles, 1 bbl. wine, 4 bbls. hospital stores, 4 boxes ditto, 1 box claret, 1 box whiskey, 6 boxes jelly, 4 demijohns wine, 1 demijohn brandy, 250 bottles wine, with fruits, preserves, farina, corn starch, arrow-root, spices, tea, coffee, cocoa, chocolate, sardines, tobacco, bay rum, oatmeal, crackers, bologna sausages, 1000 packages magazines, papers and books, and 200 books.

"MRS. CATHERINE E. VAN CORTLANDT,
"*Secretary and Treasurer.*"

THE BOUNTY BONDS.—The first burden which was officially taken on itself by the county of Westchester during the war came in the shape of bonds issued by the Board of Supervisors under the provisions of an act passed by the Legislature March 1, 1862, "to relieve the families of volunteers in the field." The amount issued was fifty thousand dollars, which was placed in bonds of varying amounts, bearing seven per cent. interest; issued to the supervisors of the different towns for sale, the proceeds to be expended in relief to the families, in much the same manner as that adopted by the Port Chester Volunteer Committee. The amounts issued to the different towns varied from twenty-five hundred dollars, or less, to ten thousand, according to population. The last of these bonds was paid off in the year 1867.

From this time the county took no further action, in regard to the war, till July 27, 1864, when, in consequence of the drafts, the increasing claims of the bounty jumpers and the difficulty the towns found in floating their bounty bonds, the burden was assumed by the county, as it had been in the relief of volunteers, in 1862. The sum of five hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars was raised in county bonds; distributed to the supervisors of the towns, as in the case of the first set of relief bonds, the rate of interest being seven per cent.; the principal payable in periods ranging from twelve to sixteen years. The first hundred of these bonds was cancelled at the end of the year 1876, and the last sixty-two in April, 1881. The amount raised *all went to answer a single call* for troops; and, when the next one came, the State was obliged to step in to help the towns, which

actually made money on the difference between the bounties they paid and the amount awarded them by the State.

In a sketch necessarily so brief and fragmentary as this must be, on account of the small space given and the magnitude and number of the events to be treated, it would be superfluous to give a detailed account of all the sums paid out in the county. The annals of a single town will serve as a specimen of the way in which the money was raised and expended, the table at the end of this section giving the total for the county.

The town of Cortlandt—then one of the largest in the county—raised, in the year 1862, $20,000 for bounties, of which $16,795 was expended, and 324 men sent out—an excess of 13 over the town quota. In October, 1863, the town raised $14,000 more, besides sums paid by substitutes, and sent out its quota of 116 men. In February, 1864, it raised $35,000 to send out 73 men. In March, 1864, $20,000 was used to send out 49 men, with $5000 more, paid by drafted men for substitutes. In July, 1864, the town received, from the county bonds already mentioned, $107,800; raised $15,375 in town bonds; assessed the drafted men in the sum of $10,595, with a further sum of $30,175, which the drafted men themselves paid, making their own bargains, and thus managed to fill the town quota of 219 men. The total cost of this draft is estimated at $164,500, or thereabout. On the last call, made after the re-election of Mr. Lincoln, 100 men were furnished at a cost of $60,000, but the town received from the State an amount sufficient to leave it a gainer of about $7000, that being the excess of the State money furnished for bounties.

The history of all the towns, during the war, shows how, as the needs of the contest slowly but surely increased, what had been left, at first, to individual patriotism, was gradually shifted, first on the towns, then on the county, finally on the State.[1]

The facts shown by the enormous expenditure, in contrast with the number of men actually sent to the front, are also very instructive as to the way in which the political disturbances that marked the county and a part of the Northern States during the war increased the cost and made the victory more difficult of achievement. The price of substitutes steadily rose as the election of 1864 approached, while the last draft, after the contest was settled, was effected without difficulty and left some of the towns actual gainers by the affair.

It is further worthy of remark, though this is outside of a local history, that the substitutes, obtained at a cost of from five to six hundred dollars a man, seldom went to the front at all, but remained at home, breeding that odious class of men denominated "bounty-jumpers," who drifted from regiment to regiment, and from broker to broker, till the figures of men enlisted into the United States service, on paper, must probably be diminished by at least one-third, if not one-half, to allow for the number of re-enlistments and desertions.

This part of the history of the county is one in which few of its citizens can take much pride, and, to explain it, we must go to such records as exist of the state of political feeling in the county, as shown by the columns of its political organs, already referred to.

A summary of the figures in the town of Cortlandt shows that it cost, to send out each man who was enlisted, as follows: In 1861, nothing; in 1862, $51.82 per man; in 1863, $120.70 per man, from the town, with a probable hundred more from each drafted man for a substitute; in 1864, an average of $519.60 per man, before election; and nothing for the last draft, in which the cost fell on the State, and the towns were gainers to the extent of about $70 per man enlisted.

The Return of the Volunteers.—From the moment that General Lee surrendered his army, at Appomattox Court-House, the thoughts of the volunteers in the field were turned, with a unanimity seldom seen in the history of war, towards the homes they had left so readily at the beginning of the contest, at the call of their country.

The impatience became so great, after the final collapse of the Rebellion, when Johnston and Kirby Smith had surrendered, that the men in the field could hardly be kept by the colors, for the necessary purposes of police; breaking out into open mutiny in some instances, when it was proposed to put them into the regular army; indignantly spurning the idea that they were professional soldiers at all; demand-

[1] The following table, taken from the reports of the supervisors of the county, made to the State Bureau of Military Statistics, shows the total amount of money paid out by the towns and the county itself, during the war, for war purposes.

The towns of Bedford, Cortlandt, East Chester, Greenburgh, Harrison, Lewisborough, Mamaroneck, Morrisania, Mount Pleasant, New Castle, New Rochelle, North Castle, North Salem, Ossining, Pelham, Poundridge, Rye, Scarsdale, Somers, Westchester, Yonkers and Yorktown paid out: For town bounties, $2,459,697.79; for fees and expenses, $26,462.94; for interest on loans, $199,658.67; for principal of loans, $764,585.30; for support of families of volunteers, $73,732.35; making total expended for war purposes, $3,524,137.05.

The county paid for the same items the sum of $1,347,235.76. The towns of West Farms and White Plains made no report and are not, therefore, included in the above summary.

The towns and county together thus expended, for war purposes, the total sum of $4,871,372.81, or very nearly five millions of dollars. Of this sum, the county and towns received from the State Paymaster General in cash, $172 450.00; in State bonds, $458,600.00; and for interest on State bonds, $4862.49; a total of $635,912.49; thus leaving the actual expense to the towns and county, $4,235,460.32.

The reports on which the above table is founded were made as follows: Bedford, January, 1868; Cortlandt, December, 1866; East Chester, October, 1866; Greenburgh, February, 1866; Harrison, December, 1865; Lewisborough, January, 1868; Mamaroneck, December, 1865; Morrisania, December, 1866; Mount Pleasant, February, 1868; Newcastle, July, 1865; New Rochelle, March, 1866; North Castle, March, 1866; North Salem, January, 1868; Ossining, December, 1865; Pelham, June, 1868; Poundridge, October, 1866; Rye, December, 1865; Scarsdale, June, 1866; Somers, October, 1866; Westchester, November, 1866; Yonkers, March, 1867; Yorktown, December, 1865; Westchester County, December, 1865.

ing, now that their work had been done, that they should be discharged and sent home as soon as possible.

The different regiments and organizations from Westchester County were in the same category with the rest, and their history, to the time they returned home, is revealed by the official records of the State.

COMPANY B, OF THE SEVENTEENTH REGIMENT, the banner company of the county, from Port Chester, served its term of two years, and was mustered out on the 3d of June, 1863; the recruits, enlisted for three years, after the company was in the field, being transferred to the Twelfth Regiment New York Volunteers. This regiment, being also a two years' organization, had already been mustered out; but the recruits for three years, with a part of the Twelfth New York Militia, with which it had been consolidated February 3, 1862, were formed into a battalion, which, in its turn, was mustered into the Fifth New York Veteran Volunteers on the 2d of June, 1864. The whole force remained in the service till finally mustered out August 21, 1865.

The next organization in rank is that part of the FOURTH NEW YORK CAVALRY recruited at Yonkers by Captain Parnell. On the expiration of the original term of service the regiment was mustered out, and the re-enlisted men, with the later recruits, consolidated with the Ninth New York Cavalry, February 27, 1865, under the name of Companies B, E and L, of that regiment; with which it remained to the close of the war, being mustered out July 17, 1865.

The FIFTH BATTERY LIGHT ARTILLERY, remarkable as being the only place where the name of a Mount Vernon man appears as having been an original member, was retained in the service till July 6, 1865, when it was also mustered out.

The FIRST REGIMENT MOUNTED RIFLES was consolidated with the Third New York Cavalry July 21, 1865, the whole force being known as the Fourth Provisional New York Cavalry. This regiment remained in the service till finally mustered out, on the 29th of November, 1865.

The SIXTH HEAVY ARTILLERY, being a three years' regiment, was mustered out June 25, 1865; but the re-enlisted veterans and the recruits whose terms were not yet out were formed into a battalion of four companies. The remaining members of the Tenth and Thirteenth Regiments of artillery, in the same condition, were added to the Sixth two days after; and the whole force remained in service till August 24, 1865, when they were finally mustered out.

The SIXTEENTH (SPRAGUE LIGHT) CAVALRY closes the history of the connection of the county with the war. This force was consolidated with the Thirteenth New York Cavalry June 23, 1865, the consolidated regiment being known as the Third Provisional New York Cavalry, under which name it was mustered out September 21, 1865.

THE ROLL OF THE DEAD.—I regret much that there is no reliable official record accessible of the names of men, *bona fide* residents of the different towns in the county, who enlisted therefrom and died in the service. In some towns the patriotism of the people in charge secured such a record; but even then the papers are, in too many cases, cast aside in a mass of rubbish, impossible of extrication.

The following names are given from the town of Cortlandt, on the authority of Post Abraham Vosburgh, of Peekskill, No. 95, Department of New York, G. A. R.

Harris Light Cavalry, Company F.

Sergeant Thomas McCutcheon, killed in action at Culpeper, Va., October, 1863; Private William Haines, killed in action at Brandy Station, on the same day, during the advance from Rappahannock Station; and Privates George Archer and Delancey Cole, died in hospital and in Belle Isle Prison, respectively. [None of these names are in the *first* muster-rolls of this regiment].

Sixth Heavy Artillery.

Colonel J. Howard Kitching, died of wounds received at Cedar Creek, October 19, 1864. The G. A. R. Post, at Yonkers, is named, after him, "Kitching Post, No. 60, Department of New York, G.A.R." Killed in action: Sergeant William H. Lent, Petersburg; Corporal Henry M. Gillett, Cedar Creek: Privates P. Corne Cruger, David A. Lent, Cedar Creek; William Fitzgerald, James Moriarty, Alexander Soper, James Christian, George Bradley—all at Petersburg; Frederick Young, Abram A. Wood, Washington Van Scoy and John Foley at Spottsylvania, May 19, 1864. Died in hospital: Corporal Theodore Garrison; Privates John Conklin, Frank Bleakley, John Henry Lent and Abraham Lent; Private John Terbush died at home from disease contracted in the army. First Lieutenant Richard Montgomery Gilleo, died at home, on sick leave; Private Charles Conklin was killed at Po River, Va., May 12, 1864.

Hawkins' Zouaves, Ninth New York Volunteers.

Color-Sergeant William Patterson, killed at Antietam with the colors, September 17, 1862. Died in hospital: Privates William Van Houten, Rosier Garrison, John Bennet, G. W. Wilcox, from wounds.

Nineteenth New York Volunteers.

Privates George Dykman, James Free and Jefferson Lent, died in the service.

Twenty-seventh New York Volunteers.

Privates Thomas Hawkins, killed in action; Jeremiah Murden, murdered in Elmira, in trying to arrest a deserter, June, 1861; (he was the first soldier said to be killed from the town of Cortlandt); Private Charles Gardner died in hospital.

Forty-fourth New York Volunteers (Ellsworth Avengers).

Private Thomas Wildey, Company A, killed at Hanover Court-House, Va.

Forty-eighth New York Volunteers.

Captain Lewis Lent, killed in action.

Fifty-first New York Volunteers.

Color-Sergeant George W. Fisher, killed with the colors at Petersburg, Va., July 29, 1864; Private James D. Odell, killed at Roanoke Island.

Fifty-ninth New York Volunteers.

Privates Edgar Sutton and Pierce Miller, killed at Antietam; John Fitch and Benjamin Gaudeer, died at Andersonville; George Fowler, died at Annapolis, after being paroled.

Seventieth New York Volunteers.

Joseph Davenport and James Cummings, died in hospital from wounds.

Ninety-first New York Volunteers.

William Stocker, died in hospital.

Ninety-fifth New York Volunteers.

Lieutenant Edwin B. Lent, died at home from wounds.

Miscellaneous.

C. A. Turner, 38th N. Y., wounded at Fredericksburg, died at home; Calvin Lounsbury, prisoner from 39th N. Y., never came back; Sergeant David Ferris, 144th N. Y., killed at Fair Oaks; Henry Forman, Company

C, 133d N. Y., died at Baton Rouge, in service; George Tice, Jesse Seymour, Isaac Brodie, 168th N.Y. died in service; Henry Halstead (colored), 30th N. Y., killed at Deep Bottom Va.; John W. Knapp (colored), Co. B, 29th Conn., died in service.

From the town of Yorktown there is a partial list, showing that of the Sixth Heavy Artillery, from that town, the following men fell:

George Guinea, Harvey L. Searles, Lewis M. Searles, Obadiah Oakley and T. J. Head, died in service; Peter Ames, 12th N. Y., was killed at Fair Oaks; Cyrus H. Brown (regiment unknown) was killed at Petersburg; George Powers and Eugene M. Wright, 59th N. Y.; John Jones, 4th N. Y. Art.; Joshua B. Young, 95th N. Y.; William and Elias Searles, 57th N. Y.; William Sheppard and William Sherwood, 87th N. Y., all died in service.

This is the most reliable list, that I have been able to obtain, of men who actually died in the service, excluding those who are marked as having "died since the war." Were there any sort of local pride, in the different towns in the county, regarding the action of its citizens during the war, the list could doubtless be extended far beyond the present limits; but the readers of this chapter will see for themselves, in the unfortunate differences that existed in the county, on account of the war, the reason why such records were poorly kept. Save by the families of those who actually went to the front, but little interest seems to have been taken by any one in the deeds of the Union armies, and the records were not kept, principally because the majority of the voters in the county did not elect officials who cared to perpetuate the services of the soldiers.

Since the close of the war there has been a movement, in the establishment of Grand Army Posts at different places, to collect these records in something of a reliable form. The graves of Union volunteers are decorated annually, but these do not represent, to any degree, men who went to the service from Westchester County, but rather those who have come to it since the war. Many of them are those of men who died after the close of the war, and so the records do not properly come in at this place.

It only remains to give a short list of a few of the men who were drafted and furnished substitutes for this chapter to be finished.

THE DRAFTED MEN.—The records of the draft in West Chester County, as far as regards the names of the men drafted, are generally missing, though the bonds necessary to save them from going to the front remained, to be finally extinguished, in 1881. In the town of East Chester, however, I have succeeded in securing a copy of the names of the men drafted, and the prices paid for substitutes, which makes very interesting reading at the present day.

It embraces the calls for July, 1864, and the last call in December of the same year. Mr. Stephen Bogart was supervisor for the year, and his name appears among the list of the drafted men. The numbers drawn by the provost marshal appear to have been taken at random over the county, for they are not continuous. The first man caught in East Chester is No. 964. William M. Harward, while the highest number is 3241. There were two hundred and thirteen men drawn in the town, altogether. Some took the commutation of three hundred dollars, allowed by the State, and furnished their own substitutes, in the best way they knew how. Others furnished the substitutes at a definite cost; but the greater part let the town military committee do all the work, through the bounty brokers, who settled the whole business.

Of the whole two hundred and thirteen, only two entered the service, taking the bounty money themselves.

Their names will be found in the list.

The following men were paid the commutation of three hundred dollars, under the Conscription Act, and made their own bargains with substitutes, at their own risk:

William Holdredge, James Cordial, William Searing, Charles Kane, John L. Brown, Ferdinand Holm, Michel Donohue, Jacob Grubb, Jacob Reinhardt, Christian Geissman, Patrick Scott, John Mullaly, Samuel B. Lyons, John Muller, Otto Weigand, John Hinz, Charles Bock, Stephen Bogart, Thomas McConnel, John Stinard, William Gordon, George Robinson, William Hagemeyer, Theodore Holly, Daniel Kane, Samuel Bertine, Ferdinand Haag, William Doolittle, William Tribent, Cornell Valentine, John Kennedy, Abram M. Bennett, Philip Haag, James Hunt, Christian Rost, William Mulloy, Jacob Hyser, George Horst, Thomas Dooling, Thomas Donaldson, Francis Schleicher, Philip Flood, William Hickey, William B. Jones, William Deverman, Walter H. Manning, John Pugmire, Thomas Barker, Frederick Von Garrell, Thomas Hunt and Louis Behr.

The following men furnished their own substitutes, at a cost of four hundred dollars:

Charles Leland, Aaron R. Haight, Isaac Richards, A. M. Hungerford, George Ferris, Samuel Horton, Robert Hall, Gideon Mead, Warren Ackerman, Timothy Bennett, Samuel Burpo, W. H. Hustis, Constantine Weiss, Edgar Schiefflein, John Boda, Alexander Masterton, Henry A. Bowerman, James Hay, Aaron M. Diederer, John M. Masterton, B. F. Bowerman, S. Purdy Carton, David Dunham, Robert M. Masterton, S. Moore, George King, Thomas W. Atkinson, Edward Kendrick, John Ostrander, O. L. Underhill.

The following men had substitutes furnished by the town at an expense of four hundred and twenty dollars:

William M. Harward, Frederick Knolting, John T. Underhill, Samuel Trelese, Henry Hargrave, John Casey, Frederick Sargent, Henry Lins, John W. Coburn, John S. Yorke, M. B. Valentine, Christopher Wintler, John W. Combs, Edward Hoole, John A. Bowerman.

At a cost of four hundred and twenty-five dollars:

John Duffy, William Preston, James Joy, August Donges.

At a cost of four hundred and ten dollars:

Patrick Garvin, Andrew Kapp, James Waddock, Andrew Clark.

At a cost of four hundred dollars:

Timothy Rain, Lawrence Daniels, Nicholas Bowden, Sanford Fleming, Henry Grant.

At a cost of four hundred and forty-five dollars:

Carl Moser, E. A. Phelps.

At a cost of four hundred and fifty dollars:

William Traband, Bernard Hufnagel, Lawrence Clemens, William E. Howe, William Purcells, Charles V. Morgan, Frederick Boda, John King, G. W. L. Underhill, Isaac Secor, Joseph D. Disbrow, Samuel B. Wiley, Stephen Higgins.

At a cost of four hundred and seventy dollars:

Josiah Zabriskie, William H. Oakley.

At a cost of four hundred and seventy-five dollars:

James Murray, William P. Sleight.

At a cost of four hundred and ninety-five dollars:

John Donlin, Lawrence Horton.

At a cost of five hundred dollars:

Walter B. Comstock, Isaac Weeks, John Coyle, Henry Linderman, John Mulloy, William Rickert, Theodore Horr, John Farley, James Crottey, Henry Lehman, Michael Jackson, Lewis Gale, George P. Sinn, Anthony Beebe.

At a cost of five hundred and twenty dollars:

Tillman Holly, John Knapp

At a cost of five hundred and ninety dollars:

Charles Lamar, Ernest Erbert, William Murphy, Jacob Putney, John Williams, David Jones, Joaquin Jones, Charles E. Manning, William Brown, George Francis, Patrick McNulty, John Starr, John P. Minnich, Edward Dill, Thomas Davis, John A. Hutchinson, Hugh Callahan, Philip H. Harsinger, Henry Hamill, Carey P. Poplin, John Rigby, Tobias Akers, John Jolly, Charles Stewart, Michael Fanning, Timothy G. Lumb, George W. Dullion, John West, John Smith, Frederick Kline, James Cameron, Lorenzo Covaglio, Wolsley Baxter, Theodore Handy, David Bowen, James Hughes, James Fisher, John Nichols, Morris Earle.

At a cost of seven hundred and fifty dollars:

John F. Jarvis, Joseph Harper, Amos Cheney, Tim. Crowley, Charles Helwig.

At a cost of eight hundred dollars:

Francis Seber, Sanford Hallock, John G. Satterlee, Michael Quinlan, Charles Weeks, William H. Duff, George H. Archer, Joseph S. Gregory, Darius Lyon, Joseph Harper (second call), Oliver R. King, D. Lamoureaux, Henry Skidmore, S. G. Vredenburg, David Quackinbush, Christian Stark.

At a cost of eight hundred and twenty dollars:

Michael McCormick.

The following men were drafted and entered the service, receiving the sums set opposite their names:

Edward Barnum, $450.00; Christian Knapp, $310.00.

The only item in the account that is perplexing is one which states that "one recruit" was furnished under the second call for five hundred and ninety dollars, this being, probably, at a time when the draft was nearly over and matters carelessly managed.

THE GRAND ARMY POSTS.—This chapter would, by many, be judged to have been properly completed with the disbandment of the soldiers and the payment of the debts accruing from the Civil War, but the publishers of this history have considered that the real history of the contest in Westchester County can never be said to be finished till that of the "Grand Army of the Republic," within its borders, be also told.

That the writer of the preceding pages should have been requested to add thereto on account of the organization of the Grand Army in the county seems both natural and proper, and he undertakes the task with willingness, inasmuch as there is a great deal of misapprehension, among the people at large, as to the object and scope of action of the body of veterans which exists under that name. A brief sketch of the order itself, and of the connection of this county therewith, will prove of interest to all patriotic citizens, of whatever faith in politics.

The first "post" of the order was formed in one of the Western States, in the year after the close of the war, but it was not till the year 1867 that the idea was developed into a harmonious whole, with a regular system of military discipline, and the different units of "post," "department" and "national" headquarters. In its hierarchy, the familiar routine of military life was followed, as far as possible, with features common to secret social and benevolent societies, following the father of all such bodies—Freemasonry.

At the beginning of the organization of the order there was a great deal more of this similarity than now prevails, the initiation being of a solemn character, calculated to try the nerves of the recruits; the forms of Masonry being imitated by the institution of the successive degrees of "recruit," "soldier" and "veteran"—so called. These degrees were abolished by the National Encampment, a few years after the first formation of the order, and the rules have been simplified in regard to initiations and other points of ritual, till the Grand Army of the Republic can hardly be said to be in any sense a "secret" society, any more than an army in the field, in which the countersign for passing a sentry at night is the only thing not patent to all the world.

The objects of the order, set forth in the rules and regulations (Chap. 1, Art. 11) are as follows:

"1. To preserve and strengthen those kind and fraternal feelings which bind together the soldiers, sailors and marines who united to suppress the late Rebellion, and to perpetuate the memory and history of the dead.

"2. To assist such former comrades in arms as need help and protection, and to extend needful aid to the widows and orphans of those who have fallen.

"3. To maintain true allegiance to the United States of America, based upon a paramount respect for, and fidelity to, the National Government and laws; to discountenance whatever tends to weaken loyalty, incites to insurrection, treason or rebellion, or in any manner impairs the efficiency of our free institutions; and to encourage the spread of universal liberty, equal rights and justice to all men."

The persons eligible to membership are all *honorably* discharged soldiers, sailors and marines, "who served between April 12, 1861, and April 9, 1865," and the members of State regiments that were mustered into United States service between those dates, and became "subject to the orders of United States general officers." No person who has at any time, even under compulsion, borne arms against the United States can be admitted to membership, even though otherwise eligible.

The last roster of New York (1885) shows a total of five hundred and forty-one posts in the State, with an average of fifty members or over. Of these, the county of Westchester counts as her own the following: Post Kitching, No. 60, of Yonkers; Post Vosburgh, No. 95, of Peekskill; Post Powell, No. 117, of Sing Sing; Post McKeel, No. 120, of Katonah; Post Morell, No. 144, of Sing Sing; Post Stewart Hart,

No. 169, of Mount Kisco; Post Farnsworth, No. 170, of Mount Vernon; Post H. B. Hidden, No. 330, of City Island; Post Charles Lawrence, No. 378, of Port Chester; Post Cromwell, No. 466, of White Plains; Post W. B. Burnett, No. 496, of Tarrytown, and Post Horatio Seymour, No. 590, of Yonkers, making a total of twelve posts at the present writing. The Tarrytown post was lately organized, to replace an older post (Acker, No. 182) which had given up its charter to the Department Encampment, owing to the lack of interest manifested by the citizens of the place; but reorganized with its present name and number, under the energetic management of a veteran who had formerly commanded the Peekskill post, but had moved to Tarrytown, after his term of office in Peekskill had expired. Horatio Seymour Post is an off-shoot of Kitching, No. 60.

Without further delay we append the rosters of the posts, in numerical order.

Kitching Post, No. 60, of Yonkers.—This post was chartered January 7, 1868, but the name of the mustering officer failed to be recorded on the minute-book of the post. The charter members were:

E. Y. Morris, S. C. Van Tassel, James Stewart, Patrick Kelly, G. W. Farnum, A. H. Tompkins, E. C. Nodine, James Carter, George Hendrickson, William Reilley and D. S. Munn.

The Post Commanders to date have been as follows: E. Y. Morris, for 1868 and 1869; D S. Munn, 1870; John Kuester, 1871 and 1872; William Reilley, 1873 and 1874; James Cadis, 1875 and 1876; Henry Osterheld, 1877, 1878 and 1879; John C. Schotts, 1880; F. A. Curran, 1881; James V. Lawrence, 1882; S. C. Van Tassel, 1883; G. B. Balch, 1884; James Sheridan, 1885.

The officers for 1886 are: Commander, James Sheridan; S. V. C., A. Kipp; J. V. C., James Taylor; Surgeon, George Lockwood; Chaplain, Wm. H. Yerkes; Officer of the Day, John Rice; Officer of the Guard, Oscar T. Barker; Adjutant, C. D. Betts; Q. M., Henry Ferguson; Q. M. S., Joseph Irving.

The following is a complete list of all members of the post, from its organization to the year 1885, with the military history of each man in brief. The term of service, where not otherwise stated, is "three years, or during the war." Names marked with a star (*) are those of members who have died since the formation of the post. Names marked with a dagger (†) are those of wounded men or pensioners. The descriptive book of Kitching Post is not as full on the subject of wounded men as it should be, and there are many men in the post who have suffered wounds, not recorded in the list furnished by the adjutant. Where no rank is given "private" is meant.

Members.

E. Y. Morris,* captain, 6th N. Y. Art. (two years, ten and a half months); S. C. Van Tassel, second class fireman, U. S. Navy (ten months); James Stewart, † 5th Conn., wounded; Geo. W. Farnham, corporal, 23d Conn.; E. C. Nodine, 6th N. Y. Art.; P. Kelly,* 6th N. Y. Art.; Wm. Riley, † 51st N. Y. (loss of left arm, pension); Geo. Hendrickson and Jas. Carter, 6th N. Y.; D. S. Munn, 66th N. Y.; A. H. Tompkins, drummer, 168th N. Y.; A. O. Kirkwood, 47th Mass.; Joseph Cain,* 6th N. Y.; Ed. W. Jenkins, second lieutenant, 99th N. Y.; John Harvey, drummer, 6th N. Y.; Joseph S. Whiting, 2d N. Y. Cav.; Geo. Grasse, 32d N. Y. Battery; John R. Senner,* 5th N. Y. Inf.; Wm. E. Bloomer, marine, U. S. Navy; M. H. Ellis, captain, 175th N. Y.; J. W. Jestly, 20th N. Y.; Geo. Heisler, 6th N. Y.; Archibald Taylor, 10th N. Y.; John H. Drake, 47th N. Y.; James Edie, 14th N. Y.; John B. Whiting, 17th N. Y.; Ira B. Travis, 11th N. Y.; Hollis H. Parse, 32d N. Y.; James Brazier, 150th N. Y.; John Kuester, 125th N. Y.; John W. Coons, second class fireman, U. S. Navy; Chas. Wolff, 3d N. Y.; D. L. Barton, 15th N. Y. Cav.; David Blauvelt, captain, 22d N. J.; P. H. Merwin, 22d N. Y.; Wm. W. Yerks, 6th N. Y.; Andrew J. Joslyn, 139th N. Y.; Sherman Smith, musician, 17th Conn.; Henry B. Ferguson, 6th N. Y.; Daniel Batty, 132d N. Y.; Alfred M. Bowler, J. J. Cunningham, Geo. H. Gale, Joseph Glosque* and Wm. Dykes,* all of 17th N. Y.; David Zarr, 127th N. Y.; Thomas Oliver, 37th N. Y.; Jas. H. Mealing, 6th N. Y.; Griffin Mackey, drummer, 95th N. Y.; Wm. L. Halsey, artificer, 1st N. Y. Engineers; E. S. Brown, 37th N. Y.; H. H. Taylor,* 106th N. Y.; Wm. H. Danks, 15th N. Y.; Philip Emrick, 48th N. Y.; Thos. C. Lawrence, 17th N. Y.; Geo. E. H. Wildey, 31st Iowa; Harvey Brower, 2d N. J. Cav.; James Cadis, 25th N. J.; Frederick Angell, 4th N. Y. Cav.; Joseph Irving, 1st N. Y. Cav.; Richard Laurie, 2d N. Y. Art.; S. S. Crane, 8th N. Y. Militia (three months); Wm. Fulton, 4th N. Y.; William Bates, 11th R. I.; Robert H. Savage, 72d N. Y.; James Sheridan, 5th N. Y.; L. C. Minor, drum major, 7th Conn.; Jas. H. Cable, private, 1st N. Y. Engineers; Matthew Faulds, musician, 79th N. Y.; James Keeler, private, 15th N. Y.; Clark Nodine, private, 6th N. Y.; Robert Allison, private, 36th N. Y.; E. J. Oliver, landsman, U. S. Navy; E. R. Keyes, chaplain, 6th N. Y.; Thomas McKay, 6th N. Y. Art.; F. G. Howlett, 8th N. Y.; Thos. Dugan, 5th U. S. Cav.; Geo. Eimer, 6th N. Y.; Wm. H. Veitch, landsman, U. S. Navy; Thos. McMinn,* U. S. Marines; Oscar T. Barker, landsman, U. S. Navy; George Smith, 1st N. Y. Cav.; J. H Brown, 69th N. Y.; Wm. Swann, 4th N. Y. Vol.; C. G. Otis, colonel, 21st N. Y. Cav.; Benjamin Bower, 17th N. Y. Vol.; Joseph Mills and Wm. Angell, 15th N. Y. N. G. (three months); J. F. Fitzsimmons, second lieutenant, 99th N. Y.; Herman Mentzer, 1st N. Y. Cav.; Michael Larkin, 3d Prov. Cav.; James H. Pooley, assistant surgeon, U. S. Vols.; Edward Keenan, 67th N. Y.; Andrew McDonald, 8th N. Y. Militia; Geo. W. Greene, 39th N. J. Vol.; Geo. P. Trask,* 74th N. Y.; Augustus Bailey, musician, 7th Mass.; Thomas Scofield, 39th N. J.; Lewis F. Clark, 1st Conn.; Chas. H. Carlton,* 4th Ver.; Julius O. Hicks, 150th N. Y.; James Pilson, corporal, 6th N. Y. Art.; Thos. Featherstone, 1st N. Y. Cav.; C. W. Briggs, 6th N. Y.; James Andrews and Geo. A. Barker, 17th N. Y.; Edward Knowlden, 31st N. Y.; Isaac A. Brewer and John Loftus, U. S. Navy; Stephen P. Grey, 56th N. Y.; Albert Ludke, 1st N. Y. Cav.; Louis Springer, 22d Conn.; Chas. H. Pease, 58th Mass.; Bernard Koch, 52d N. Y.; Thomas Hill,* 17th N. Y.; Chas. L. Wilde, musician, 6th N. Y. Art.; Henry Osterheld, musician, 5th N. Y.; J. C. Cambell, 17th N. Y.; Thomas Hawthorn, 26th N. Y.; Bernard Logue, 17th N. Y.; Geo. Bowland, 6th N. Y.; Chas. W. Whitefield, 99th N. Y.; John McWilliams, 1st N. Y. Cav.; Solon Lapham, 6th N. Y.; James Persise, seaman, U. S. Navy; Alonzo Grey, private, 50th N. Y. Vol.; Lewis G. Jones, fireman, U. S. Navy; Robert Lee, 57th N. Y.; Michael Hemmingway, 2d N. Y. Cav.; Martin Coyne, landsman, U. S. Navy; Job Hargreaves, 6th N. Y.; Jere. S. Clark, captain, 2d U. S. Art.; Jas. W. Brown, 5th N. Y.; Wm. Pope, 6th N. Y.; John C. Light, 150th N. Y.; James McVicker, 57th N. Y.; Chas. Grimshaw, 22d N. Y.; Nelson R. Wood, landsman, U. S. Navy; E. Edward Wildman, captain, 1st Conn. Vol.; Wm. R. Jarman, 7th N. J.; H. P. Weimar, 3d N. Y. Art.; Wm. Arbuckle, musician, 17th N. Y.; John Fyfe,* musician, 178th N. Y.; Boyd Vance, corporal, 177th N. Y.; Wm. Savage, 8th Conn.; Harry J. Parnell, 5th N. Y.; Thomas Hampson, 6th N. Y. Art.; Wm. H. Randall, 50th Engineers; Joseph P. Curtis, Gen. Mounted Service; Arthur F. Stewart, 41st N. Y.; James Auld, acting ensign, U. S. Navy; Geo. W. Thorpe, 91st N. Y.; Gilbert Rividan, colonel, 37th N. Y.; Thos. Stansfield, 17th N. Y.; Chas R. Fisher, 15th N. Y.; Christian Shaker, 2d N. Y. Cav.; Frederick Gugel, 2d N. J. Cav.; Robt. Light, 128th N. Y.; John Merwin, 103d N. Y.; Christian Kaiser, 65th N. Y.; Geo. Yerks, 1st N. Y. Cav.; Geo. Grassy, 1st N. Y. Art.; Chas. Seeley, 23d U. S. Inf.; Thomas McCall, 17th N. Y.; James G. Stevens, 12th Mass.; Chrystie Sheridan, 96th N. Y.; Geo. H. King, 49th N. Y.; Michael Sullivan, 96th N. Y.; John H. Matthews,* sergeant, 12th N. Y.; John Wallace, sergeant, 23d U. S. Inf.; Louis Friede, sergeant, 41st N. Y.; Geo. Voltz, 6th N. Y. Art.; Peter Whalen, 22d N. Y.; John Hammond, fireman, U. S. Navy; Wm. Fulton, 4th N. Y.; Thomas Reynolds,* 65th N. Y.; David Murray, 2d N. Y. Mounted Rifles; Albert Seevers, 22d

N. J.; John Cahill, 15th N. Y. Militia (three months); Dan. Springsteel, 6th N. Y. Art.; Andrew Stark, 191st N. Y.; Thomas Curran, drummer, 22d N. J.; Hugh H. Ferguson, 48th N. Y.; Adrian H. Hendrick, musicians, 86th N. Y.; Wm. Lynch, 1st U. S. Art.; Edward Kinney, bugler; 9th U. S. Inf.; Philip Riley, 5th Vet. Vols.; Jacob Reiff, 6th N. Y. Art.; Jas. Brazier, Sr., 159th N. Y.; Geo. Miller, 33d N. J.; Chas. J. Luther, 16th N. Y. Art.; R. P. Wheeler, sergeant, 62d N. Y.; Jas. Smith, 20th N. Y. Cav.; James McLean, 16th Conn.; Edward Starr,* 58th Mass.; Jacob H. Lockhard and Geo. Betts, seamen, U. S. Navy; Abram Hinchcliff, 6th N. Y. Art.; Chas. B. Nebe, 74th N. Y.; Philip Fisher and John C. Shotts, 17th N. Y.; Wm. W. Yerks, 6th N. Y. Art.; Daniel Murray and E. A. Jackson, 2d N. Y. Rifles; Arthur Stewart, 41st N. Y.; Jacob Gilleo, 6th N. Y. Art.; John Carey, 69th N. Y.; Chas. H. C. Rease, 58th Mass.; Wm. J. Gardinier, U. S. Navy; Calvin C. Brown, 6th N. Y.; Stephen W. Johnson, corporal, 3d N. Y.; Edward Kenney, bugler, 9th U. S. Inf.; Samuel L. Manus, 8th N. Y.; George Fink, 6th N. Y.; James Kairns, 2d N. Y. Art.; James Auld, ensign, U. S. Navy; T. M. O'Keefe O'Riley, 5th N. Y. Cav.; Geo. H. Washington, 11th U. S. Col. Art.; Michael T. Sullivan, 91st N. Y.; Patrick Murphy, 18th N. Y. Cav.; Nathan Buckley, 9th N. J.; William Carroll, 6th N. Y. Art.; Augustus Kipp, 32d N. Y.; Geo. W. Walters, 59th N. Y.; Garret Majory, 17th N. Y.; Francis Haller,* 3d N. J. Cav.; Wm. Shaw, musician, 17th N. Y.; Chas. D. Betts, corporal, 132d N. Y.; Henry Voight, 5th Vet. Vols.; James V. Lawrence, Albert Roos and Patrick O'Donnell, 2d N. Y. Art.; Thomas T. Daly, 15th N. Y.; S. C. Van Tassel, (second muster) Navy; John Zimmer, 15th N. Y. Art.; Michael Murphy, 61st N. Y.; John H. Rein, 79th N. Y.; Conrad Dietrick, 48th N. Y.; Edward J. Mitchell, 37th N. J.; Andrew Dixon, 3d N. Y. Art.; John Zeller, 20th N. Y.; James B. Everest, 51st Mass.; Daniel Pool, quarter gunner, U. S. Navy; John Foley, 6th N. Y.; John H. Williams, 26th U. S. Colored Troops; Thomas Hampson, 6th N. Y. Art.; Thomas J. Dillon,* 69th N. Y.; John G. Smith, 45th N. Y.; Isaac L. Phillips, musician, 17th N. Y.; Edward Keenan, 67th N. Y.; Caleb Wolhuyser, 4th N. Y. Art.; Dewitt C. Taylor, 17th N. Y.; Jacob Brill, 2d N. J.; Bernard Donohue, 10th N. Y.; Wm. Dykes, 1st N. Y. Rifles; James H. Tracy, 56th N. Y.; Thos. Madden, 32d N. Y.; David J. Miller, 128th N. Y.; John Baldwin, 102d N. Y.; George Humphreys, 61st Mass.; John F. Doremus, 56th N. Y.; Conrad Roth, 183d Ohio; H. C. Hickerson, 11th N. J.; G. B. Balch, assistant surgeon, 98th N. Y.

Abraham Vosburgh Post, No. 95, of Peekskill.—This post was organized at Peekskill, July 25, 1879, by Comrade Francis M. Clark, of Barbara Freitchie Post, New York City, as mustering officer.

The officers of the new post were as follows:

Commander, George W. Robertson; S. V. C., John Smith, Jr.; J. V. C., Abraham G. Conkling; Surgeon, Charles McCutchen; Officer of the Day, William A. Sipperly; Chaplain, William H. Griffin; Quartermaster, Thomas Flockton; Adjutant, William J. Charlton; Officer of the Guard, Samuel Tate; Sergeant-Major, William J. Mahon; Q. M. Sergeant, William L. Wood.

The officers, together with Comrades William Coul, John Acker, Nathaniel J. Travis and Philip H. Sparks, constituted the charter members of the post.

The officers of the post remained unchanged for two years, after which Commander Robertson retired and John Smith, Jr., became Commander, all the other officers being promoted one step.

In 1882, Abraham Conkling became Commander and a further promotion took place.

In 1883, Charles McCutchen became Commander, and held the office for one year.

In 1884, William J. Sipperly became Commander.

The officers for 1885 were as follows:

Commander, William J. Charlton; Senior Vice-Commander, George E. Craft; Junior Vice-Commander, John H. Pierce; Surgeon, William H. Griffin; Officer of the Day, Joseph L. Mason; Chaplain, Smith A. Barker; Quartermaster, Henry S. Free; Officer of the Guard, Philip H. Sparks; Sergeant-Major, Theodore H. Gallagher; Quartermaster-Sergeant, Marvin R. Smith.

Commander, George E. Craft; Senior Vice Commander, John H. Pierce; Junior Vice-Commander, Samuel Tate; Surgeon, William H. Griffin (since died, vacancy filled by John W. Acker); Officer of the Day, Joseph L. Mason (since removed, vacancy filled by William A. Sipperly); Chaplain, Smith A. Barker; Officer of the Guard, Philip F. Sparks; Quartermaster, Emmett Sarles; Adjutant, Marvin R. Smith; Quartermaster-Sergeant, William J. Charlton.

The roster of the post, furnished by the Commander, is as follows, the term of service, where not otherwise mentioned, being three years, the arm of the service infantry, unless otherwise specified.

Augustus Acker, 6th N. Y. H. Art.; John W. Acker, corporal, 59th N. Y., prisoner at Andersonville; Oscar Acker, 6th N. Y. H. Art., ten months; Horace Anderson, 3d N. Y., six months; John Acker, 6th N. Y. H. Art., eighteen months; Charles Balluffi,* hospital steward, 1st N. J. Art.; Smith A. Barker, 2d Penn. Res., wounded Sept. 17, 1862; Josiah Bartlett, 6th N. Y. H. Art.; Wm. M. Bleakley, captain, 27th N. Y. Jacob Boyce,* two years, Lyman Boyce, Dennis Bradley, G. W. Briggs,* and Stephen W. Byington, all of 6th N. Y. H. Art.; Char. Cable, 124th N. Y., wounded April 25, 1865; John Cahill, 3d N. Y. H. Art.; Cornelius D. Callahan, 53d N. Y.; William J. Charlton, first sergeant, 5th N. Y., commissioned second lieutenant, but not mustered; States Clark, 5th N. Y., wounded February 6th and March 31, 1865; Garrett D. Clark, 6th N. Y. H. Art.; Abraham G. Conklin, 27th N. Y.; Eber H. Conklin, 13th N. Y. S. M., three months; Daniel Conklin, 6th N. Y. H. Art.; Jefferson Conklin, 2d N. Y. M. Vols; Samuel H. Conklin,* 6th N. Y. H. Art.; H. S. Constant, 6th N. Y. H. Art.; Wm. Coul, 168th N. Y.; Geo. E. Craft, corporal, 9th N. Y.; George A. Cruger, 6th N. Y. H. A.; John W. Crumb, chaplain, N. Y. S. M., three months; Patrick Curtis, 6th N. Y. H. Art.; William H. Denike, 47th N. Y.; Thomas G. Depew, musician, 168th N. Y.; James Downes, 90th Ills.; William H. Dutcher, 6th N. Y. H. Art.; Jefferson Dyckman, 2d N. Y. M. Vols.; Harvey S. Elkins, 48th N. Y.; John Evans, 27th N. Y.; Thomas Flockton, 9th N.Y.; J. Foster, 88th Ohio; H. S. Free, landsman, U. S. S. "Vanderbilt," one year; Theo. H. Gallagher, sergt.-maj., 152d N. Y. (gunshot in right leg at Spottsylvania March 12, 1864); Wm. E. Gallaher, 22d N. Y. S. M. (three months); Anson L. Gilbert, sergeant, 6th N. Y. H. A.; David R. Goetschius, captain, 6th N. Y. H. A.; James Gordon, corporal, 90th N. Y.; Jacob H. Green, landsman, U. S. S. "Vanderbilt" (one year); Wm. H. Griffin, 17th N. Y. (wounded August 30, 1862); Henry Hagaman,† 6th N. Y. H. A.; James H. Haight, 11th N. Y. Cav.; Charles B. Haines, 6th N. Y. H. A.; Lemuel Haines, 2d N. Y. Cav.; Geo. S. Hancock, sergeant, 6th N. Y. H. A.; Robert S. Hancock, landsman, U. S. S. "Isonomie;" Jacob Hays, corporal, 86th N. Y.; John Herschel, musician, 6th N. Y. H. A.; Henry Hilliker, landsman, U.S. S. "Isonomie;" John M. Hilliker, 59th N. Y. (twenty-eight months; ten months in U. S. Navy); Wm. H. Hughes, 9th N. Y; John Jarrold, 5th N. Y.; Julius John, first sergeant, 103d N. Y.; John Kane,* corporal, 6th N. Y. H. A.; Jacob Keifer,* 14th N. J.; Anthony Kevan, corporal, 170th N. Y.; David La Fountain, seaman, U. S. Navy (twenty-one months); Robert D. Lent, 6th N. Y. H. A.; Wm. A. Lent, landsman, U. S. Navy (one year); Isaac McCoy, 6th N. Y. H. A.; Charles McCutcheon, second lieutenant, 2d N. Y. Cavalry; Davison McCutcheon, corporal, 2d N. Y. Cav.; Aaron Mackey, 6th N. Y. H. A.; Wm. J. Mahon,† sergeant, 6th N. Y. H. A. (wounded May 30th and October 19, 1864); Joseph L. Mason, corporal, 2d N. Y. Cav.; David W. Miller, 4th N. Y. H. A. (thirty-one months); Charles E. Orne, sergeant, 6th N. Y. H. A. (seven months); Henry Otis, sergeant, 95th N. Y.; John H. Pierce, second lieutenant, 2d N. Y.; John W. Powell, corporal, 6th N. Y. H. A. (wounded May 30, 1864); Eugene B. Pringle,* 5th N. Y. H. A.; George W. Robertson, first lieutenant, 71st N. Y. S. M. (eight months); Emmett Sarles, 6th N. Y. H. A.; James H. Seabury, 6th N. Y. H. A.; Cornelius V. Simpkins, 9th N. Y.; Wm. A. Sipperly, sergeant, 2d N. Y. Cav. (wounded June 2, 1864); Wm. E. Sloat, 6th N. Y. H. A.; Charles W. Smith, 6th N. Y. H. A.; George H. Smith, 91st N. Y.; George W. Smith, captain, 90th N. Y.; John Smith, Jr., second lieutenant, 6th N. Y. H. A. (wounded October 19, 1864; Marvin R. Smith, landsman, U. S. Navy; Stephen W. Smith,* musician, 168th N. Y.; Philip F. Sparks, 6th N. Y. H. A;

* Deceased.

Stephens S. Starr, 6th N. Y. H. A.; Elias Stillwell,* 6th N. Y. H. A. Frederick Stockholm, 6th N. Y. H. A.; Martin Stottler, first lieutenant, 6th Conn.; Samuel Tate, 9th N. Y.; Nathaniel J. Travis, 6th N. Y. H. A. (wounded August 19, 1864); Elias Tyrrell, 40th N. Y.; John E. Valk, 95th N. Y. (wounded October 27, 1864); Cornelius B. Van Horn, sergeant, 139th N. Y.; Warren Van Scoy, 9th N. Y.; Charles Wiley, drum major, 9th N. Y.; John N. Williams, 9th N. Y. (five months); Samuel Williams, 6th N. Y. H. A.; William L. Wood, 6th N. Y. H. A. (nine months); Charles J. Wright, lieutenant-colonel, 39th U. S. C. T. (two years and seven months).

Powell Post, No. 117, *of Sing Sing.*—This post was mustered into service September 5, 1879, by Comrade Henry Osterheld, of Kitching Post, with the following charter members:

Gilbert Deering,† 17th N. Y.; Abraham Miller, 6th N. Y. H. A.; John Gibney,† 12th U. S. Inf.; William Bell, 59th N. Y.; Garrett Tenhagen, 56th N. Y.; Smith A. Palmer, 18th Conn.; George W. Bell, 2d N. Y.; Charles Ferris,* 1st N. J.; Richard Kromer, 30th N. Y. Battery; Francis J. Jennings, 17th N. Y.; Daniel Luther,† 6th N. Y. H. A.; William H. Tuttle, 17th N. Y.; Geo. W. Romaine, U. S. S. "Nyack;" Jos. B. Eaton, 7th Conn.; Valentine Dietrich, 69th N. Y. S. M.; James McCormack, 34th N. Y.; Charles F. Rudgers, 105th N. Y.; A. J. Norricks, 157th N. Y.; George E Van Matten,† 9 th N. Y.; John W. Hoffman, U. S. S. "Vanderbilt;" Thomas K. Tompkins, 56th N. Y.; Wm. G. Hull, 26th N. Y.; Thos. C. Mealing, U. S. S. "Augusta;" William Ward, 115th N. Y.; Patrick Cullen, 17th N. Y.; James Wilson, 6th N. Y.; William Tunstall, 13th N. Y.; James S. Van Cortlandt, 155th N. Y.; George Nichols, 6th N. Y. H. A.; Charles Schoomaker, 20th N. Y.; Nehemiah Sperry,† 49th N. Y.; James Young, 6th N. Y. H. A.; Patrick Cannon, 17th N. Y.; William Whiting, 6th N. Y. H. A.; William B. Jones, 4th U. S. Art.; John J. Griffin and Jeremiah McCue, 6th N. Y. H. A.; and Henry C. Hickerson, 11th N. Y.

The Commanders of the post have been as follows:

For 1879 and 1880, Gilbert Dearing; for 1881, John J. Mahany and Henry C. Hickerson; for 1882 and 1883, Henry C. Symonds; for 1884, Valentine Dieterich; and for 1885, Chellis D. Swaine.

The officers for 1886 are,—

Commander, S. H. Smith; Senior Vice-Commander, W. G. Hull; Junior Vice-Commander, George Nichols; Surgeon, George Vannetta; Chaplain, J. Hoffman; Officer of Day, T. Storms; Officer of Guard, M. Smith; Adjutant, J. Kling; Quartermaster, G. Dearing; Sergeant Major, Chellis D. Swain; Quartermaster-Sergeant, W. Bell.

The members of the post, after charter members, are as follows:

Patrick Readdy,† 6th N. Y. H. A.; Nelson Baker, 1st U. S. C. T.; Michael Seitz,* 1st N. Y. Engineers; Abraham Tuttle, 6th N. Y. H. A.; George E. Van Wart,†* 5th N. Y.; Thomas Swords, 1st N. Y. Engineers; James Hyland, 13th N. Y. H. A.; John Connolly, 17th N. Y.; Abram Jones, 1st N. Y. Cav.; Henry C. Symonds, 2d U. S. Art.; William W. Ryder, 17th N. Y.; Wm. Nolan, U. S. S. "General Price;" William H. Caine, 84th N. Y. S. M. (three months); Andres J. Disbrow, 87th N. Y.; Chas. P. Turner, U. S. S. "Stars and Stripes;" Jas. H. Worden, U. S. S. "Morning Light;" Theodore C. Sherwood, 102d N. Y.; Theodore Crofut, 17th N. Y.; Samuel Bennett,†* 21st U. S. C. T.; Charles Maguire, U. S. S "Princeton;" Stephen Jackson, 99th N. Y.; Jacob Kling,† 31st N. Y.; Lockwood Hutchings, 6th N. Y. H. A.; Benjamin H. Sheron,† 150th N. Y.; George W. Smith, 6th N. Y. Battery; John J. Mulvany,† 104th N. Y.; Pennington Watson, 186th Pa.; Thomas Donohue, 6th N. Y.; Wm. N. Dands, 1st N Y. Engineers; Henry Hunter, 11th N. Y. H. A.; George Augesdorfer, 66th N. Y.; Silas W. Edgerton,† 34th Mass.; Orser Sarles, S. S. "Owasco;" Jas. P. Holmes, U. S. S. "Vicksburg"; Jno. Daly and Norman Minnerly, 6th N. Y. H. A.; Chellis D. Swaine,† 11th N. Y. Cav.; Eli Valentine, 18th N. Y.; Andrew Philips,† 1st Maine Cav.; Wm. B. Ackerly,† U. S. S. "Potomac;" Harry Terwilliger, 56th N. Y.; Jas. McGraw, 43d N. Y.; Absalom N. Ingersoll, U. S. Marine Corps; James D. C. Stoutenburg, 150th N. Y.; Charles Valentine, 168th N. Y.; James Hatch, 2d N. Y.; Hiram Osborn, 75th N. Y.; Joseph Holloway, 4th Ohio; Samuel H. Smith,† 11th Conn.; Elbert T. Weeks,† 17th N. Y.; Joseph King, U. S. S. "Tacony;" William Hennessy, 17th N. Y.; William H. Reynolds, 6th N. Y. H. A.; Frederick Seitz, 10th U. S. Inf.; Peter Ward, 5th N. Y. H. A.; Sumner A. Smith, 49th N. Y.; John Corning, 35th N. J.; Jesse G. Miller, 6th N. Y. H. A.; William H. Clark, 51st N. Y.; William Reed, 40th N. Y.; George Allen, 7th N. Y. H. A.; James Arden Haight, 16th N. Y. H. A.; Thomas S. Storms, 24th N. Y. Battery; Thos. McGee, 5th Conn.; Arthur Bushel, 1st N. Y. Cav.; Alexander Helsey, 7th N. Y. H. A.; George Wheeler, 146th N. Y.; John J. Murphy, 7th N. Y. H. A.; Joseph C. Newman, 40th N. J.; Joseph Roderiques, U. S. S. "Mississippi;" Albert Drehfall, 58th N. Y.; S. J. Chambers, 7th N. Y. S. M. (three months); Hugh Murphy, U.S.S. "Anacosta;" Michael Smith, 1st N. Y. Engineers; Charles B. Johnson, 5th N. Y. H. A.; Peter Parker, U. S. S. "North Carolina;" Benjamin Harris, 15th N. Y. H. A.; Hiram Van Tassell, 95th N. Y.; and Augustus Stockholdt,* 22d N. Y. Vol.

† Wounded in action. * Dead since muster.

McKeel Post, No. 120, *of Katonah.*—This post was organized September 30, 1879, the mustering officer being Comrade Herman W. Thum, of Koltes Post, New York City. The charter members were,—

E. B. Newman, J. T. Lockwood, E. S. Folsom, S. S. Austin, Clark See, W. L. Hull, A. S. Knapp, E. A. Teed, Charles Fisher, Edgar Hitt, J. B. Turner, Charles Corbyn, E. H. Avery, C. W. Varian, A. P. Quick and James A. Tuttle.

The Commanders of the post to date are as follows:

For 1879, 1880 and 1881, E. B. Newman; for 1882, Edgar Hitt; for 1883, W. L. Hull; for 1884, E. S. Folsom; for 1885, R. A. Reynolds.

The officers for 1886 are as follows:

Commander, Abraham Knapp; Senior Vice-Commander, A. P. Quick; Junior Vice-Commander, W H. Dingee; Surgeon, D. F. Avery; Chaplain, C. Corbyn; Officer of Day, Edgar Hitt; Officer of Guard, G. M. Avery; Adjutant, E. S. Folsom; Quartermaster, J. A. Tuttle; Sergeant-Major, R. A. Reynolds.

The names of comrades of the post not dropped at the time of the report are as follows:

E. B. Newman,† sergeant, 48th N. Y. (wounded, Andersonville prisoner, leg amputated); J. F. Lockwood,† 4th N. Y. H. A.; E. S. Folsom, 1st N. J. Art.; S. S. Austin,† first lieutenant, 6th N. Y. H. A.; Clark See,† 4th N. Y. H. A.; W. L. Hull, 6th Conn.; A. S. Knapp, E. A. Reed, Edgar Hitt, A. P. Quick, R. A. Reynolds, G. G. Ferguson, D. W. Miller, all of 4th N. Y. H. A.; J. B. Turner, U.S.S. "Gettysburg;" Chas. Corbyn, 170th N. Y.; E. H. Avery, 6th N. Y. H. A.; C. W. Varian, sergeant, 165th N. Y.; J. A. Tuttle, 2d N. Y. Cav.; D. F. Avery, 38th N. Y.; J. N. Purdy,† 6th U. S. Inf.; George M. Avery, 5th N. Y.; W. H. Dingee, 150th N. Y.; Richard Wheatley, chaplain, 28th Conn.; C. M. Sarles, 4th N. Y.; Jarvis Pugsley, 48th N. Y.; L. E. Miller, 84th Pa.

Morell Post, No. 144, *of Sing Sing.*—This post was organized on the 18th of December, 1883, at Sing Sing, N. Y., principally from members of Powell Post, in the same town, and now numbers the following officers and members:

Commander: Silas W. Edgerton, chaplain of Sing Sing Prison. Commander Edgerton's military record is an excellent one, he having entered the service as a private in the 34th Mass. in 1862, and being discharged as captain and brevet-major in the 192d N. Y. Vols., after a period of three and one-half years. Commander Edgerton was wounded at Mine Run, Va., on the 20th of July, 1864, a piece of shell taking effect in his right breast and rendering amputation of the right arm necessary. Since the war he has become a clergyman, and is respected wherever he is known.

Senior Vice-Commander: Hiram Osborn, first lieutenant of the 75th N. Y.; promoted from the ranks, with three years' service.

Junior Vice-Commander: William W. Ryder, ex-private of the 17th N. Y., with two years' service.

Officer of the Day: Sumner Smith, ex sergeant, 49th N. Y., three years.

Surgeon: George W. Bell, 2d N. Y. Cav., three years.

† Wounded. * Dead since muster.

Quartermaster: Nehemiah Sperry, 1st Sergeant, 49th N. Y., three years.

Chaplain: Henry Albin, 17th Conn., two and one-half years.

Adjutant: James McCormick, 34th N. Y. and 2d N. Y. Cav., four years and a half in service; wounded in thigh and hip by Enfield bullet, at Cedar Creek, in cavalry engagement, November 12, 1864.

Officer of the Guard: Garrett Ten Hagen, corporal, 56th N. Y., with four and a half years' service.

Quartermaster-Sergeant: A. J. Nowicki, 156th N. Y., two and a half years' service.

Sergeant-Major: John L. Knapp, second lieutenant, 18th N. Y. S. M., with one and a half years' service.

The members are as follows:

Joseph B. Eaton, lieutenant, 7th Conn., three years; Abram Jones, captain, 1st N. Y. Cav., three and a quarter years: Abraham H. Miller, 6th N. Y. H. A., eighteen months; John J. Griffin, sergeant, 6th N. Y. H. A., two and a half years; William H. Clark, 51st N. Y., discharged after eighteen months for wound received at Second Bull Run in 1862; Jeremiah McCue, 6th N. Y. H. A., four and a half years; Geo. Wheeler, 146th N. Y., two and a half years; Eli Valentine, 18th N. Y. S. M., eighteen months; Wm. Fagan, 1st Conn., two years; Chas. O. Joline,* lieutenant-colonel and A. D. C., four years (since died); William L. Mahon, sergeant, 6th N. Y. H. A., three years; B. S. Sheron, 150th N. Y., two and a half years (wounded 30th May, 1864, at Bethlehem Church, Va., and 19th October, 1864, at Cedar Creek); John Nixon, 3d N. Y., two and a half years; Joseph Hubbel, 23d N. Y. S. M., thirty-nine days; Henry Twitchell, 3d Mass. H. A., two and a half years; S. J. Chambers, 7th N. Y. S. M., three months; Charles E. Lewis, U. S. S. "Nyack," nine months; Pennington Watson, sergeant, 186th Pa., two years; Gilman Rice, 186th Pa., two years; Geo. Ayles, 17th N. Y., two years; Clement C. Moon, first lieutenant, 20th Mass., six months; Wm. Kelsey, corporal, 186th Pa., two years; Oscar Knapp, first sergeant, 4th N. Y. H. A., three years; and Reuben Bunyea, no record given by the adjutant.

The officers for 1886 are as follows:

Commander, Silas W. Edgerton; Senior Vice-Commander, Hiram Osborn; Junior Vice-Commander, William W. Ryder; Surgeon, Samuel J. Chambers; Chaplain, James O. Knapp; Officer of Day, Abram Jones; Officer of Guard, Wm. H. Clark; Adjutant, James McCormick; Quartermaster, Nehemiah Sperry; Sergeant-Major, John L. Knapp; Quartermaster-Sergeant, Anselm J. Nowicki.

Stewart Hart Post, No. 169, of Mount Kisco.—This post was organized and mustered into service on the 21st day of July, 1880, on the nineteenth anniversary of the battle of Bull Run, by Comrade Herman W. Thum, of Koltes Post, 32, of New York City.

The charter members were:

George W. Beil, E. T. Bailey, William Bird, O. Clark, Geo. W. Cutler, Matthew Cutler, Edward Chapin, Uriah Dingee, Alexander Hamilton, Henry E. Hutchins, James Hill, Arthur Matthews, James Matthews, Benjamin E. Merritt, A. J. Osborne, Wesley Piersall and Franz Seitz.

The officers of the post to date are as follows:

Commanders: E. T. Bailey, for 1880, 1881 and 1882; George Beil, 1883; P. K. H. Sawyer, 1884; E. T. Bailey, 1885.

Senior Vice-Commanders: Alexander Hamilton, 1880; Wm. Baird, 1881 and 1882; Samuel W. Palmer, 1883, 1884 and 1885.

Junior Vice-Commanders: C. W. Piersall, 1880 and 1881; Samuel W. Palmer, 1882; W. T. Cole, 1883; Wesley Piersall, 1884 and 1885.

Surgeons: None in 1880; L. F. Pelton, 1881, 1882 and 1883; Uriah Dingee, 1884 and 1885.

Chaplains: O. Clark, 1880; D. D. Griffin, 1881; P. K. H. Sawyer, 1882; A. J. Osborne, 1883; Merritt A. Louden, 1884; Bernard A. Mulvey, 1885.

Officers of the Day: George W. Cutler, 1880, 1881 and 1882; Daniel Wood, 1883, 1884 and 1885.

Officers of the Guard: Uriah Dingee, 1880, 1881; Daniel Wood, 1882, 1883 and 1884; Henry E. Hutchins, 1885.

Quartermasters: George Beil, 1880, 1881 and 1882; Silas D. Louden, 1883 and 1884; George Beil, 1885.

Adjutants: Benjamin E. Merritt, 1880; Edward Chapin, 1881, 1882 and 1883; Benjamin E. Merritt, 1884 and 1885.

The complete list of the comrades of the post to date is as follows:

E. T. Bailey, second lieutenant, 95th N. Y. V. (discharged for disability); Alexander Hamilton, major and A. A. G. on General Staff; George Beil, private, 7th N. Y. V. (served as Brigade Orderly in 3d Brig., 1st Div., 2d Army Corps); Benjamin E. Merritt, 5th N. Y. H. Art. from 1862 to 1865; Wesley Piersall,† 5th N. Y. H. Art. (wounded at battle of Winchester in 1864, and a pensioner); George W. Cutler, sergeant, 5th N. Y. H. Art.; Edward Chapin, 2d Connecticut Light Battery; William Bird, 10th Connecticut; A. J. Osborne, 23d Connecticut; Oliver Clark, 5th N. Y. H. Art.; Henry E. Hutchins,† 49th N. Y. V. (wounded and a pensioner); Matthew Cutler, corporal, 5th N. Y. H. Art. (one year); Arthur Matthews, 5th N. Y. H. Art. (one year); James Hill, 36th N. Y. V. (two years); James Matthews, 5th N. Y. Vet. Vol. (two years); Uriah Dingee, 4th N. Y. H. Art.; William F. Banks, 6th N. Y. H. Art.; P. Cormick,† 7th N. Y. H. Art. (served, altogether, fourteen years in U. S. service, wounded and a pensioner); William Matthews, 17th N. Y. V. (two years); Samuel W. Palmer, sergeant, 1st N. Y. Mounted Rifles; William Williams, 6th N. Y. H. Art.; Silas D. Louden,† sergeant, 10th Connecticut (wounded and a pensioner); Daniel Wood, 57th N. Y. V.; Charles Raymond, 5th N. Y. H. Art.; Elisha Ferris, 6th N. Y. H. Art.; George W. Ackerly, 1st N. Y. Mounted Rifles (two years); Daniel Griffin, North Atlantic Squadron (clerk); Thomas J. Ackerman,† 6th N. Y. H. Art. (lost right arm by a cannon-ball and a pensioner); J. W. Farrington, 6th N. Y. H. Art.; Charles P. Kennedy, 5th N. Y. H. Art.; Hiram Smalley and Alexander Yerks, 6th N. Y. H. Art.; Israel T. See, 17th N. Y. V.; Elisha B. Sarles,† 49th N. Y. V. (wounded in the Wilderness and a pensioner); William Louden,† 5th N. Y. H. Art. (wounded at Locust Grove, Va., Nov. 24, 1863, and a pensioner); John Palmer, 120th N. Y. V.; Philip Hoffman, 30th N. J. V. (one year); James Feeks, 12th N. Y. V. (wounded and a pensioner); Thomas Ryan, 7th N. Y. V. (eighteen months); C. Van Tassell, 5th N. Y. V.; E. Reilly, 5th N. Y. H. Art. (eighteen months); Edward Tucker, 16th Veteran Reserve Corps; Abrah. Forkhill, 1st N. Y. Mounted Rifles (two years); Wm. A. Beekman, 4th N. Y. H. Art. (twenty-one months); Geo. W. Foshay, 6th N. Y. H. Art.; Wm. Braun,† 2d U. S. Art. (wounded and a pensioner); Bernard A. Mulvey, landsman on U. S. S. "Santee"; John Dexter, 6th N. Y. H. Art.

Since organization of post the following members have died:

Daniel D. Miller, 6th N. Y. H. Art. (a three years' man who died January 13, 1885); L. F. Pelton, surgeon, U. S. V. (died September 17, 1883); Harvey Ferris, 5th N. Y. H. Art. (three years, died September 8, 1881); P. H. K. Sawyer, assistant surgeon, 142d N. Y. V. (died March 31, 1885).

This closes the record of the post, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Comrade Beil, its first organizer. No list of officers for 1886 furnished. Comrade Beil has been since transferred to Farnsworth Post.

Farnsworth Post, No. 170, of Mount Vernon.—This post was organized on the 22d day of July, 1880, and mustered into service by Comrade Henry Osterheld, of Kitching Post, No. 60, of Yonkers.

The charter members were as follows:

James N. Jenkins, F. Whittaker, John G. Fay, And. Bridgeman, Geo. W. Bertholf, N. Van Horson, Wm. Wilson, Jr., D. E. Horton, Wm. G. Thiselton, J. L. D. Riker, Frederick Sauter, Simon Sternhagen.

The officers of the post to date are as follows:

Commanders: James H. Jenkins, 1880, 1881 and 1882; Frederick Whittaker, 1883; Nathan Van Horson, 1884 and 1885.

Senior Vice-Commanders: F. Whittaker, 1880 and 1881; John G. Fay, 1882; Nathan Van Horson, 1883; and Joseph H. Porter, 1884 and 1885.

Junior Vice-Commanders: John G. Fay, 1880 and 1881; Nathan Van Horson, 1882; Wm. Wilson, Jr., 1883; Wm. A. Anderson, 1884; Henry S. Sproull, 1885.

Chaplains: Nathan Van Horson, 1880 and 1881; Joseph H. Porter, 1882 and 1883; Stephen P. Hunt, 1884 and 1885.

† Wounded.

Surgeons: George W. Bertholf, 1880; Charles J. Nordquist, 1881 and 1882; Julius Dieckman, 1883; J. Q. A. Hollister, 1884 and 1885.

Officers of the Day: Wm. Wilson, Jr., 1880, 1881 and 1882; Samuel Tiebaut, 1883; J. L. D. Riker, 1884; John G. Fay, 1885.

Officers of the Guard: J. L. D. Riker, 1880, 1881, 1882 and 1883; Will. H. Mercer, 1884 and 1885.

Quartermasters: Andrew Bridgeman, 1880; Samuel Tiebaut, 1881; Herman Weiss, 1882, 1883, 1884 and 1885.

Adjutants: W. G. Thiselton, 1880, died; Wm. A. Anderson, 1880, 1881 and 1882; James H. Jenkins, 1883 and 1884; Wm. Wilson, Jr., 1885.

Sergeant-Major: John H. Davis, 1880 to 1885.

Quartermaster-Sergeant: George W. Van Pelt, 1882 to 1885.

The officers for 1886 are as follows:

Commander: James H. Jenkins (fourth term).
Senior Vice-Commander: Joseph H. Porter (third term).
Junior Vice Commander: John H. Davis.
Chaplain: Stephen P. Hunt (third term).
Officer of the Day: J. L. D. Riker.
Surgeon: J. Q. A. Hollister (third term).
Officer of the Guard: William H. Mercer (second term).
Adjutant: William Wilson, Jr. (second term).
Quartermaster: Henry S. Sproull.
Past Commanders: Nathan Van Horson, George W. Beil.

The names of the comrades of the post are as follows, with their regiments and military history in brief:

James N. Jenkins, captain, 23d C. V., three years; F. Whittaker,† lieutenant, 6th N. Y. Cav., four years; John G. Fay, captain, 3d N. Y. Inf., three years; A. Bridgeman, sergeant, 5th N. Y. Cav., three years; W. G. Thiselton,*† first sergeant, 6th N. Y. H. Art., three years; Wm. Wilson, Jr.,† captain, 33d N. J. Inf., four years; N. Van Norson,† private, 79th N. Y. Inf., three years; D. E. Norton, private, 6th N. Y. H. Art., three years; J. L. D. Riker, private, 14th N. Y. Inf., three years; George Bertholf, private, 39th N. J. Inf, nine months; Fred. Sauter,* private, 8th N. Y. H. Art, two years; Oliver Root,† private, 6th N. Y. H Art., three years; S. O. Howe, private, 8th N. Y. M., three months; Henry S. Sproull, private, 71st N. Y. M., three months; Wm. A. Anderson, hospital steward, U. S. A., three and one-half years; Samuel Tiebaut, second lieutenant, 5th N. Y. Inf., two years; James B. Spicer, private, 22d N. Y. M., three months; Simon Sternhagen, sergeant, 1st N. Y. M. R., three years and four months; Michael Redmond,* sergeant, 127th N. Y. Inf., three years; Leonard D. Tice, captain, 5th Vermont, three years; C. J. Nordquist, major, 9th N. Y. S. M., three years; Vincent Morgan, 6th N. Y. H. Art.; John L. Tice,*† private, 5th Vermont, three years; John L. Piper, private, 11th N. Y. V., seven months; Newton C. Dealing, private, 33d N. J. V., three years; Joseph H. Porter, corporal, 13th N. Y. Cav., two years; Jacob Scheuermann, 17th N. Y. S. M., thirty days; S. M. Saunders, captain, 158th N. Y., three months; H. S. Schenck, private, 38th N. Y., two years; Herman Slagle, private, 1st N. Y. V., four years; H. C. Weiss, sergeant, 6th N. Y. H. Art., three years; George Van Pelt, sergeant, 158th N. Y., three years; John H. Davis, private, 12th N. Y., one year; Stephen P. Hunt, private, 8th N. Y. H. Art., eighteen months; Alfred Cooley, captain and brevet major, 156th N. Y., three years; Gideon D. Pond, private, 19th Conn., four months; George H. Brown, sergeant, 6th Ind. N. Y. Battery, three years; Valentine M. Hodgson, first sergeant and brevet captain, 67th N. Y. Res. Corps, five years; John Koedding, private, 58th N. Y., three years; William Mitchell, private, 168th N. Y., two years and eight months, det. serv. 2d U. S. H. Art.; Nicholas Wilhelm, private 58th N. Y., one year and four months; William Mercer, corporal, 6th N. Y. H. Art., three years; John S. Willis, corporal, 1st N. Y. Engineers, three years; Anton Russi, private, 3d N. J. Battery, two years; Lewis Kessler, landsman navy, one year and three months; Michael P. Murphy, sergeant, 61st N. Y., one year and two months; W. N. Valentine, corporal, 1st N. Y. Cav., four years; Julius Dieckman,* major, 15th N. Y. H. Art., four years and six months; John P. Kracher, private, 6th N. Y. H. Art., two years and nine months; N. Buckley, private, 9th N. J., two years and one month; Paul Wagner, private, 41st N. Y., three years; John Zimmer, private, 15th N. Y. H. Art., one year and nine months; T. M. Reilly, first lieutenant, 5th N. Y. Cav., four years and two months; David C. Curtis, quartermaster, 173d N. Y., one year; John S. Tyler, corporal, 7th Mich., 15th U. S., three years; L. A. Van Buskirk, private, 33d N. J., two years; Nelson Jenkins, private, 39th N. J., nine months; Chas. J. Chatfield, first lieutenant, 23d N. Y., three years and four months; George W. Cooper, captain, 71st N. Y., two years and three months; John Meier,† sergeant, 52d N. Y., three years; Oscar H. Riker, private, 5th N. J. Battery, one year and eight months; Jerome Chappell, quartermaster-sergeant, 82d N. Y., three years; J. Q. A. Hollister,† captain, 112th N. Y., three years; David Lyon, private, 38th N. Y., two years and three months; J. Stewart, private, 8th Wisc., one year: Wm. H. Mandeville, sergeant, 5th N. Y. Ind. Battery, three years.

This closes the record of the Post to date. Since the above was written T. Whittaker has left the Post and joined Chas. Lawrence Post, No. 387, of Port Chester.

H. B. Hidden Post, No. 330, of City Island.—This post was organized by Comrade James H. Jenkins, of Farnsworth Post, January 27, 1883.

The charter members were,—

George E. Pinckney, first lieutenant, 131st N. Y.; Oswald Bergen, U. S. S. "Santee;" Joseph H. Glazier, 84th N. Y.; William Scoushough, U. S. S. "Wissahickon;" Henry Buhre,† 25th N. Y.; Theodore Bishop, U. S. S. "San Jacinto;" Eugene Reed, 32d "Maine;" S. T. Graham, U. S. N.; William B. Miller, 5th N. Y.; George W. Banta, 176th N. Y.; and Jerome Bell, 1st N. Y. Cav.

Since organization the following have been mustered into the post:

Richard Sherwood, 135th N. Y.; E. H. Gurney, 8th N. Y. Cav.; John S. Secord, 6th N. Y. H. Art.; William McGloin, U. S. S. "Vincennes;" Michael Egan, 45th N. Y.; John McNamara, 1st N. Y. M. Rifles; Robert Brown, Ellsworth Zouaves; Thomas McCarty, 1st N. Y. Cav.

The Commanders of the post to date are as follows:

Jerome Bell, 1883; George E. Pinckney, 1884; Jerome Bell, 1885.

During the past year this Post has moved its headquarters to New York City.

Charles Lawrence Post, No. 378.—This post was organized on the 29th of May, 1883, and mustered into service by Comrade Frederick Whittaker, of Farnsworth Post No. 170, of Mount Vernon, in time for Decoration Day.

The charter members were:

Richard Enoch, Charles De Mott, J. J. Martin, Matthew Douglass, Whitman Sackett, John E. Weed, W. H. Mosier, J. A. Louden, George Bulkley, Henry Dietz, Nicholas Fox, Daniel Booth, Thomas McGovern.

The officers of the post to date are as follows:

Commanders: Richard Enoch, 1883 and 1884; Charles De Mott, 1885.

Senior Vice-Commanders: J. J. Martin, 1883; John Foran, 1884 and 1885.

Junior Vice-Commanders: Whitman Sackett, 1883; Ardemas Barnes, 1884; Nicholas Fox, 1885.

Surgeons: William H. Hyler, 1883; N. J. Sands, 1884 and 1885.

Chaplains: John E. Weed, 1883 and 1884; W. F. Wakefield, 1885.

Officer of the Day: George Bulkley, 1883, 1884 and 1885.

Officers of the Guard: Nicholas Fox, 1883 and 1884; R. Foskey, 1885.

Quartermasters: William H. Mosier, 1883 and 1884; H. Dietz, 1885.

Adjutants: Charles De Mott, 1883 and 1884; William H. Hyler, 1885.

Sergeant-Major: C. S. Higgins, first appointment, 1885.

Quartermaster-Sergeant: A. Barnes, first appointment, 1885.

The officers for 1886 are as follows:

† Wounded. * Died.

† Wounded.

Commander, John Foran; Senior Vice-Commander, Nicholas Fox; Junior Vice-Commander, Charles Hughes; Surgeon, Dr. N. J. Sands; Chaplain, Rev. W. F. Wakefield; Officer of the Day, George W. Bulkley; Officer of the Guard, John A. Louden; Adjutant, Richard Enoch; Quartermaster, William H. Hyler; Sergeant-Major, Charles de Mott; Quartermarter-Sergeant, Henry Dietz.

The following is a list of the comrades of the post to date, with a record of service:

Nicholas Fox, 28th Conn., three years; Daniel Booth, 17th Conn., three years; Charles Hoeple, 28th Conn., three years; John Sherwood, 10th Conn., three years; J. H. Rascoe,† 5th Conn., three years; Albro Weir,† 25th Conn., three years; Charles Hughes, 10th Conn., three years; William H. Bailey, 6th Conn., three years; W. Sackett,† 17th Conn., three years; J. A. Louden, 17th Conn., three years; John Foran, 1st Mass. H. Art.; H. D. Cordner, 1st Mass. H. Art., three years; T. J. Coles, 5th Mass. Vol., three years; H. M. Lisle, 1st N. Y. Vol., three years; Ardemas Barnes, Amasa Conover, Henry Dietz,† Geo. Buckley and J. J. Martin, all of 17th N. Y. Vol. (the Port Chester company); William Smith,† 70th N. Y. Vol., three years; G J. McBride, 97th N. Y. Vol., three years; Stephen Bluxomel,† 127th N. Y. Vol., three years; Alex. McBride, 49th N. Y. Vol., three years; A. J. Maris, 65th N. Y. Vol, three years; R. L. Place, 127th N. Y. Vol., three years; Fred. Brittner, 74th N. Y. Vol., three years; Charles De Mott, 22d N Y. Vol., three years; W. H. Madden, 103d N. Y. Vol., three years; Wallace McBride, 165th N. Y. Vol., three years; D. A. Butterfield,† 51st N. Y. Vol., three years; M. Billington, 35th N. Y. Vol., three years; M. Douglass, 79th N. Y. Vol., three years; B. Baruch,† 7th N. Y. Vol., three years; J. McGovern, 82d N. Y. Vol., three years; Richard Enoch,† 53d N. Y. Vol., three years; J. E. Weed, 49th N. Y. Vol., three years; James B. Lynch, 199th Pa. Vol., three years; G. L. Drumen, 1st N. J. Vol., three years; Edward Knott,† 3d N. J. Vol., three years; William F. Wakefield, 2d N. Y. Art., three years; C. S. Higgins, 4th N. Y. H. Art., three years; William H. Mosier, W. H. Hees, S. D. Burger, Thomas J. Halpin,† Sullivan Lockwood and John Hughes, all of the 6th N. Y. H. Art., three years; B. Foskey, 9th N. Y. Cav., Edwin Church,† 2d N. Y. Cav., G. E. Blackman,† 3d N. Y. Cav., all three years; William H. Hyler was in the 159th N. Y. Vol., and also in the U. S. S. "Wateree," for the whole period of the war, and after; Thomas G. Sutton belonged to the Veteran Volunteer Battery of New York State.

Of the New York State Militia, mustered into the United States service for periods of three months or more, there are:

Henry Dietz, J. J. Post and E. F. Terhune, 71st; N. J. Sands, 15th; C. H. Kniffen, 15th; William Morrison, 15th; George E. Jardine, 37th Regiments.

Cromwell Post, No. 466, *of White Plains.*—This post was organized March 19, 1884, by Comrade James H. Jenkins, of Farnsworth Post.

The charter members were Valentine M. Hodgson, Edward B. Long, John C. Verplanck, George W. Brown, Edward W. Bogart, Henry I. Williams, Berlin K. Palmer, David P. Barnes, George W. Coventry, James S. Snedeker, Richard Roach, Charles Whiston and George Lewis.

Valentine M. Hodgson was Commander for 1884, and the officers for 1885 were Commander, Edward B. Long; S. V. C., Crawford N. Smith; J. V. C., George W. Coventry; Surgeon, David P. Barness; Chaplain, David W. Bogart; Officer of Day, George W. Brown; Officer of Guard, Henry J. Williams; Adjutant, Edward W. Bogart; Q. M., Berlin H. Palmer; Q. M. S., James McCarty.

The following is a list of the members, with their military history in brief:

Valentine M. Hodgson, first lieutenant, 67th N. Y.; Edward B. Long, 1st N. J.; John C. Verplanck, musician, 32d N. Y.; George W Brown, 53d Ky.; James S. Snedeker, landsman, gunboat "Hybiscus;" Berlin H. Palmer, 51st N. Y.; Edward W. Bogart, 95th N. Y.; David P. Barnes, first sergeant, 6th N. Y. H. Art.; R. Roach and H. I. Williams, 6th N. Y. H. Art.; George W. Coventry, 40th N. Y.; Charles B. Whiston, 27th N. Y.; Robinson W. Smith, 76th N. Y.; Sidney Martine, 32d N. Y.; James H. Budway, 38th N. Y.; Daniel W. Flandrow, 95th N. Y.; Daniel W. Bogart, drummer, 95th N. Y.; James A. McCarty, 4th N. Y.; George H. Morse, 29th Mass.; Oscar Stephens, 5th N. Y.; Crawford N. Smith, 3d U. S. Inf.; Thomas Rush, 164th N. Y.; Henry A. Maynard, 21st N. Y.; John Lowry, 3d Regt. Prov. N. Y. Cav.; John Simmons, 49th N.Y.; Alexander Jones, 128th N. Y.; Benjamin S. Dick, 22d N. Y. S. M.; Mervin Sniffin, 6th N. Y. H. Art.; J. O. Spencer, yeoman, U. S. S., "Katahdin;" Stanley F. Newell, 37th N. Y.

Ward B. Burnett Post, No. 496, *of Tarrytown.*—This post was organized July 1, 1884, W. C. Reddy, of Post Rice, New York City, being the mustering officer.

Charles N. McCutchen, late of Vosburgh Post, Peekskill, was the organizer and first Commander of this post for 1884, and was succeeded by C. J. Carpenter, who is the present Commander.

The charter members were:

Richard B. Coutant, Charles N. McCutchen, Henry White, J. C. Jones, Louis Helwig, Thomas Arthur, Charles Humphreys, Joseph S. M. Slagle, J. J. Linson, Alexander Hamilton, Jacob Van Tassell, Harry J. Parnell, C. T. Carpenter, E. T. Yocom, Thomas Rawcliffe, William Covert, Bishop Armstrong, William C. Cushing, Jacob Wood, Henry Humphreys, George B. Cypher and James D. See.

Since organization of the post the following members have been mustered in: Thomas Birdsall, Thomas Taxter, Sylvester Gesner, B. Frank Davis and Elias Bryant.

The list sent by the Commander of the post did not give the regiments of the members in full.

B. F. Davis and C. J. Carpenter belonged to the Seventh and Eighth Regiments of New York Militia, respectively, and served for three and six months.

The post, in succeeding one that had succumbed, after a struggle of several years, has probably but a short existence before it.

Of the charter members several seem to have joined by transfer from other posts.

C. Theodore Carpenter, Commander; Edward S. Yocom, Senior Vice-commander; Thomas Rawcliff, Junior Vice-Commander; William E. Cushing, Adjutant; Bishop Armstrong, Quartermaster; Thomas Birdsall, Chaplain; Jacob W. Wood, Officer of Day; Henry Humphrey, Officer of Guard.

Horatio Seymour Post, No. 590, *of Yonkers.*—This post was mustered in at Yonkers on Tuesday, June 29, 1886, by Comrade John C. Shotts, of Kitching Post, with the following membership:

Commander: Frederic Shonnard, major, 6th N. Y. H. A.; Senior Vice-Commander: Fisher A. Baker, lieutenant-colonel, 18th Mass. Vol.; Junior Vice-Commander: Edward J. Maxwell, first lieutenant, 63d N. Y. Vol.; Surgeon: Dr. Galusha B. Balch, assistant surgeon, 2d N. Y. Vet. Cav.; Chaplain: John Forsyth; Officer of the Day: James V. Lawrence; brevet-major, Gen. Staff; Officer of the Guard: Augustus W. Nichol; Quartermaster: William Welsh, captain, 68th N. Y. Vol. (by proxy of Comrade Matt. Ellis, formerly of Kitching Post); Adjutant: James F. Farrell, captain, 5th N. Y. Art.; Sergeant-Major: George W. Farnum, corporal, 23d Conn. Vol.; Quartermaster-Sergeant: Thos. Ewing, brevet major general, Army of the Frontier.

Frederick Whittaker

† Wounded.

CHAPTER X.

WESTCHESTER COUNTY AT THE PRESENT DAY.

BY J. THOMAS SCHARF, A.M., LL.D.

One has but to glance at any good map of New York City to realize what must with almost absolute certainty be the rare good fortune of Westchester County. The great metropolis has already stretched its briarean arms in all directions from its northern limits, and its geographical necessities compel it to spread outward like a fan over the surface of Westchester County. Its present corporate shape may be compared to the Cleopatra's needle, which now forms one of its notable monuments. The city is, in fact, a rude obelisk, with its base on the boundary line of Yonkers and its apex at the Battery. The general uniformity of the outline is preserved on the one side by the East River and on the other side, and much more regularly, by the Hudson. These great water highways necessarily interpose a formidable obstacle to the spread of population in either direction, and although the introduction of steam ferriage and the construction of the Brooklyn bridge have modified the inconveniences of transit across broad rivers, the general trend of population continues to the northward. Elevated railroads and the development of transportation facilities have brought all portions of the county within easy reach, and New York is steadily absorbing the outlying territory. Morrisania and Fordham have already been appropriated, and, with the accelerated ratio of increasing population, the day is probably not far distant when almost the entire county will have become little more than a suburb of New York.

A writer of twenty years ago,[1] speaking of the contemplated improvements beyond the then northern boundaries of the city, says: "Assuredly this region will be the site of the future magnificence of this metropolis. During the coming five or ten years the Fifth Avenue will no doubt be soonest built up, and built up grandly, but the city will not stop on that account; it will be succeeded by an age of imperial magnificence. That will be the day for the now neglected west side of the island. The poetical prophecy,

'Westward the star of empire takes its way,'

and which is fast becoming historical truth, will receive another illustration." Much of this prediction has already been realized and a comparatively brief period in the future may be expected to work a wonderful transformation in the physiognomy of those portions of Westchester County which as yet have not assumed the distinctively urban character.

While the people of Westchester may felicitate themselves on the added prosperity and increase in values of property which the change will involve, they will have to deplore the inevitable loss in picturesqueness, beauty and variety of interest which the county now presents to the eye in such eminent degree. Cities are ruthless destroyers of rural scenery. They fill up the bosky dells, demolish the picturesque crag and towering hill, mow down the lordly giants of the forest and annihilate the general aspect of rural loveliness and peace. The least sentimental of landowners must regret the inflow of urban population, when, as in Westchester, it involves the destruction of as lovely bits of landscape as the eye of man ever rested on. Traversed by picturesque ridges and romantic streams, with the blue expanse of Long Island Sound on the one side and the lordly Hudson on the other, the county is exceptionally favored by nature, and there is no strip of territory of equal extent in the whole country which combines in the same degree advantages of location and beauty of surface with the artificial adornments wrought in the lapse of many generations by intelligent direction and skill.

While the bolder beauties of the Hudson are not comprised within its limits, its territory adjacent to the borders of that classic stream has long been a favorite theme for song and story. Cooper, Paulding and Irving have drawn a rich store of literary material from within its confines, and the bold, original genius of Poe found much of its inspiration while the poet was roaming along the banks of the river or gazing from the windows of his little cottage at Fordham.

The development along the shore of the Hudson is a striking indication of what may be anticipated for the whole of Westchester County. "The whole region of country bordering the Hudson River, north of Spuyten Duyvel," says a writer,[2] "was, until within a very recent period, occupied by isolated residences and grand estates, some of them embracing several thousand acres. Notable examples were the Philipse and Livingston Manors, the titles to which came directly from the crown. Gradually these extensive tracts were sub-divided, leaving still, however, large areas in the possession of single individuals. Many of these smaller estates have undergone a process of improvement and embellishment, until the lordly mansions on the Hudson have become famed on both sides of the Atlantic for their beauty and picturesque surroundings. . . . Art has done its share to add to the charms of the landscape. Here are the residences of many leading New Yorkers,—elegant, comfortable homes, surrounded with tastefully ornamented grounds, and presenting all the evidences of that domestic enjoyment which is, after all, the sun of human happiness."

Following the course of the Hudson within the boundaries of Westchester County, we pass in succes-

[1] The Growth of New York, New York, 1865, p. 42.

[2] Description and Map of Castle Ridge, Tarrytown.

sion through many noted localities. The first point of interest is High Bridge, now within the corporate limits of New York, which carries the waters of the Croton Reservoir across the valley of the Harlem River at an elevation of one hundred feet, and is one of the noted engineering triumphs of the world.

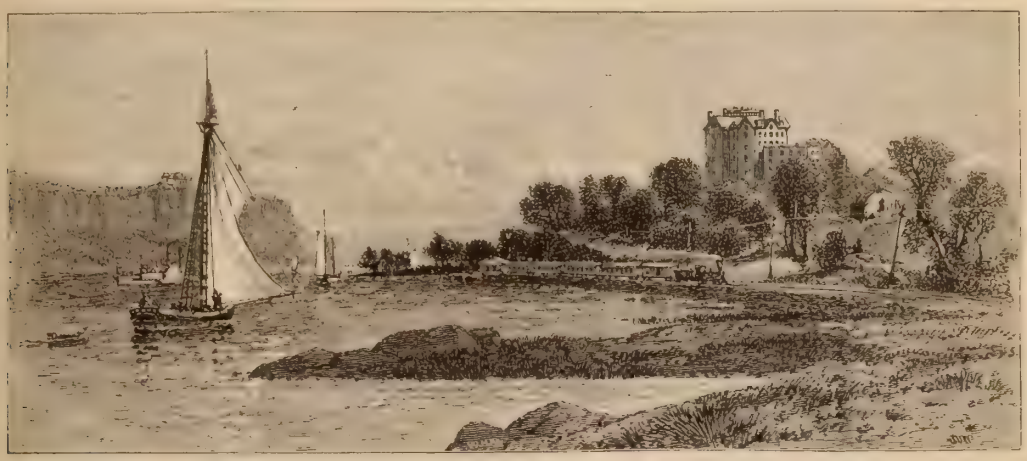
The hamlet of King's Bridge is charmingly located in a beautiful valley, near the point where the Harlem flows into the Hudson. High, rolling hills encompass it, on the crests of which are fortifications and fine growths of timber. The locality was first selected by the Dutch as the site of their projected city, New Amsterdam, but afterwards abandoned.

After leaving King's Bridge we approach the city of Yonkers, the largest town in the county, pausing by the way to take a glance at Fort Washington and the Spuyten Duyvel. From Manhattanville to Fort Washington, two miles below Spuyten Duyvel, the shore line presents a fine range of heights, once handsomely wooded. The mounds of the old fort mark a spot which was famous in Revolutionary annals. The loss of this important post, followed, as it was, shortly afterward by the fall of Fort Lee, on the opposite bank of the Hudson, was a disastrous blow to the American cause and spread consternation and gloom throughout the colonies. Washington Heights, which crown the ridge near the site of Fort Washington, are the site of many fine residences.

The Spuyten Duyvel, it is said, derives its name from a legendary anecdote narrated by Washington Irving, who ascribes the performance from which it arose to Anthony Van Corlaer, trumpeter to the doughty Governor Stuyvesant. The original legend asserts that a valiant Dutchman, obstinately bent on crossing the stream in a storm, attempted to swim across "en spyt den duyvel" (in spite of the devil), but midway sank and was seen no more.

Westchester County proper begins at the Spuyten Duyvel. The scenery in the immediate vicinity is very fine. At Riverdale Station, on the Hudson River Railroad (the first station beyond the Spuyten Duyvel), a splendid view is had of the Hudson, with the villas clustered along the eastern bank and the Palisades showing their perpendicular fronts against the swelling outlines of the Ramapo Range. The city of Yonkers is seen in the distance, and near at hand are the convent of Mount St. Vincent and the castle-like mansion (belonging to the convent) which was formerly the property of Edwin Forrest, the tragedian.

The scenery in the immediate neighborhood is made up of undulating hills, sloping gently to the river's range, with innumerable mansions and cottages embowered in trees. The settlement of Riverdale is unique in its way, being a group of handsome residences, the effect of which is unbroken by meaner dwellings or business houses.



VIEW OF FORT WASHINGTON, 1886.[1]

The approach to the city of Yonkers is extremely interesting and picturesque. Handsome knolls and ranges of hills line the edge of the valley, and, on a fine eminence, is the large stone mansion of the Van Cortlandts, the road to which lies through the wooded range known as "Cortlandt's Ridge." It passes over a deep ravine, through which flows a sparkling brook, and is lined by masses of jagged rock. In front of the mansion a handsome view is obtained of the valley of Yonkers, and at the foot of the hill flows Tippet's Brook. On the west side of the ridge is a charming view of the Hudson River, the Palisades and adjacent hills. The ancient residence of the Cortlandt family stands in the valley below, about a mile from King's Bridge. A portion of the estate has been laid out as a park.

Yonkers, seventeen miles from the City Hall of New York, is doubly interesting from its historical associations and its size and importance as the principal town in the county. As the seat of the Philipse

[1] From "Hudson River Illustrated." Copyright, 1875. By D. Appleton & Co.

Manor it was formerly known as Philipsburgh. The old Philipse manor-house is one of the landmarks on the river. In the immediate vicinity are many palatial residences, including "Greystone," the residence of Hon. Samuel J. Tilden. For many years Yonkers was an easy-going Dutch village, but after the opening of the Hudson River Railroad it sprang into sudden life and activity and soon became a flourishing suburb of the metropolis. It is now one of the handsomest cities in the country.

Hastings, the first village above Yonkers, is the spot where Cornwallis, after the fall of Fort Washington, crossed the river to attack Fort Lee. About a mile further on is Dobbs Ferry, near which was fought the battle of White Plains in October, 1776. The Livingston manor-house, near by, was the headquarters of Washington and also the spot where the conference was held in 1783, between George Clinton and Sir Guy Carleton, the British commander, with reference to the evacuation of New York City. At Dobbs Ferry the Hudson widens into a bay which is known as the Tappan Zee.

Irvington, in the immediate vicinity of Dobbs Ferry, derives its name from Washington Irving, whose former residence, "Sunnyside," is one of the chief points of retreat on the river. It stands near the river, embowered in a dense growth of shrubbery. It is of stone, with many gables, the eastern side being clothed with ivy from slips presented to Irving by Sir Walter Scott at Abbotsford. The original structure was the "Woolfert's Roost," which gives its title to one of Irving's sketches. On the opposite bank is Tappan, memorable as the scene of the massacre of Baylor's regiment by the British under General Grey, and from the fact that about a mile from the town Major Andre, the victim of Arnold's treachery, was executed and buried.

Tarrytown, about a mile beyond Tappan and on the eastern side of the river, was the scene of Andre's capture. Here was erected a monument in honor of Van Wart, who was one of the three American militiamen who seized the unfortunate young officer. Here also is the famous old Dutch Church, heavy with the marks of more than two centuries, and Sleepy Hollow, described by Irving in his well-known legend narrating the luckless courtship of Ichabod Crane. The neighborhood is rich in interesting associations growing out of the residence here for many years of Washington Irving and members of his household; and the romantic beauty of the surroundings fully fortifies the deep and strong affection which Irving contracted for his riverside cottage and the adjacent neighborhood. Tarrytown is now a charming suburban locality, its hills affording handsome sites for many beautiful villas surrounded by well-kept gardens



THE CITY OF YONKERS.[1]

[1] From "Hudson River Illustrated." Copyright, 1875. By D. Appleton & Co.

and lawns. Nearly opposite Tarrytown the Palisades form a lofty cliff, near the shore, called Point-no-Point, and the scenery on both banks of the river in the immediate neighborhood is indescribably beautiful.

Sing Sing, noted as the site of one of the State Prisons, is the next town on the eastern bank of the river. The surrounding scenery is picturesque. About a mile to the east of the town are the Chappaqua Springs. On the west side of the river are Grassy Point and Stony Point, with Forts Clinton and Montgomery, both noted strongholds in the Revolutionary War. About two miles above Sing Sing is the source of the Croton River, which furnishes the water supply for New York City. It is conveyed by an aqueduct forty miles long, with sixteen tunnels and forty-four bridges. Croton Point, four miles above Sing Sing, is a tongue of land projecting into the river and covered with vineyards and orchards. It separates Tappan Zee from Haverstraw Bay. At its extremity a noble view of the river is obtained. Some distance below is Point-no-Point and in the opposite direction the Highlands loom into view. The upper end of Haverstraw Bay is marked by Stony Point on the west and Verplanck's Point on the east. Verplanck's Point was also the site of a fort in the Revolutionary period. The view from this spot is exceedingly beautiful, commanding the passage through the Highlands at West Point. Nearly opposite is Gibraltar or Caldwell's Landing, which marks the commencement of the Highlands.

> "By wooded bluff we steal, by leaning lawn;
> By palace, village, cot, a sweet surprise
> At every turn the vision breaks upon;
> Till to our wondering and uplifted eyes
> The highland rocks and hills in solemn grandeur rise."

It was here that the search was made many years ago for sunken treasure supposed to have been deposited by the noted buccaneer and freebooter, Captain Kidd.

Beyond Verplanck's Point, on the east bank, is Peekskill, forty-three miles from New York. It stands upon a broad bay, at the mouth of a creek, and looks out upon the Dunderberg or Thunder Mountain. It is historically noted as the place where Edward Palmer, a British spy, was executed by order of General Putnam. He was hanged from a tree on the village green. The beautiful Highlands rise in their lovely majesty to the northward and westward of the town, and the river, pent up into a narrow channel between their flinty jaws, rushes onward in impetuous course only to spread out again in the beautiful, placid bay of Haverstraw. There is no grander river scenery in the world than at this portion of the Hudson. Writing of the Highlands, Dr. Mitchell says,—"This solid barrier of rock, which is sixteen miles wide and extends along both sides of the Hudson to the distance of twenty miles, in ancient days seems to have impeded the course of the water and to have raised a lake high enough to cover all the country to Quaker Hill and the Taghkanic Mountains on the east, and to Shawangunk and the Catskills on the west, extending to the Little Falls of the Mohawk, and to the Hadley Falls of the Hudson, but by some convulsion of nature the mountain chain had been broken, and thus the rushing waters found their way to the now New York Bay."

Near Peekskill the territory of Westchester terminates at the boundary line which separates it from Putnam County. It would be impossible to depict in language the manifold beauties and advantages of its Hudson River front, already lined with beautiful homes and destined to become, no doubt, in course of time, one of the most densely populated localities in all the world. For nearly fifty miles it presents an unbroken succession of picturesque building sites with charming prospects of hill and river scenery, thought by many to be unrivaled in any quarter of the globe.

On the other side of the county, skirting Long Island Sound, a widely different panorama is presented, but one which also has individual charms and beauties of its own. The shore line is broken into many promontories or peninsulas and the general effect is remarkably diversified and beautiful. Westchester, the township contiguous to New York City on the east, presents a rolling surface, with fine grass and pasture lands, which are abundantly watered by small streams and springs. The Bronx River, flowing through the middle of the township, is the principal stream, and along its banks are many beautiful localities. The general appearance of the valley is most romantic. East of "Bronxdale" is a low tract of land known as "Bear Swamp," which derives its name from the savage animal that formerly made its home in the morass. Throckmorton's Neck, between Westchester Creek and Pelham Bay, is the site of many handsome residences which command noble views of Long Island Sound. At its extremity stands Fort Schuyler, one of the defenses of New York City from approach by way of the Sound. Here the tides from opposite directions meet in the Sound. Opposite City Island, on the northeast side of the point, are the well-known Stepping-Stones, a line of rocks projecting from the Long Island shore, which become visible at low water. On the highest of them stands the light-house known as "Stepping-Stone Light." On the northeast side of the point lies Locust Island, and on the south are many handsome residences lining the western shore of the East River, including the old Livingston place, noted for its beautiful cedar of Lebanon, said to be the finest in the United States. It is fifty feet in height and its branches extend for a distance of fifty feet. On the road from the Point to Westchester village are many beautiful residences. On the eastern side of Westchester Creek, in Castle Hill Neck, stands the old Wilkins mansion, now a farm-house, in which it is said three Loyalist clergymen, including Dr. Seabury, (afterwards bishop of Connecticut), were secreted during the Revolution.

Cornell's Neck, in the southwest corner of the town, between the Bronx River and Pugsley's Creek, commands some beautiful views of East River and the adjacent islands. The noted property known as "De Lancey's Mill" is located about three miles from the mouth of the Bronx and opposite the village of West Farms. The township of the latter name—formerly part of the borough of Westchester and now incorporated with the city of New York—contains many beautiful sites, among them being the former residence of the poet, Joseph Rodman Drake, on Hunt's Point, near its extremity, overlooking the East River and Flushing Bay. Near the entrance of Jefferd's Neck is Rose Bank, the beautiful estate of William H. Leggett, on the bank of the East River, which here has the appearance of a lake. In front of the house a view is had of Riker's Island, the Two Brothers, the entrance to Hell Gate, with New York City in the distance. The ancient Manor of Morrisania, also at one time a part of Westchester County, is now a district of New York City. It was originally a favorite resort of the Indians, as is shown by the numerous remains discovered in mounds, etc., and remained but sparsely settled for years. In 1848, however, it began to yield to the encroachment of the city's population, and, in course of time, a flourishing town was built up. It now forms the thickly-populated Twenty-third Ward of New York City. Mott Haven, which occupied part of the ancient tract of Morrisania, is the seat of an extensive iron foundry established by Jordan L. Mott. Adjoining it is the Harlem Bridge, affording communication with the city proper. In the vicinity of the bridge is the terminus of the New Haven and Hudson River Railroad, with a large depot and dock. On an elevation northeast of the depot stands the manor-house of what at one time was known as "Old Morrisania," with the ancient vault of the Morris family. On the east side of the Mill Brook, at the southwest angle of the old township of Morrisania, stands the country-seat of the noted statesman, Gouverneur Morris. It is eight miles from New York City and nearly opposite Hell Gate, commanding a noble view of the surrounding country and the river. The Mill Brook Valley passes near the old mansion to its junction with the Harlem Kills. It was the scene, during the Revolution, of many daring exploits of Enoch Crosby, the noted spy. About two miles from Harlem Bridge, near the banks of the stream, in the neighborhood of Tremont, lived the celebrated Charlotte Temple.

East of the brook and nearly opposite North and South Brother Islands, East River, lies Port Morris, said to be "unsurpassed for the anchorage of large vessels by any port in the world." At one of the docks here the famous "Great Eastern" rode in safety. Just above Port Morris, opposite Riker's Island, there is an admirable site for a navy-yard, with the means at hand for constructing a fresh-water basin to be supplied by the Bronx, in which large fleets could be floated. The natural advantages of the locality as a shipping and terminal point are indeed exceptionally fine, and must be greatly enhanced by the completion of the Hell Gate improvement.

The town of Pelham, adjoining Westchester on the east, presents a singular variety of outline, due to the incorporation within its boundaries of Hunter's and City Islands, which cause it to project far out into Long Island Sound. It is historically noted as the scene of the murder of the famous zealot, Anne Hutchinson, who, fleeing from the stern Puritans of Massachusetts, settled either on Pelham Neck or in the immediate vicinity. Pelham Neck is now the site of many handsome residences, chief among which for its historical interest is the Bowne dwelling, which stands on the spot once occupied by the manor-house of Thomas Pell, first lord of the Manor of Pelham, from which the township derives its name. A fine view of City Island and the Sound and Pelham Bay is to be obtained from this locality. City Island is so named from the hopes of the early settlers, inspired by its great advantages of location, that it would one day become the site of a great commercial city. It is a beautiful spot, but its only important industry is a large dock-yard, at which a number of noted yachts have been built. To the eastward lies Hart Island, the site of a city hospital and work-house. Hunter's Island is connected with the main land by a stone causeway and bridge. From the mansion, about the middle of the island, a noble view is afforded.

New Rochelle, the next township, possesses a double interest on account of its natural beauties and interesting historical associations as the site of the ancient Huguenot settlement. In its immediate vicinity the waters of the Sound are dotted with numerous islands, and in the distance the shores of Long Island present a smiling landscape, varied by cosy villages and prosperous looking farm-houses. Nearly opposite the town of New Rochelle is a promontory extending into the entrance to Hempstead Bay, which is known as Kidd's Point, from the popular supposition that Captain Kidd, the pirate, buried some of his ill-gotten treasure there. The lands of this portion of the county, as a rule, are level and stony, but the soil is productive and there are handsome growths of timber on the unimproved tracts.

Mamaroneck, adjoining New Rochelle on the east, was a favorite resort of the Indians, who are supposed to have been attracted by the remarkable beauty of the scenery. The Mamaroneck River, which forms the eastern boundary of the town, is a romantic stream, winding through a picturesque and fertile country and forming some charming valleys. The general surface of the township is broken by hills and the scenery is often wild and impressive. The town is well watered by streams and, altogether, presents unusual attractions as a place of residence.

Rye, the last of the townships that front on the Sound, has the general characteristics of this portion

of the country strongly defined. The surface of the shore is broken and rocky, while the interior comprises fertile ridges and plains. Along the water-front are a number of islands, chief among which is Manussing, on which the first settlements were made.

The interior townships of Westchester County are North Salem, Lewisboro, Poundridge, Bedford, North Castle and Harrison in the northern portion; White Plains, Scarsdale and East Chester (with a small water front at the head of Pelham Bay) in the eastern portion, New Castle west of the centre, and Yorktown, Somers and North Salem in the western portion. Those fronting on the Hudson, beginning at New York City and traveling westward, are Yonkers, Greenburgh, Mount Pleasant, Ossining and Cortlandt. The entire face of the county is well watered by a number of streams and lakes and is remarkable for the picturesqueness of its scenery in almost every part. It may be said to consist, roughly speaking, of several ridges of hills parallel to the Hudson River, and separated by valleys. These hills constitute two general ranges, one extending along the Hudson and the other along the boundary line between the States of New York and Connecticut. They are broken up into a number of smaller hills and ridges, whose general course is north and south. The highest are from six hundred to one thousand feet above tide-water. The valleys, also extending north and south, are bordered, as a rule, by cultivated slopes, which add much to the variety and interest of the scenery. The roads running north and south, as they follow the general course of the valleys, are usually level, but those extending from east to west, across the hills and ridges, are very uneven and marked by many deep ascents and descents. In some portions of the county the hills are rocky and precipitous and the scenery bold and impressive.

The principal streams of the county are Peekskill Creek, Furnace Brook, the Croton, Pocantico and Neperhan Rivers, and Tippett's Brook, tributary to the Hudson and the Bronx Rivers; Westchester and Hutchinson's Creeks, Mamaroneck and Byram Rivers, flowing into Long Island Sound; Maharness and Stamford Mill Rivers, flowing east into Connecticut; and Muscoot Creek, Plumb Brook, and Titicus, Cross and Kisco Rivers, tributaries of the Croton. A number of small lakes are located chiefly in the more hilly districts in the north and west. The chief of those are Waccabuc, in Lewisboro; Cross Lake, in Poundridge; Byram Lake, in North Castle; Rye Pond, in Harrison; and Croton and Mohegan Lakes, in Yorktown. The southeastern portion of the county along the Sound is deeply indented by bays and estuaries, which in some instances are bordered by large marshes. By the reflux action of the tide in the streams flowing into the Sound, hydraulic power is furnished which is utilized in several places.

The geological formations of the county have already been described, but it may be added that to its other advantages as a place of residence Westchester adds the important one of an abundance of building stone of the best quality. There are valuable quarries of marble at Sing Sing and traces of valuable ores have been discovered. Several mineral springs have been found in different portions of the county, chief among which is Chappaqua Springs, three miles east of Sing Sing, and esteemed for its medicinal qualities.

The soil of Westchester, owing to the disintegration of natural rock from which it is derived, is mainly of a light and sandy character, capable of great improvements and rendered very fertile by judicious cultivation and the application of manures. Drift deposits and alluvium appear on the Hudson, along the Sound and in other localities. These furnish a much more productive soil. The agricultural interests of the county, as fully set forth in the township histories, are mainly devoted to supplying milk to the New York market, and to gardening, fruit-raising and fattening cattle. The mechanical industries are very large and important. Immense quantities of brick and tile are manufactured along the Hudson for exportation. In the southern part of the county a large number of the inhabitants are employed in New York City. The county, as we have indicated, is steadily becoming more and more popular with the class who appreciate the great advantages of semi-rural homes as a relief from the cares of business. In the summer months the population, of course, is greatly increased. Many wealthy inhabitants of New York have summer residences in the county, and not a few prefer to live here both winter and summer. Among those whose palatial residences adorn the county are Hon. Samuel J. Tilden, Royal C. Vilas, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, the Hamiltons, Lorillards, Jays, Tituses, Wetmores, Havemeyers, Jay Gould, Cyrus W. Field, David Dudley Field, James B. Colgate, W. H. Beers, William Allen Butler, John B. Trevor, David Hawley, Thomas W. Ludlow, Leonard W. Jerome, S. H. Kneeland, George H. Halsey, T. B. Underhill, Nathaniel Valentine, Isaac W. Fowler, Jacob D. Odell, Charles E. Waring, Edward Haight, James T. Adee, Lorillard Spencer, W. A. Dooley, P. R. Underhill, L. D. Huntingdon, Adrian Iselin, George G. Sickles, John Stephenson, E. H. De Lancey, E. F. De Lancey, J. Hairland, G. R. Jackson, J. M. Tilford, G. W. Quintard, C. L. Tiffany, David Dows, Philip Schuyler, the Burrs, the Sacketts, the Minturns, General E. L. Viele, H. A. Chauncey, Professor J. W. Draper, P. J. Armour, Cortlandt Palmer, J. C. Fargo, E. O. Matthiessen, Eliphalet Wood, H. R. Bishop, James Benedict, the late William E. Dodge, Robert Hoe, John T. Terry, George Lewis, S. B. Scheffelin, the Beekmans, John Anderson, A. C. Kingsland, H. Aspinwall, O. B. Potter, General George W. Morell, the Onderdonks, Colonel Van Cortlandt, Philip Van Wyck, D. L. Seymour, William Nelson and many others of equal prominence.

POPULATION. — The population of Westchester County in 1880, when the last census was taken, was 108,988, a loss of 22,360 as compared to the census of 1870, when the population was 131,348. This loss was due to the annexation, in 1874, of part of the county to the city of New York. It is a curious fact to note that the county lost, through this annexation, near thirty-seven per cent. of its foreign born population, as against nine and one-third per cent. of its native population.

In 1880 there was a slight preponderance of females—54,976 against 54,012 males; but the balance stood on the other side as regards children from five to seventeen years,—15,332 being boys and 14,748 girls. There were 22,043 men fit for military duty, —*i.e*, from eighteen to forty-four years old, inclusive; 7826 were over forty-four years of age, making the total voting population 29,869.

The death-rate per thousand was small, as compared to that of the whole State. The census tables do not give the mortality in each separate county, but in groups of several counties. Group No. 1, comprising Kings, Queens, Richmond, Rockland and Westchester, exclusive of New York and Brooklyn, presents a total population of 299,075 souls, and a mortality of 4881,—males, 2622; females, 2259,—which gives a death-rate of 16.32 per thousand. The death-rate for the whole State is 17.38. The Westchester group is, therefore, greatly favored by Nature and may boast of an uncommonly healthy climate. The difference between these two rates will be better understood when it is remembered that the mortality in the whole State—88,332 deaths in a population of 5,082,871 inhabitants—includes that of all the large cities where death's harvest is always greater than in the rural districts. The deaths in New York City and Brooklyn alone aggregate 43,208, or very near half the number of deaths in the whole State, and, taken from their joint population of 1,772,962, average 24.94 per thousand.

The population of the various towns in the county, according to the census of 1870 and 1880, was as follows:

	1880.	1870.
Bedford Town, including Mt. Kisco and Village	3731	3697
Mount Kisco Village	728	
Cortlandt Town, including Peekskill Village	12,664	11,694
Peekskill Village	6893	6500
East Chester Town, including Mt. Vernon Village	8737	7491
Mount Vernon Village	4586	2700
Greenburgh Town, including Tarrytown Village	8934	10,790
Tarrytown Village	3025	
Harrison Town	1494	787
Lewisboro Town	1612	1601
Mamaroneck Town	1863	1483
Mount Pleasant Town, including North Tarrytown Village	5450	5210
North Tarrytown Village	2864	
New Castle Town	2297	2152
New Rochelle Town	5276	3915
North Castle Town	1818	1996
North Salem Town	1693	1754
Ossining Town, including Ossining Village	8769	7798
Sing Sing Village	6578	4696
Pelham Town	2540	1790
Poundridge Town	1034	1191
Rye Town, including Port Chester Village	6576	7150
Port Chester Village	3254	3797
Scarsdale Town	614	517
Somers Town	1630	1721
Westchester Town	6789	6015
White Plains Town, including White Plains Vil'ge	4094	2630
White Plains Village	2381	
Yonkers City	18,892	18,357
Ward 1	5149	
Ward 2	6917	
Ward 3	5953	
Ward 4	873	
Yorktown	2481	2625

There were in Westchester County in 1880,—

Native Born	85,278
Foreign Born	23,710
Total	108,988

Of the Foreign-born there were,—

From Ireland	14,503
From Germany	6,579
From England and all other countries	2,628

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.—The agricultural resources of our county make a very fair showing. While our farms are not, as in some of the Western States, immense territories, yielding fabulous crops, they give evidence of the prosperity of the many, rather than the opulence of a few,—a healthy state of things, indicating the thrift, independence and contentment of the people. Westchester County contains 2991 farms, of which 2385 are cultivated by their owners, 455 are rented for fixed money rentals and 151 are rented for shares of products.

Of these farms, 888 have an area of from 50 to 100 acres; 909 from 100 to 500 acres; 17 measure over 500 and under 1000; and 3 over 1000 acres. There are only 4 farms under three acres; 183 are over 3 and under 10 acres; 290 over 10 and under 20 acres; and 697 over 20 and under 50 acres. It will be seen from these figures that the majority of our farmers own enough land to raise either profitable crops or live stock. The smaller farms are well adapted for the cultivation of fruits and vegetables and the raising of poultry, a by no means insignificant feature in our list of productions.

The total farming area of the county is 255,774 acres. Of this, 141,583 acres are tilled land, including fallow and grass in rotation; 62,265 acres are in permanent meadows, pastures, orchards and vineyards. There are 40,462 acres in woodland and forest, and 11,464 acres in old fields and other unimproved lands.

The value of farms, including land, fences and buildings, is set down at $33,264,505. That of farming improvements and machinery at $597,892; of live stock at $1,805,838. The cost of building and repairing ferries, in 1879, was $129,336; that of fertilizers purchased during the same year, $48,645. The estimated value of all farm productions sold, consumed or on hand, for 1879, was $2,544,041.

The live stock of the county and its productions in

the year 1879 were as follows: Horses, 6919; mules and asses, 40; working oxen, 2418; milch cows, 19,168; other cattle, 5302; sheep, exclusive of spring lambs, 1646; swine, 8207; wool, spring clip of 1880, 6069 lbs.; milk sold in 1879, or sent to cheese and butter factories, 5,637,072 gallons; butter made on farms, 616,825 lbs.; cheese made on farms 2540 lbs.

Cereal productions: Barley, 84 acres produced 2094 bushels; buckwheat, 1101 acres, 13,464 bushels; Indian corn, 11,131 acres, 377,357 bushels; oats, 9004 acres, 238,509 bushels; rye, 4038 acres, 55,130 bushels; wheat, 1582 acres, 22.698 bushels. There were also produced in 1879, 300 tons flax-straw and 10 lbs. maple sugar; 63,408 acres of hay were mown, yielding 69,221 tons.

There were on hand, June 1, 1880, exclusive of spring hatching, 116,782 barn-yard fowls and 7506 other poultry. The number of eggs produced in 1879 was 662,672 dozens; 13,475 pounds of honey and 363 pounds of wax were gathered in 1879; 3 acres cultivated in tobacco yielded 1825 pounds; 326,092 bushels Irish potatoes were raised on 3876 acres.

The value of orchard products, sold or consumed in the year was $164,196; that of garden products, $54,105.

There were 19,653 cords of wood cut and the value of forest products sold or consumed during the year was $90,095.

Spring wool (1880), 1646 fleeces, weighing 6069 of all pounds; 100 pounds broom corn, and 82 bushels dry beans were gathered in 1879.

These figures speak highly for the productiveness of our soil and the industry of our farmers.

Manufacturing Industries.—Not less interesting is the report on the manufacturing interests of the county. While Westchester County stands seventeenth on the list as regards the number of establishments and the amount of capital invested, it will compare favorably with the most important manufacturing counties. The true criterion of prosperity is not so much the amount of capital and the number of manufacturers, as the proportion of working people who find employment at fair wages and the margin of profits after all expenses are paid.

A comparison of the various factories of our manufacturing interests with those of some other counties having a larger number of manufacturing establishments will show that Westchester County is particularly favored in this respect. The census reports give the number of manufacturing establishments in this county as 502, with an aggregate capital of $5,659,424—an average of $10,841.48 per establishment. The number of hands employed during the year was 10,502; to wit: 7,542 men, 2,286 women, and 674 children and youths—an average of nearly 21 hands per establishment.

Three million two hundred and thirty-one thousand three hundred and sixty-four dollars were distributed as wages among these 10,502—an average of $307.69 per hand. As five-sixteenths of the hands are women and children, who earn much less than the men, the wages of the latter are considerably above the average.

The material consumed was worth $7,752,838. If we add this to the amount paid for wages and we deduct the total from the gross amount of products, $14,217,985, we have a net balance of $3,223,783, representing nearly 57 per cent. profit on the capital invested.

Examining other tables, we find that Erie, the largest manufacturing county, has 5,281 establishments, with an aggregate capital of $62,719,399, an average of $11,688.57 per establishment. Forty-eight thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight hands find employment, at a cost of $22,867,176—an average of $468.62 per hand. But Erie has a large number of industries requiring skilled mechanics, such as the manufacturing of agricultural implements, bridge-building, carriage and wagon-building, railroad cars, cooperage, foundry and machine works (which alone employ 2,048 men), ship-building, marble and stove works, tanneries, etc. The mechanics get higher wages, and the average wages of ordinary workingmen are thereby much reduced.

The product of these 5281 manufacturing establishments aggregates the enormous sum of $179,188,685; but the material used costs $130,108,417, and this, added to the wages and deducted from the gross total of products, leaves a profit margin of $26,203,092, or not quite 42 per cent. on the capital invested.

Onondaga County with 1277 establishments used a capital of $13,995,627, or $278.75 per hand. The material used cost $12,222,132, and the gross products aggregate $20,428,477. After deducting wages and cost of material we have here $4,210,718 for profit margin—not quite 38 per cent. on the capital invested.

We give these figures with no desire to make invidious comparisons, but to show that Westchester county, with its 502 establishments and modest working capital, is doing a safer business than most of its wealthier sister counties.

The variety of industries is great, as compared to the total number of establishments. They are as follows, the figures showing the number of establishments engaged in the industry: Agricultural implements, 1; boots and shoes, 11; bread and baking products, 12; brick and tile, 21; buttons, 1; carpets, 1; carriages and wagons, 14; cheese and butter factory, 1; men's clothing, 7; combs, 1; cooperage, 1; files, 2; flouring and grist-mill products, 24; foundry and machine-shop products, 24; men's furnishing goods, 1; gas and lamp fixtures, 2; curried leather, 1; malt liquors, 4; planed lumber, 2; sawed lumber, 13; marble and stone work, 8; musical instruments, 1; floor oil-cloth, 1; patent medicines, 1; steel pens, 1; pickles, preserves and sauces, 5; printing and publishing, 5; rubber and elastic goods, 1; saddlery and

harness, 19; sash and doors, 9; scales and balances, 1; ship building, 9; shirts, 5; silk and silk goods, 3; slaughtering and packing, 2; soap and candles, 2; spectacles and eye-glasses, 1; sugar and molasses refinery, 1; tinware, copperware and sheet-iron ware, 23; tobacco, cigars and cigarettes, 13; wire, 1; wool hats, 3.

Among the most important industries is that of foundry and machine-shop products in which the capital invested is $1,067,400. It is represented by 24 establishments, and gives employment to 2190 men whose average wages, however, are only $244.83. The material used amounts to $1,130,382, and the products to $2,314,036. The margin of profits is $647,464.

The manufacture of carpets is one of the best paying industries. A single establishment, with a capital of $300,000 (the largest invested by any one firm), manufactures $2,646,946 worth of goods, using $1,313,634 of material, and paying $600,000 wages to 1606 hands—an average of $373.66 per hand. This establishment employs the largest number of women —1000, 506 men and 100 children.

The highest average of wages is paid by the eye-glasses and spectacle manufacturers, $525.77; they employ 90 men, 6 women and 1 child. The printers and publishers pay, on an average $495 per hand; the scales and balances manufacturers, $487.50, and the ship-builders a little over $500; but these industries employ only men and these in limited number.

The worst paid bread-winners are the shirt makers. The five firms engaged in this business give employment to 15 men, 477 women and 4 children, at average wages of $142.23. Total amount of wages $70,550; material used, $335,600; gross receipts, $477,750. Profit margin, $71,600, on a working capital of $49,000.

One steel pen manufacturer with a capital of $22,500, employs 5 men and 45 women, on average wages of $200. Aggregate of wages and material, $13,450. Gross products, $24,000.

The manufacture of boots and shoes is another important industry, giving employment to 673 men, 180 women and 36 children, whose average wages are $291.29. The capital invested in this business is $333,600, the material used cost costs $865,544, and the amount of products is $1,235,644. Eleven establishments are engaged in this business.

Eight firms are engaged in marble and stone work. Most of the granite works in the country are suited for rough work only, and the stone is quarried for local use. A coarse-grained gneiss, striped alternately light and dark, which is quarried near Hastings, is extensively used in New York City for general construction purposes.

The Tuckahoe marble is quarried at several points. The following interesting account of the belts of Dolomite of Archæan age in which these quarries are, is taken from "Notes by Professors Cook and Smock," published in the census reports (vol. x.)

"One of these belts reaches New York Island, crossing the Harlem River at King's Bridge; another crops on the Sound near Rochelle; others strike the river at Hastings, Dobb's Ferry, Sing Sing and other points, and furnish stones good for construction purposes and of varied colors. The best marble obtained from these deposits are those of Tuckahoe and Pleasantville. The first is white, rather coarse in texture and regular in quality, and the better grades have been used for some of the finest buildings in the City of New York, notably St. Patrick's Cathedral. The color changes to light gray by exposure.

"At the quarry of the Tuckahoe Marble Company the finest grade is nearly a pure white, but this is available only in small quantities, and is used for monumental and ornamental work. In Mr. John F. Masterdon's quarry this same material is quarried more extensively.

"In composition the stone from these quarries is a Dolomite, containing a small amount of iron and some mica. The buildings constructed of the stone from the Tuckahoe Marble Company's quarry are those of the New York Stock Exchange, New York City, and the Mutual Life Insurance Company, at Boston. Those constructed of the material from Mr. Masterdon's quarry are the New York Life Insurance building, New York City, the City Hall, Brooklyn, N. Y., and the Hotel Vendome, Boston.

"At Pleasantville, a few miles north of the Tuckahoe quarries, a coarse, crystalline white marble occurs; formerly this was quite extensively quarried for building purposes. The front of the Union Dime Savings Bank building, in New York City, is built of this stone. Its structure being quite coarse, it is not well adapted for carved work. It has also been found to break easily, especially when used for long columns, and it would not be a safe stone on this account for all kinds of work. The stone is remarkable for its crystalline, the crystals being unusually large and conspicuous, and from this peculiar appearance it has received the name of 'snow flake' marble. This quarry has recently [1880] been furnishing about twenty-five tons of stone per day for making soda water."

FINANCES.—The valuation and taxation of the county in 1880 were as follows:

Value of real estate, $52,095,188; of personal property, $3,579,658. State tax: schools, $75,545; other purposes, $122,901. County tax for other purposes than schools, $278,821. Tax in the school districts, $204,736; in minor civil divisions, $626,623. Grand total of taxes paid $1,306,626.

The gross indebtedness of the county in 1880 was $2,971,757; divided as follows: bonded debt, $2,957,536; floating debt, $14,221. The sinking fund of $5,647 (belonging to Peekskill) reduced the total to $2,966,110 net. This amount is subdivided as follows: county debt, $320,000; township debt, $1,083,278. School district debt, $931. City and town debts $1,554,258 bonded, and $13,290 floating debt, less $5,647 sinking fund. Net debt, $1,561,901.

The city and town debt is divided as follows:

Yonkers takes the lead with a bonded debt of $1,389,000; the purpose for which bonds are issued being,—

For bridges	$22,000
Public buildings	12,000
Refunding old debt	730,000
Water works	625,000
Total	$1,389,000

Sing Sing had a floating debt of		$576
Peekskill, bonded debt	$135,208	
Less sinking fund	5,647	
		129,561
Port Chester, floating debt		10,000
White Plains, bonded	$23,300	
Floating	1,600	
		24,900
Mount Vernon, bonded	$6,750	
Floating	1,114	
		7,864

The financial report of the mayor of Yonkers for the fiscal year ending March 1, 1885, shows the condition of the bonded debt to be as follows:

Consolidation bonds, amount outstanding	$525,000
Water " " "	745,000
Bridge " " "	14,000
Public Building and Dock " "	30,000
Total amount outstanding March 1	$1,314,000

There was paid during the previous year $25,000 on consolidation and $3,000 on bridge bonds. Water bonds were issued to the amount of $15,000.

The county treasurer's report for the quarter ending January 31, 1886, shows the disbursements during the quarter to have been $60,-019.76, and the balance on hand, February 1, $40,258.19.

The total amount paid on account of the county indebtedness during the year, as shown by reports, was twenty-one thousand two hundred and sixty-nine dollars.

EDUCATION.—The people of our county manifest a constant interest in educational affairs and the condition of our schools is such as we may justly be proud of. There has been for many years a steady improvement in the character of school buildings and the methods of teaching have been as steadily perfecting themselves. The teachers' institutes held yearly are of indisputable benefit and their effects are already felt in the schools.

At the spring holding of the institute, at New Rochelle, May, 1885, seventy-one per cent. of the whole number of teachers were in attendance.

The school commissioners' report for 1885–86 shows in the three school commissioners' districts of our county the following:

The number of teachers in the county is 334, apportioned by districts as follows:

1st Commissioners' District	66
2d " "	138
3d " "	130

The total number of pupils of school age in the county was 30,647, as follows:

1st Commissioners' District	6,767
2d " "	12,884
3d " "	10,996

The average attendance in the county was 9,440, divided as follows:

1st Commissioners' District	1,877
2d " "	4,110
3d " "	3,453

The School Commissioners are for the,—

1st District	Jared Sanford
2d "	James B. Lockwood
3d "	John W. Littel, Peekskill

The city of Yonkers being a separate commissioners district, is accordingly not included in the above calculation.

The number of children of school age residing in the district of Yonkers, at the beginning of 1885, was seven thousand three hundred and sixty-two; of these one thousand five hundred and thirty-nine attended private schools and two thousand nine hundred and forty-eight the public schools. Yonkers has thirteen private schools and seven public school buildings; one of which is built of frame and six of brick.

In the county towns there are forty-six private schools, with a total membership of four thousand and thirteen pupils.

Of the one hundred and fifty-four school buildings in the county at the present time (1885) one hundred and twenty-two are built of frame, twenty-eight of brick and four of stone.

The county school libraries contain twenty-seven thousand two hundred and twenty-one volumes, valued at nineteen thousand one hundred and twenty-four dollars. The Yonkers library, three thousand one hundred and fifty volumes, valued at thirty-eight hundred dollars.[1]

According to the annual report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1886 Westchester County has ninety-one children over five and under twenty-one years of age, for each qualified teacher; forty-eight children attending school any portion of the year for each qualified teacher; twenty-eight children the average daily attendance for each teacher; 30.76 per cent. of average daily attendance on whole number of children between five and twenty-one years of age, and 58.33 per cent. of average daily attendance on whole number of children attending school any portion of the year.

The Yonkers report shows one hundred and seventy-two children of school age for each qualified teacher; sixty-one the whole number of children attending school any portion of the year, for each qualified teacher; thirty-seven the average daily attendance per teacher; 21.51 the per cent. of average daily attendance on the whole number of children of school age, and 60.65 the per cent. of average daily attendance on the whole number of children attending school any portion of the year.

J. Thomas Scharf

[1] The number of school buildings and books has increased since this report.

CHAPTER XI.

THE BENCH AND BAR.[1]

BY HON. ISAAC N. MILLS,
Judge of the County Court.

PREPARATORY to writing this chapter we have carefully examined the court records, in the county clerk's office at White Plains, from the earliest times; perused the fragments of history, here and there extant, bearing upon the subject, and such biographical sketches of judges and lawyers as can be found; and also received from the lips of some of the veteran members of the bar and old residents of the county a mass of traditionary information, giving the names, characteristics and relative standing of the leading members of the bar for nearly a century past, and abounding in interesting reminiscences and anecdotes, the publication of which the limits of this chapter do not permit.

Westchester County has had an established bench for about two hundred years, and an established bar for nearly, if not quite, that length of time. A period so long could not fail to prove a rich field for historical investigation. While, in the main, the materials in hand are abundant, still, in some cases, it has seemed impossible to recover from oblivion the biography of one who, from the frequent appearance of his name upon the records of the court, we should judge to have been in his time a leading counselor and advocate.

With this mass of materials before us, it is no easy task to write a chapter upon the bench and bar of Westchester County; it would be much easier to write a volume.

Under the scheme of this work, however, many of the leading judges and lawyers are treated of at length elsewhere, in separate biographies, or in connection with the history of the several towns where they resided and whose names they have honored by their lives and work.

As to the living judges and lawyers, we shall undertake merely to give their names and residences, and leave to the future historian the presentation of their characteristics and careers when their life-work shall be complete.

The history of the bench of Westchester County begins in the year 1688, when John Pell was appointed the first judge of the county. On pages 11 and 12, liber B of deeds, in the office of the register of the county, his commission is stated in the following words:

"James the Second, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, Ireland, &c., to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting: know ye that we have assigned, constituted and appointed, and by these presents do assign, constitute and appoint, our trusty and well beloved subject, John Pell, Esq., to be judge of our inferior Court of Common Pleas, to be holden in our county of Westchester, in our territory and dominion of New England, with authority to use and exercise all power and jurisdiction belonging to said court and to do that which to justice doth appertain, according to the laws, customs and statutes of our kingdom of England, and this, our territory and dominion, and the said John Pell, assisted with two or more justices of the peace in our said county, to hear, try and determine all causes and matters civil by law cognizable in the said county, and to award execution thereon. Accordingly, in testimony whereof we have caused the great seal of our said territory to be hereunto affixed. Witness, Sir Edmund Andros, Knt., our Captain-generall and Governor-in-Chief of our territory and dominion aforesaid, this 25th day of August, in the fourth year of our reign, A. D. 1688."

We have given elsewhere a very full account of the Pell family, in connection with the founding of Pelham. The first Court of Sessions, shown by the court records, was held on the 3d of June, 1684, the next year after the county was established. The record does not show who presided, or who sat as associate judges. We have not been able to learn from any source the name of the presiding judge. It is possible, therefore, that some one may have been appointed, or acted, as judge of the county before Judge Pell; or it may be that he had been appointed and acted prior to the appointment above detailed.

Caleb Heathcote was the next judge of the Court of Common Pleas, holding that office from A.D. 1693 to 1720. He was the sixth son of Gilbert Heathcote, of Chesterfield, England, who had fought with distinction in the Parliament army during the civil war which cost Charles the First his head. The Heathcotes were an ancient and honorable family of Derbyshire. They are mentioned as engaged in mercantile pursuits at Chesterfield during the reign of Edward IV. (1470–1471).[2]

A romantic story is told of the cause of Caleb Heathcote's emigration to America. He was engaged to a very beautiful young lady, who jilted him for his elder brother, Sir Gilbert Heathcote (afterwards M.P. for London and Lord Mayor of that city in 1711). Caleb came to New York in 1692. "From the time of his arrival he became a leading man in the colony," and being possessed of great wealth, which he had acquired in mercantile pursuits, he made extensive purchases of lands in Westchester County. These, on the 21st of March, 1701, were "erected into the lordship and manor of Scarsdale, to be holden of the King in free and common soccage, its Lord yielding and rendering therefore annually, upon the festival of Nativity, five pounds current money of New York, etc." Besides his judgeship, Mr. Heathcote held other offices of honor in the province. He was colonel of the Westchester militia all his life, "first mayor of the borough of Westchester, a councilor and surveyor-general of the province, mayor of New York for three years, for a time commander of the colony's

[1] Many interesting facts relating to the history of the bench and bar in Westchester County may be found in this volume in the chapter on the Civil History, prepared by the Rev. William J. Cumming, of Yorktown.

[2] MS. book of Sir William Heathcote, quoted by Bolton.

forces, and from 1715 to his death, in 1721, receiver-general of the customs of all North America."[1]

A sincere churchman, he was senior warden of Westchester Parish from 1695 to 1702, and senior warden of the parish of Rye from 1703 to 1710.[2]

William Willett, who succeeded Colonel Heathcote as judge of the Court of Common Pleas of the county in 1721, was the son of Colonel Thomas Willett, of Flushing, Long Island, and the grandson of Honorable Thomas Willett, first mayor of New York. The Willetts descend from the Rev. Thomas Willett, a distinguished English divine, who died in 1597. The descendants of Honorable Thomas Willett occupied prominent positions in the province, such as high sheriffs, judges and mayors.

Frederick Phillips was judge of the Court of Common Pleas from 1732 to 1734. His full history is given in connection with Yonkers, where his residence was located, and also in the history of Greenburgh.

Israel Honeywell, one of the earliest settlers of the town of Westchester, where he had a number of local offices, was judge of the same court from 1734 to 1737, and again from 1740 to 1743. Samuel Purdy, of Rye, was also judge of that court in 1734–37, and again from 1740 to 1752.

John Thomas was judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1737–39, and again from 1765 to 1776. Judge Thomas was the son of the Rev. John Thomas, a missionary of the Honorable Propagation Society at Philadelphia, and first rector of St. George's Church, Hempstead, L. I., in 1704.[3] Judge Thomas was the most prominent personage in Rye. He espoused the patriotic side in the Revolution, and his influence was greatly felt in its behalf. In 1777 a party of British troops, making one of their frequent raids into the interior of the county, seized Judge Thomas at his house in "Rye Woods." He was particularly obnoxious to the British, who had long been seeking to effect his capture. He was taken to New York and cast in a prison, where he died soon after. He was buried in Trinity Church-yard.[4]

John Ward, one of the judges of the Common Pleas in 1737–39 and 1752–54, was from East Chester. He died in 1754. Probably a relative of Hon. Stephen Ward.

Lewis Morris, Jr., of Morrisania, sat on the bench of that court in 1738–39. A notice of him will be found in the history of Morrisania.

William Leggett, of West Farms (then part of the town of Westchester), was judge of the same court in 1752–54. He was the third son of Gabriel Leggett, of Essex County, England, who "emigrated to this country in 1661, and in right of his wife, Elizabeth Richardson, daughter and co-heiress of John Richardson (one of the joint partners), became possessed of a large portion of the [Planting] Neck." Judge Leggett was mayor of the borough of Westchester, A.D. 1734.

Nathaniel Underhill, judge from 1755 to 1774, was the great-grandson of the "redoubtable" Captain John Underhill, a soldier under the illustrious Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, in the Low Countries, who came to New England in 1630, and attained such distinction there that he was appointed one of the first deputies from Boston to the General Court, and one of the earliest officers of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery.[5] Nathaniel Underhill was elected mayor of the borough of Westchester in 1775. He filled various other offices and died in 1784.

Jonathan Fowler was judge in 1769–71 and 1773–75. No positive data are to be found concerning this personage. In all likelihood he was the son of Caleb Fowler, county judge during the intervening year 1772 and until 1776. Caleb Fowler was a resident of the West Patent of North Castle, where he owned a good deal of property. He was surrogate in 1761–66. His son Jonathan (one of the twelve children) was appointed one of the executors of his will, which instrument, dated in the year 1760, was offered for probate September 14, 1784. The persons already mentioned appear by the court records to have been the presiding judges of the County Court of Common Pleas during the colonial period and at the times respectively given. The list differs somewhat from that given in the New York Civil List or in Bolton's History, but is believed to be substantially correct.

From May, 1776, until May, 1778, the Court of Common Pleas held no session in Westchester County. After the latter date there was a principal or "first" judge, as he was called, in this court, and a number of associate judges. Sometimes there was as many as five associate judges at one time.

Robert Graham, of White Plains, was the first to fill this office of "first" judge. A biographical notice of this distinguished man is given elsewhere.

Stephen Ward, of East Chester, appointed in 1784, was for many years "first" judge of the County Court of Common Pleas. "He was the son of Edmund Ward, of East Chester, for a long time a member of the Colonial Assembly, and grandson of Edmund Ward, of Fairfield, Conn., who removed to East Chester about the latter period of the seventeenth century." Hon. Stephen Ward was an ardent patriot, and was proscribed at an early period of the Revolution by the Loyalist party and a price set upon his head. "Ward's house" was the scene of several engagements between the Americans and the British, and was finally burned down by the latter in 1778.

Ebenezer Lockwood, of Poundridge, was the next

[1] "Doc. Hist. of New York."

[2] Bolton's "History of Westchester County." See also Edward F. de Lancey's chapter on the "Manors of Westchester County," in this volume, and his sketch of Mamaroneck.

[3] Bolton's "History of Westchester," vol. ii., Appendix A.

[4] Baird's "History of Rye."

[5] Algerine Captive, by D. Updike Underhill, quoted by Bolton.

"first" judge, 1791–94. Judge Lockwood was known as "Major" Lockwood through the Revolutionary War, he having been a major in the regiment of Westchester County Militia, commanded by Colonel Thomas Thomas, and engaged in active service during most of the campaign of 1776. From 1776 to 1783 he filled several public offices. He was a member of the Provincial Congress, member of the Committee of Safety, member of the Provincial Convention for forming a Constitution of Government for the State, and was returned a member of the Legislature for several years after the close of the war.

Judge Lockwood was born in Stamford, Conn., and was the fourth son of Joseph Lockwood, who emigrated to Poundridge in 1743.

Jonathan G. Tompkins, of Scarsdale, father of Vice-President Daniel D. Tompkins, was first judge from 1794 to 1797. "He was a member of the State Convention which adopted the Declaration of Independence and the first Constitution of the State. He was elected to the Legislature and remained in that capacity during the whole period of the Revolution, and on the institution of the University was appointed one of the regents, which situation he held until his resignation of it, in 1808."[1]

Judge Tompkins was the son of Stephen Tompkins, whose ancestors emigrated originally from the north of England and landed at Plymouth, Mass. Jonathan was adopted by Jonathan Griffin, from whom he received his middle name, Griffin. Judge Tompkins died in 1823, aged eighty-seven years.

Ebenezer Purdy, of North Salem, sat on the county bench 1797–1802 (the Purdys are numerous and the only Ebenezer we find among them is put down by Bolton as the son of Abraham Purdy, of Yonkers; born 1754.)

John Watts, who was "first judge" of Court of Common Pleas in Westchester County from 1802 to 1807, was born in New York, of which city his father (also named John) was a prominent citizen and a member of the King's Council. Judge Watts received a legal education and was eminently qualified for the bench. At twenty-five years of age he was appointed royal recorder of the city of New York, 1774, and was the last to hold the position. From 1791 to 1794 he was Speaker of the Assembly of New York, and afterwards he became a member of Congress. His home was at No. 3 Broadway, New York. He was one of the wealthiest men in New York City, and owned much property not only there, but also throughout the State. He had a fine residence in Westchester County, near the village of New Rochelle, on a slope overlooking Hunter's Island, and there lived in very good style. In person, he was remarkably fine-looking. He married Jane, daughter of Peter De Lancey, of "The Mills," in the town of Westchester. In Mr. Watts' character, equanimity was the most noticeable trait. As a writer and speaker, he possessed much conciseness of expression, and Samuel B. Ruggles once said of him, that "John Watts could express more on a page of note paper than most men could on a sheet of foolscap." Mr. Watts died September 3, 1836, being then within three days of eighty-seven years of age. Of his family of eight or nine children, but one survived him, and that one was childless. He had three grandchildren, however, one of whom, John Watts De Peyster, now living in New York, was his chief legatee. Mr. Watts was the founder and endower of the Leeke and Watts Orphan House, corner One Hundred and Tenth Street and Ninth Avenue, New York.

Caleb Tompkins, son of Jonathan G. Tompkins, of Scarsdale, and eldest brother of Vice-President Daniel D. Tompkins, was first judge of the County Court of Common Pleas from 1808 to 1820, and again from 1823 to 1846. He died January 1, 1846, aged eighty-six years and nine days. He was buried at White Plains. Mr. Tompkins was a learned jurist and a man of great abilities. He possessed, in an eminent degree, the gifts and virtues for which the Tompkins family has ever been noted.

Nehemiah Brown,[2] who served two terms as county judge, was of the ancient family of Brownes of Rye and of Hastings, England, and a lineal descendant of Peter Brown, whose name is inscribed on the Pilgrim's Monument at Plymouth, Mass.

He was born at Rye, Westchester County, November 29, 1775, and until his death, on November 1, 1855, occupied the lands on which he was born, and which had been held by his family since the first settlement of the town. Few men were better known in his county or held in higher esteem. Of sound judgment, inflexible integrity, withal genial and given to hospitality, his counsel was widely sought and valued. He received a captain's commission in the War of 1812, but, as far as is now remembered, was not engaged in the field, being detailed to assist in the fortifications of Throgg's Neck and other points in the vicinity of New York. He served as a member of the Legislature in 1824, and two terms as county judge, occupying the bench with Judges William Jay, Constant and others. A righteous man and beloved, he left a rich heritage of memories to his family and friends.

Judge Brown's first wife was Mary, daughter of Major Seymour, of Greenwich, Conn. The second was Pamelia, daughter of Dr. Clark Sanford, of Petersburg, Va. The third and surviving wife was Abby Jane, daughter of David Brown, of Rye. His only children were by his second wife, viz.: Sanford C. Brown, a young man of exceeding promise, who, although dying at the age of twenty-eight years, from exposure in Asia Minor, on business for his firm, was a prominent director and member of the Stamford

[1] Bolton's "History of Westchester."

[2] This sketch was prepared and inserted by the editor.





Neh. Brown

Manufacturing Company, and universally popular in business and social circles; Mary P., wife of Samuel K. Satterlee, of Rye; and Anna Evelyn, wife of Dr. Arthur F. Bissell, of New York City.

William Jay,[1] second son of the Hon. John Jay, filled the intervening term between Judge Tompkins' two terms—that is, from 1820 to 1823. Judge Jay was born at New York June 16, 1789. His early education, which was conducted under the care of his father, was finished at Yale College, where he graduated in 1808. Adopting the profession of the law, he speedily became prominent in its practice, and in 1818 was appointed by Governor Tompkins judge of the County Court of Westchester. This office he held with honor to himself, and to the credit of the community of which he formed a part, until 1842, when he was relieved from the position by Governor Bouck, in compliance with the demand of that portion of the Democratic party whose sympathies were with the South and slavery, and on account of his plainly expressed views in favor of Abolition. From his earliest years he seemed destined to be a life-long defender of the right and a stern opponent of wrong, in whatever shape they appeared. As early as 1815 he was the means of organizing a temperance society, one of the first in the country, which, at the time, seemed likely to be overwhelmed with intemperance and its accompanying evils. He was one of the founders of the American Bible Society, and till the close of his life was one of the ablest and most devoted supporters of the institution, which has printed the word of God in almost every known language, and distributed it freely in every clime.

When the evils of slavery began to be one of the vital questions of the time, the cause of human freedom found in Judge Jay an enthusiastic advocate. In 1826 there was living in this county a freeman of color named Horton. Going to the city of Washington, he was there arrested as a fugitive slave and advertised for sale, to pay the expenses of his arrest and imprisonment. Providentially, a copy of the newspaper containing the advertisement came into the hands of Judge Jay, and he made application to Governor De Witt Clinton to demand his release as a free citizen of the State of New York. This was one of the first events in the history of the great struggle against slavery, which ended only when battle-fields had been stained with the blood of its supporters. Throughout this long contest Judge Jay was ever active with tongue and pen in behalf of liberty. In 1835 an effort was made by the slavery power, through President Jackson, to prevent the circulation of Abolitionist documents by means of the United States mails. This effort, so repugnant to the principles upon which our government was founded, was met by the American Anti-Slavery Society with a dignified and earnest reply, which was written by Judge Jay, and was one of his ablest efforts. When the Legislature seemed about to pass laws intended to crush the efforts of the Abolitionists, by prohibiting the publication and circulation of Anti-Slavery documents, he charged the grand jury of the county that any laws tending to prevent freedom of speech or of the press were null and void. The official manifesto of the American Anti-Slavery Society was also written by him, and was signed by men whose names are now famous in history.

After being relieved from the office of judge he went to Europe, extended his travels to Egypt, and made a careful examination of the institution of slavery as it existed there. A firm believer that the time would come when men should "beat their swords into plowshares," and "learn war no more," he became president of the American Peace Society, and published a work, "War and Peace—the evils of the first, with plans of preserving the last." This book led to the famous protocol adopted by the Congress of Paris after the Crimean War, the first united international effort to have arbitration take the place of war. In 1833 he published the life and writings of his father, the chief justice.

Judge Jay was an able writer and possessed reasoning powers of the highest order. The works which he published were forty-three in number, and to analyze them would require a volume. It is sufficient to say that all, without exception, were devoted to the elevation of society, by the removal of the evils which retard its progress. His useful and eventful life ended October 14, 1858. This event caused heartfelt grief among all who realized the value of the friend of humanity. The various societies of which he was a member paid tributes of respect to his memory, and Frederick Douglas, as the fit representative of the race for whose freedom he had labored so long and so well, delivered an eloquent and fitting eulogy. It was his fortune, like that of many others who have labored in a noble cause, not to be permitted to see the result of his labors. The end of slavery, for which he toiled so long, came not till years after he had passed away, and was accomplished by means of which he never dreamed. But of all the names that grace the list of the friends of humanity and freedom, none deserves a higher place than that of William Jay.

His portrait is placed over the bench in the county court-house at White Plains, in grateful and appropriate recognition of the illustrious position which the name of Jay holds in the annals of Westchester jurisprudence. After Judge William Jay left the bench, in 1823, Judge Caleb Tompkins was re-appointed to the position of first judge, which he held up to 1846, when he died.

George Case, of New Rochelle, a side-judge of the Common Pleas and General Sessions of the county, during the last two years of Judge Tompkins' life, often presided as first judge in his absence. It is said that

[1] This sketch was prepared and inserted by the editor.

Mr. Case came from New York City and began to practice in Westchester County in 1834. He resided at New Rochelle and died there in 1863. He had the reputation of being somewhat arbitrary in his actions while judge, and was not regarded as an eminently learned jurist, but was respected by all as a man of entire integrity. He was a widower when he came to New Rochelle, and had a daughter, who died before him. He had a considerable fortune.

Robert S. Hart, now living (1886) at Bedford, was, in 1846, appointed to succeed Judge Tompkins. He was nominated by Governor Silas Wright and unanimously confirmed by the Senate. Judge Hart is still in vigorous health and active practice, and in years of practice is the senior member of the Westchester bar. He was the last of the judges appointed. His successor, Albert Lockwood, of Sing Sing, was elected under the Constitution of 1846 as county judge, and those who have occupied the position since have been elected. Mr. Lockwood proved to be a very successful judge, and gained a most enviable reputation, especially for judicial fairness.

John W. Mills, of White Plains, succeeded Mr. Lockwood on the bench in 1851. He had studied law under J. Warren Tompkins, and before being admitted to the bar became deputy county clerk, December 30, 1836. He was admitted to practice in 1837, was appointed master in Chancery in 1844, and an examiner in Chancery in 1846. He was county judge from 1851 to 1855, surrogate from 1862 to 1870, and was supervisor of White Plains several times. He was at one time associated in the practice of his profession with J. Warren Tompkins, subsequently with John J. Clapp, and afterwards with Robert Cochran. Later still he was the senior member of the law-firm of Mills, Cochran & Verplanck. After the dissolution of the firm he attended to private business only. Mr. Mills died suddenly, September 25, 1882, of apoplexy, in the seventy-third year of his age. At one time he had a very large and lucrative practice, perhaps the largest, of the members of the Westchester bar at that time.

Judge William H. Robertson[1] who succeeded Judge Mills in 1855, is a son of Henry Robertson, of whom a brief sketch appears in another part of this work. He was born at the family homestead in Bedford, October 10, 1823. His boyhood was spent on his father's farm, and his early education was obtained at the district schools and at Union Academy, in Bedford, of which Alexander G. Reynolds was principal. He taught school for a considerable time in Bedford and Lewisboro. He read law in the office of Judge Robert S. Hart, in Bedford village, was admitted to the bar in 1847, and in 1854 formed a partnership with Odle Close for the practice of law in White Plains, under the firm-name of Close & Robertson, which has continued till the present time. Before attaining his majority his taste for politics developed itself and he took a warm interest in the Harrison campaign of 1840. His first vote was cast for Henry Clay in the fall of 1844. The next spring he was elected town superintendent of schools, and continued in that position for several years. He has been four times supervisor of Bedford and twice chairman of the Board of Supervisors. His legislative career began in 1848, when he was elected to the Assembly, and he was re-elected the following year. In 1853 he was chosen to the State Senate, where he at once took a prominent position. Among other public acts, he introduced the bill for establishing the Department of Public Instruction, which may justly be considered one of the most important events in the educational history of the State. In the Assembly of 1849, and also in the Senate of 1855, he supported Hon. W. H. Seward for United States Senator. Only one other person, Reuben Wells, of Warren, voted twice for Mr. Seward for that office. In 1855 Mr. Robertson was elected county judge of Westchester County, and was twice re-elected to that responsible position, thus holding it for twelve years, and discharged the duties of the office with such ability and fairness as to win the commendation of the members of the bar, and merit the respect of all classes of citizens.

He served six years as inspector of the Seventh Brigade New York State Militia, was chairman of the military committee appointed by Governor Morgan in 1862 to raise and organize State troops in the Eighth Senate District, and was commissioned to superintend the draft in Westchester County.

In 1860 he was a member of the Electoral College, and voted for Abraham Lincoln. He supported him again in the National Convention of 1864, and during his whole administration was one of his most loyal and faithful adherents. In 1866 he was elected a representative in the Fortieth Congress by a majority of two thousand two hundred over William Radford, who had represented the district for the two terms immediately preceding. While member of Congress he voted for the impeachment of President Johnson, took an active part in the legislation which led to the restoration of the Southern States to the Union, and throughout his term devoted himself to the interests of his district and his constituents.

Judge Robertson's second term of service in the State Senate began in 1872 and continued without interruption for ten years, during the last eight of which he was president *pro tem.* of that body. He served as chairman of the Committees on Commerce and Navigation, Rules, Literature and Judiciary. As the head of the Judiciary Committee for eight years, he occupied a position of great responsibility and usefulness, and it is freely conceded by all who are capable of judging, that it is due to his ability and watchfulness that many unwise and improper bills were prevented from becoming laws. As a Senator he par-

[1] This sketch was prepared and inserted by the editor of this work.



William H. Robertson

ticipated in six State trials—those of Judges Barnard, McCunn, Curtis and Prindle, Superintendent De Witt C. Ellis, of the Bank Department, and Superintendent John F. Smythe, of the Insurance Department.

In 1876 Mr. Robertson was one of three gentlemen of this State who, at the request of the President, visited Florida to supervise the counting of the votes for the office of President.

In 1872 the personal and political friends of Mr. Robertson throughout the State made a vigorous effort to place him in nomination for the Governorship, and with excellent prospects of success, until the assembling of the convention, when the name of the honored soldier and statesman, General John A. Dix, was presented, and he was chosen to head the ticket. Again, in 1879, Judge Robertson had a strong support for the nomination, but owing to the opposition of what was known as the "machine" influence in the party, he was defeated.

In February, 1880, Mr. Robertson was appointed a delegate to represent the State in the National Convention to be held in Chicago in June. A vote was passed at the State Convention, instructing its delegates to vote as a unit, the purpose being to enable the majority of the delegates to carry it *en masse* for General Grant. Mr. Robertson had been in Congress with Mr. Blaine, was his warm admirer and personal friend, and believed him to be the favorite of the Republicans of Westchester for the Presidential nomination. Soon after the State Convention he published a letter in the *Albany Journal*, in which he repudiated the principle of the unit rule, and declared for Mr. Blaine. The letter attracted attention throughout the country and gave its author great prominence in the opposition to the "third term movement." It is generally conceded that it was his leadership and organizing ability, more than that of any other man, that broke the power of the "unit rule" in Republican conventions, and defeated the "third term" candidate.

In March, 1881, Mr. Robertson was nominated by President Garfield for collector of the port of New York. His political acts having been distasteful to the Senators from this State, they demanded the withdrawal of his nomination by the President. This being refused, a bitter contest followed, which was ended by the resignation of the Senators in May, and the confirmation of Mr. Robertson soon afterward. He did not, however, assume the collectorship until the 1st of August, as the Legislature (he being in the Senate) did not adjourn till late in July. His judicial and legislative experience had prepared him for the most difficult duty of the position, the consideration and decision of intricate points of revenue law, and he discharged its obligations to the satisfaction of the importers, and with the almost universal commendation of the public press.

Mr. Robertson has been conspicuous and influential in local and State Conventions for many years, took an active part in the National Conventions of 1864, 1876, 1880 and 1884, and was for fifteen years a member of the Republican State Committee. In his political life he has been remarkably successful, having never been defeated when a candidate before the people, although his principal canvasses have been made in a district of which the party majority was against him. He has achieved this result by the strength of his personal character, his fidelity to friends, his uniform and sincere courtesy, his unquestioned integrity and his legal and business ability. He possesses in an unusual degree "the genius of common sense," an acute knowledge of human nature and thorough self-control. He is of literary tastes and studious habits, and values no less than his political honors the degree of LL.D., which was conferred on him by Williams College in 1876.

In 1865 Mr. Robertson married Miss Mary E. Ballard, daughter of Hon. Horatio Ballard, who was a prominent lawyer of Cortland County, and well known throughout the State. In 1869 he built the house at Katonah, where he has resided since that time. In the community where he lives, he is a judicious and willing counselor of all who seek his advice, a liberal contributor to religious and charitable objects, a public-spirited citizen and a valued friend.

Robert Cochran, who succeeded Judge Robertson in 1867, was born in New York City in 1824, and after being graduated from Columbia College, became associated in the practice of the law with George T. Strong, with whom he remained for several years. Subsequently he went into partnership with General Munson I. Lockwood at Sing Sing, and afterwards (in 1857) with Samuel E. Lyons, at White Plains. Still later he became a law partner of Judge John W. Mills, formerly county judge.

In 1854 he was elected supervisor of White Plains, and at the annual session of the board took a prominent and influential part in procuring the passage of the resolutions to change the location of the courthouse from the old site on Broadway and to erect the new buildings where they now stand. He was elected on the Democratic ticket as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1867, and at the annual election in that year was elected county judge of Westchester County for the term of four years. In 1874 he was elected to the office of district attorney, and in 1875 was elected supervisor of White Plains, over Elisha Horton, Jr., the then Republican incumbent. In all these positions Judge Cochran discharged the duties confided to him with marked ability, and no one ever questioned his integrity. In the practice of his profession he was remarkably successful, and was regarded by his associates at the bar as a learned and brilliant lawyer. He is reputed to have been one of the ablest judges who ever sat upon the county bench. He was learned in the law, con-

scientious and painstaking in his opinions and eminently courteous and dignified.

About 1877 Judge Cochran was compelled by failing health to retire from the active practice of his profession. He died December 14, 1880, in Brooklyn, whither he had removed. The cause of his death was consumption, brought on by malaria. He left a widow and several children by a former wife.

Silas D. Gifford,[1] then of Morrisania, was chosen in 1871 to succeed Judge Cochran. He was born at Canaan, Columbia County, New York, January 31, 1826. His grandfather, Amaziah Gifford, was a soldier in the Revolution, and was said to have run away from home at the early age of fourteen, joined the army and served four years. He then went to Columbia County, where he lived for some years, when he was accidentally recognized by an acquaintance, which led to his restoration to his friends and relatives in Dutchess County. He married Sarah Whitman, and they were the parents of four children, —David, who died in Rensselaer County; Samuel, who moved to the West; Mary, wife of Silas Devol; and Isaac S. The latter was a Baptist clergyman, and was settled in Caanan, Columbia County, at the time when his son, the present judge, was born. He married Annis, daughter of Jonathan Ford, and they were the parents of five children,—Amanda M; Horace C., of Berlin, Rensselaer County; Silas D., Edwin S., of Stamford, Conn.; and Sarah J., wife of John M. Lyons.

Judge Gifford resided with his parents at Caanan till he reached the age of twelve, and then removed with them to Berlin, Rensselaer County. He afterwards became a student in the well-known collegiate institution at Williamstown, Mass. His father subsequently removed to Bedford, in this county, and upon leaving college, his son made his home at the same place. The first episode of his life was a service of one year as school-teacher at Sleepy Hollow, near Tarrytown, where he was a successor of the immortal "Ichabod Crane," though his career as an instructor of youth did not terminate as disastrously as did that of his "illustrious predecessor." He then entered the law-office of Hon. Robert S. Hart, at Bedford, and upon being admitted to the bar in 1852, established an office of his own in Morrisania, and has kept his law-office there until the present. Becoming prominent in politics and in his profession, he was appointed to the office of town superintendent of common schools, elected justice of the peace in 1856, and re-elected at the close of his term. In 1862 he was appointed by Governor Morgan surrogate of Westchester County, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Hon. Robert H. Coles. He was elected supervisor of Morrisania in 1870. His election to the office of county judge of Westchester County occurred in 1871, and he held the office continuously till the close of 1883. Upon the occasion of his retirement from a position he had so long and worthily filled, he was presented by the officers of the court with a beautiful gavel, as a token of their high appreciation of the dignity and impartiality which had ever characterized his discharge of official duties, and of their esteem of his many excellencies as a citizen.

He was appointed a member of the Recruiting Committee during the late war, was instrumental in organizing several companies of volunteers, and by his active energy the quota of troops required from his town at that time was supplied without the necessity of a draft. During long years of prominence in political affairs he has always been recognized as among the leaders of his party, and his official career has been an honor to himself and to the community whose suffrages placed him in a well-deserved position. He married Miss Elizabeth, daughter of John Rae. They have two children, Jessie and Stanley, both now living with their parents at Marble Hall.

Judge Gifford lives in the village of Tuckahoe, in the town of East Chester, in a mansion known far and wide as "Marble Hall." It stands upon the site of the home of Stephen Ward, a prominent Revolutionary hero, who was surrogate of the county and a citizen of character and influence. This locality was the scene of a sanguinary conflict between the contending forces in the Revolution, when Ward's house was burned.

The present incumbent, Isaac N. Mills, of East Chester, was chosen at the election of 1883 to succeed Judge Gifford, and is the present county judge. The following sketch of Judge Mills is taken from the Mount Vernon *Chronicle* of October 19, 1883, and is inserted in this chapter upon the sole responsibility of the editor:

"It is unnecessary for us to tell the people of the town of East Chester who the Republican nominee for county judge is; but in order that those outside of our town who do not know him may be able to fully realize his fitness for the office he seeks, the following sketch of his life may prove useful:

"He is a descendant, on his father's side, from a family of farmers, of moderate means, who have resided and tilled farms in the town of Thompson, Windham Co., Connecticut, prior to the Revolutionary War. On his mother's side, he is descended from a family of Rhode Island Quakers, residents of that State for many generations, to a branch of which family General Greene, of Revolutionary fame, belongs. Mr. Mills was born in the town of Thompson, Conn., September 10, 1851, and is, therefore, thirty-two years of age. At the age of seventeen he decided to become a lawyer and entered the Providence Conference Seminary, at Greenwich, R. I., to prepare for college. In the winter of 1869 and 1870 he taught a a district school for a term, near Newport, at the same

[1] This sketch was prepared and inserted by the editor.



Silas D. Clifford

time working evenings, in order to keep up his studies in his class at the seminary. In the summer of 1870 Mr. Mills graduated from the seminary with the highest rank in his class. That same fall he entered Amherst College, where, during the four years' course, several prizes for excellence in Latin, Greek, philosophy, physiology, debate and extemporaneous speaking were awarded to him. In 1874 he graduated as the valedictorian of his class—a class numbering in all ninety-five members, out of which seventy-five graduated. Of that class, two of the graduates are now professors in Columbia College, one is a professor at Williams College and several others are prominent in other professions. Mr. Mills then entered Columbia Law College, of New York City, from which he graduated in 1876. In October, 1876, he came to Mount Vernon and became a member of the law-firm of Mills & Wood. He continued as such, in the active practice of law, until May, 1882, when that firm was dissolved by mutual consent. Since then he has been actively engaged in legal practice in this county and in New York City. While a resident here he has been a close student of the law, and has devoted himself exclusively to its practice. It is conceded by all who know him that he is honest, upright and able. He has been engaged in many important litigations and has been largely successful in them.. The judges and lawyers before whom and with whom he has practiced speak of him in the highest terms. There is no one at the Westchester County bar who is more devoted to the interests of his clients, or earnest or successful in their advocacy. He will, if elected, make an exceptionally able and unquestionably upright judge, and for this reason should receive the votes of his fellow-citizens. His ability as a lawyer, his thoroughness, his keenness in detecting the salient point, and, above all, his judicial temperament, the proprietor of the *Chronicle* can speak most unqualifiedly, because he has known Mr. Mills as a fellow law student and a partner in the practice of the law for eight years. In the law school he ranked among the very brightest, keenest, hard-working men, and his record at the Westchester bar is one full of honor."

Only three of the judges of the present Supreme Court have been Westchester men, viz.: the late William M. Scrugham, of Yonkers;[1] Abraham B. Tappan, of Fordham, who is now living, and Jackson O. Dykman, the present incumbent.

Judge Dykman[2] was born in the town of Patterson, in Putnam County. His great-grandfather, Joseph Dykman, settled in what is now the town of Southeast, in that county, and became a captain in the Continental army in the Revolutionary War.

His early life was the uneventful career of a boy in the country, attending the common school of the neighborhood and working on a farm. In this manner he obtained sufficient education to enable him to teach a common school at a very early age. He pursued this occupation until he commenced the study of the law in the office of the Hon. William Nelson, then a prominent lawyer at Peekskill, Westchester County, who manifested a lively interest in his advancement, and gave him generous aid. After his admission to the bar, he settled in Cold Spring, Putnam County, where he was shortly after elected school commissioner, and subsequently district attorney of the county.

In the spring of 1866 he removed to White Plains, in Westchester County, where he has since resided. In the fall of 1868 he was elected, by a very handsome majority, district attorney of Westchester County, then a very responsible position, which he filled to the entire satisfaction of the people. He particularly distinguished himself by the energy, skill and success with which he prosecuted the famous Buckhout murder trial, one of the celebrated cases in the history of the county.

In the fall of 1875 he was elected to the high office of justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York for the Second Judicial District by a union of both political parties. He was nominated and supported as the regular candidate of the Republican party and elected by the people by a majority exceeding ten thousand.

That nomination, made by a party with which he had never acted, was a splendid tribute to his ability, integrity and impartiality, and the result has shown that the confidence of the people was not misplaced. In the performance of his judicial duties, Judge Dykman is ever patient, affable and courteous. He is kind and obliging to the members of the bar, and especially so to the younger lawyers. He has been a member of the general term of the Supreme Court from the time he took his seat on the bench, and his opinions in that court, in the numerous cases on appeal, evince laborious research, sound judgment and discretion and absolute fairness and impartiality, and demonstrate the propriety of his elevation to the high judicial position he occupies.

At the circuit for the trial of cases he is a favorite with both lawyers and suitors for his patience and impartiality. He manifests great love for justice and right and deep abhorrence for wrong and oppression.

He is emphatically a man of the people, with whom he has always mingled freely and sympathized fully, and whose interests he has ever been ready to maintain and defend. He listens with willingness to the petitions and complaints of all, and the people love him and place reliance upon him. He is a man of simple habits and modest deportment, but studiously observes the qualities of amenity and propriety, and treats all with whom he comes in contact with great consideration and politeness.

In many ways he is an illustration of what may be accomplished under our republican institutions, where

[1] See history of that town.

[2] This sketch was prepared and inserted by the editor

all positions are within the grasp of those who desire to attain them. By energy and perseverance he has risen to a high position without the aid of wealth or influence.

The people have found him a man on whom they could rely, and have accordingly bestowed on him their confidence and raised him to eminence, and it is not too much to say that he has fulfilled all their expectations. There never was a stain on his private character nor on his public record, and the breath of suspicion has never assailed him.

In his domestic and private life he has been exemplary and fortunate. He was early married to Miss Emily L. Trowbridge, of Peekskill, a descendant of the New Haven family of that name, a most excellent and domestic lady, who aided and encouraged him in all his struggles; and he never hesitated to declare that he owes his success and advancement to her untiring energy and zeal, her wise counsel and her laudable ambition. In many dark days she showed him the silver lining of the cloud and gave him new hope and energy. She still lives to share his honors and his prosperity as she shared his adversity,—a noble example of a faithful wife, a devoted mother and a benevolent Christian woman.

They have two sons, both of whom are lawyers. The elder, William N. Dykman, married Miss Bell Annan, and is practicing his profession very successfully in Brooklyn. The youngest, Henry T. Dykman, married Miss Ella B. Clyne, of Dutchess County, and is practicing law in White Plains, where he has accumulated a very good practice.

Such is the Honorable Jackson O. Dykman, and his example may well be imitated by the young men of the country.

He is a Democrat in the broadest sense of the term, but not a partisan, and a consistent member of the Episcopal Church.

The following is a list of the surrogates, as given in the New York civil list. Most, if not all, are mentioned biographically in our sketches of the bar, which follow,—

1730. Gilbert Willet.
1754. John Bartow.
1761. Caleb Fowler.
1766. David Daton.
1778. Richard Hatfield.
1787. Philip Pell, Jr.
1800. Samuel Youngs.
1802. Edward Thomas.
1808. Ezra Lockwood.
1810. Samuel Youngs.
1811. Ezra Lockwood.
1813. Samuel Youngs.
1815. Henry White.
1819. Samuel Youngs.
1821. Ebenezer White, Jr.
1828. Jonathan Ward.
1840. Alexander H. Wells.
1844. Frederick J. Coffin.
1847. Lewis C. Platt.
1855. Robert H. Coles.
1862. Silas D. Gifford.
1862. John W. Mills.
1870. Owen T. Coffin.

Samuel Clowes was the first lawyer, of whom any record can be obtained, who practiced in Westchester County. He was a Queens County man and filled the office of clerk of that county from April 30, 1701, to July, 1710. Having moved to Westchester County, he soon rose to prominence, and from 1717 to 1744 he was one of the two leading attorneys of the Westchester bar, and doubtless the first prosecuting attorney of Westchester County. December 9, 1722, occurs the following entry in the court records of White Plains: "The Court of Gen'l Sessions appoints Mr. Samuel Clowes counsel for the King in all cases where he is not already concerned for the subject." After 1744, owing to his advanced age, he gave up the active practice of a profession in which he had risen to eminence, commanding the respect and admiration of his brother lawyers and of the people. Mr. Clowes died, full of years, in Jamaica, Long Island, in 1760. In his will, which bears date of July 24, 1759, but was not offered for probate until August 28, 1760, he put down his age at eighty-five years and five months.[1] He was, therefore, over eighty-six years of age at the time of his death, the exact date of which we have failed to discover.

Another lawyer, whose name appears simultaneously with that of Mr. Clowes, in 1717, in connection with a number of proceedings in the Court of Common Pleas, was —— Vernon. His first name is omitted in the court records, and little is known of him beyond the fact that he practiced law until 1728.

Mr. Murray and Mr. Jamison are next mentioned—first name omitted—as practicing, from 1719 to 1736–37, in Westchester County. The former was, no doubt, Joseph Murray, of New York, member of the Colonial Council of New York from 1744–58.[2] He died in 1758. There can be also little doubt that "Mr. Jamison" was David Jamison, one of the patentees of Harrison's Purchase (the town of Harrison), at one time chief justice of New Jersey and attorney-general of New York.[3]

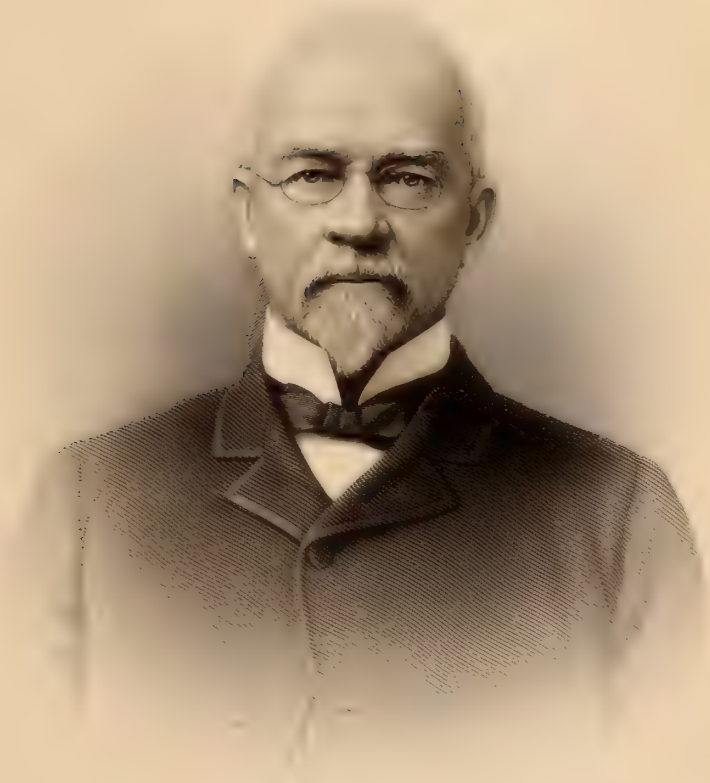
Mr. Wileman (doubtless Henry Wileman) practiced occasionally in the Westchester County Courts from 1720 to 1725.[4]

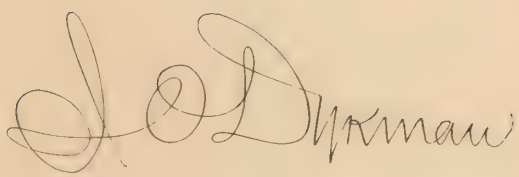
John Chambers, of New York, practiced in the Westchester courts from 1724 to 1751. He was an able and successful lawyer, he and Mr. Clowes doing almost all the legal business until Mr. Clowes retired, in 1744, when Chambers retained the lion's share.

Other lawyers, hailing principally from New York City or from Queens County, appeared infrequently in the County Courts in those early years. They were Whitehead, 1721; Costifin, 1728; Price, 1728; T. Smith (possibly Thomas Smith, of New York, member of the Committee of One Hundred in 1775), whose name is frequently mentioned, 1727–69; Edward Blagge, 1728–32; Seymour, 1729; Lodge, 1731–56; Kelley, 1732–51; Warrol, 1732; White, 1740–41; Crannel, 1744; Green, 1744–47.

John Bartow, of Westchester town, was a lawyer of some repute from 1742 until 1772. He at one time (1760–64) held the office of county clerk. He died in 1802, at eighty-seven years old. Mr. Bartow, we

[1] Record of Wills, N. Y. City, vol. xxii, p. 232.
[2] N. Y. Civil List.
[3] Bolton, pp. 367–368, foot note, and N. Y. Civil List.
[4] N. Y. Civil List.





believe, was the first attorney resident in Westchester County.

John Alsop, of New York, practiced law in Westchester County, with remarkable success, between 1744 and 1759, inclusive.

Benjamin Nicoll, lawyer of New York, was clerk of Westchester County in 1745. He died about 1759–60, as there is an entry in the record of the proceedings of the Court of Common Pleas, May, 1760, of an order appointing Thomas Jones attorney, in a certain cause, "in the room of Benjamin Nicolls, deceased." Mr. Nicoll was a lawyer of great ability.

Timothy Wetmore, referred to above, was one of the leading attorneys at this bar previous to the Revolution. He was the son of Rev. James Wetmore, of Rye, and a man of influence in the community. He was graduated from King's College in 1758, and was admitted to practice April 26, 1760. He was a pronounced Tory, and signed the protest at White Plains, April 11, 1775, against Congress and committees, and pledged his life and property to support the King. He afterwards removed to the province of New Brunswick where he practiced his profession many years and held situations of honor and trust. In 1800 he returned to New York, where he died March, 1820, aged eighty-three or eighty-five years.[1]

The court records furnish us with the names of a number of lawyers who practised for one or more years in the county. Having failed to obtain such information concerning them as could be embodied into a biographical notice, we give here merely the names and dates at which they appear on the records, between 1745 and 1776,—Samuel Clowes, Jr., 1745-55; Parker, 1747–49; McEvers, 1748, 1749 and 1756; Bennett, 1748–53; John Cortlandt, 1750–56; Scott, 1752–53; Moore, 1752-65; Augustine Van Cortlandt, 1753–67; Woods, 1762–76; Ludlow, 1761–71; Kent, 1762–72; Ryker, 1765–68; Helme, 1765–73; Vincent, Matthews, 1770–71; Benson, 1771; Antill, 1771; Townsend, 1770–76 (probably Micah Townsend, Esq., of White Plains); John McKesson, 1771; Wickham, 1763–72; De Peyster, 1773; Murray, 1774; and Bogart, 1776.

Hon. Richard Morris (of the Morrises, of Morrisania, and whose biography is given in another chapter) practiced in Westchester County (1752–76); He, with Thomas Hicks (1752–64), Benjamin Kissam (1756–75) and Timothy Wetmore, afterwards attorney-general of the province of New Brunswick, became the leading lawyers after Alsop and Nicolls had ceased to figure. Thomas Jones (1760–71) and Samuel Jones (1764–76) did also a good deal of legal business.

Gouverneur Morris, son of Hon. Lewis Morris, fourth proprietor and second lord of the Manor of Morrisania, practiced law in Westchester County about the year 1772. He had graduated at King's College (now Columbia), in 1768. Entering upon the practice of law, he soon gained a high reputation. In 1775 he was a delegate to the Provincial Congress in New York. The same year he was appointed a member of the Committee for Public Safety for Westchester County. In 1776 he was one of the committee for draughting a Constitution for the State of New York. He went to France in 1787 and remained in Paris until 1795, as American minister, witnessing thus the terrible scenes of the French Revolution from its incipiency to its consummation.

He exhibited as great ability in his public capacities as he had displayed oratorical talents and legal learning at the bar. He was a member of the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States; "was chosen Senator of New York in 1800, and in 1808 appointed one of their commissioners to lay out the city of New York into streets and avenues north of Bleecker Street. In the summer of 1810 he examined the route for the Erie Canal, and took an active part in originating and promoting that noble work."[2]

He died in 1816, aged sixty-four. His wife was Ann Carey Randolph, daughter of Thomas Randolph, of Roanoke, and a descendant of the celebrated Pocahontas. He left a son, Gouverneur Morris, Esq., of Morrisania. Barber, already quoted, says of him—"The activity of his mind, the richness of his fancy and the copiousness of his eloquent conversation were the admiration of all his acquaintances, and he was universally admitted as one of the most accomplished and prominent men of our country."

The illustrious John Jay, LL.D., first chief justice of the United States under the Constitution of 1789, practiced in the Westchester County Courts from 1769 to 1776. Judge Jay was the eighth child of Peter Jay, Esq., merchant, by his wife, Mary Van Cortlandt. He was born on the 12th of December, 1745. He received a collegiate education at King's College and took his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1764. Already he had decided upon the law as his profession, and in 1768 he was admitted to the bar. A mere outline of the life of this great citizen would fill more space than we can devote to the bench and bar of Westchester County. From the day when he was appointed to the First American Congress, in 1774, to the year 1801, when he retired from public life to enjoy well-earned rest at Bedford, in this county, his career was of usefulness and patriotic devotion. Chief justice of New York from 1777 to 1779, President of Congress, minister plenipotentiary to Spain in 1779, a signer of the definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783, chief justice of the United States in 1789 and minister plenipotentiary to Great Britain in 1794, he rendered the most eminent services to the

[1] Communicated by Josiah Mitchell, Esq., Authorities N. Y. Revolutionary Papers, p. 159; Sabin's "Loyalist," p. 415; "Wetmore Memorial," Munsell & Rowland, Albany, 1861.

[2] Barber, Hist. Coll. of N. Y.

government he had helped to form. He closed his public career as Governor of the State of New York, from 1795 to 1801. He died full of years and honor, May 17, 1829. The following entry appears in the record of the Court of Common Pleas of Westchester County, under date of May 25, 1829: "The court and members of this bar, entertaining the highest respect for the pure and exalted character of the late venerable John Jay, do resolve that we will wear crape upon the left arm for thirty days in token of our respect." Ability, firmness, patriotism and integrity—all that go to make man great,—he possessed in an eminent degree; and, better still, he was, as the last lines of his epitaph recite, "in his life and in his death, an example of the virtues, the faith and the hopes of a Christian."

John Jay,[1] son of William Jay, distinguished as an author and jurist, and grandson of the illustrious chief justice whose name and works are emblazoned on the scroll of American fame, was born in New York, June 23, 1817. His early life was passed in the home of his grandfather, at the family seat in Bedford, where he remained till the death of the latter in 1829. His early education began under the most favorable circumstances, and was finished at Columbia College, where he graduated with high honors in 1836. He began the study of law in the office of Daniel Lord, Jr., having as a fellow-student Hon. William M. Evarts. During his college days the Anti-Slavery movement began to be the all-absorbing topic of the hour, but there are few of the rising generation who can appreciate the difficulties which a young man of talent and ancestral name would encounter in allying himself to the then unpopular party, and identifying himself with the avowed opponents of the system which was supported by the wealth and power of the country, and the authority of the Church, and declared to be in full accord alike with the teachings of the Bible and the Constitution, established by the founders of the republic, which controlled the actions of every department of the government, and moulded the views and commanded the support of every officer, from the President to the postmaster of the humblest village. To those who can understand the power and influence of this institution in the day when Mr. Jay began his life-work, the destruction of slavery must appear as the miracle of modern times.

In 1834 he became a manager of the New York Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society. On the 4th of July of that year, a day sacred to freedom, an anti-slavery meeting in New York was dispersed by a mob, and the city was the scene of riot and outrage, against which the authorities afforded no protection. Among the residences marked out for attack was that of Dr. Abraham R. Cox, with whom Mr. Jay was then living, but the determined action of a few young men, who, with himself, prepared for an armed resistance, induced the mob to pass on to places that were not protected by equally brave defenders. From that time until the day when slavery came to an ignominious end he was in full accord with the leaders of emancipation, and in 1839 he took an active part in preparing the way by which the Abolitionists became a distinct political party, with platforms and candidates of their own. In that year he presented to the Whig National Convention an elaborate report as to the powers and duty of Congress under the Constitution to exclude slavery from the Territories, and in a speech on the "Dignity of the Abolition Cause," he urged political action and the use of the ballot, calling upon the friends of the cause to no longer confine themselves to appeals to the conscience and understanding. During the same year he was brought still more prominently into notice through a controversy with some of the higher officials of the Episcopal Church, arising from the exclusion from the Theological Seminary of a colored candidate for priestly orders. In 1842 he delivered an address on the "Progress and Results of Emancipation in the West Indies," and to his far-seeing mind the time seemed not distant when a similar result would be accomplished in our own land. In 1844, when the question of Texan annexation was attracting the attention of the country, he was the organizer of a demonstration against the project, and was supported by many of the most distinguished men of the day, the presiding officer of the meeting being the venerable Albert Gallatin, the last survivor of the Cabinet of Jefferson. Although in the Presidential contest which succeeded, a strong effort was made to induce the Abolitionists to cast their votes for Henry Clay, yet, through the influence of Mr. Jay, and the leaders whose views were identical with his own, sixty thousand votes were given by the new party for the Hon. John P. Hale, who was thus the first Anti-Slavery candidate presented for the suffrages of the country.

In the practice of his profession Mr. Jay was frequently called upon to defend in the courts persons arrested as fugitive slaves. In the peculiar state of feeling which then existed, the defense of these cases could not fail to attract public attention in all sections of the country, and the reported cases, among which may be mentioned "*In re* Kirk," "*In re* Da Costa" and the famous "Lemon Case," which were conducted by him with matchless ability, must ever be an important chapter in the legal history of the times.

In 1848 Mr. Jay, accompanied by his wife, made a visit to Europe, and during his travels formed many acquaintances among the most prominent men of the day. While in France he did not fail to visit what was to him a spot endeared by ancestral tradition, the "City of the Huguenots." Upon his return he resumed his labors for the cause of freedom, and when the country was agitated by the proposal to repeal the Missouri Compromise, he was among the first to gird for

[1] This sketch was prepared and inserted by the editor.

the coming struggle, and a call prepared by himself, and headed by the significant words, "No violation of plighted faith," "No repeal of the Missouri Compromise," filled the Broadway Tabernacle, on the evening of January 30, 1854, with the best citizens of New York. The resolutions drawn by him were adopted by acclamation, and the opinions thus expressed found a ready response in every free State throughout the Union. A succession of meetings organized by him for the same object served to intensify this feeling, and resulted in the establishment of the Republican party, of which Mr. Jay was justly considered one of the most prominent founders. In the Presidential campaign of 1856 he could not fail to take a conspicuous part, and a speech delivered by him at Bedford on the 8th of October, "America Free or America Slave," was one of the most efficient political documents of the time. During this time he was unceasing in his labors to gain the influence of the church in behalf of the cause of freedom,—labors which unfortunately met with bitter opposition, which only served to show him in his true character as a fearless champion of the right.

Throughout the struggle which culminated in the triumph of the Republican party and the election of Abraham Lincoln, Mr. Jay was a conspicuous actor. Informed at an early hour of the Confederate design to seize the national capital, he called the attention of the nation to the danger, and prompt means were taken to avert it. In April, 1861, he was one of the organizers of the great meeting in Union Square New York, from which proceeded a flood of patriotism that swept the Northern States. During the war he was one of the most efficient members of the Loyal League of New York, and afterwards of the Union League Club, in the councils of which he has ever held an important place. When under the auspices of the Union League, and by the authority of Secretary Stanton, colored regiments were raised, he made an eloquent address to the second of these commands previous to its departure for the seat of war. His son, Colonel William Jay, who served from the beginning to the end of the war on the staffs of some of the most prominent generals, frequently received visits from his father, who was a witness of the destruction of several national vessels by the ironclad "Merrimac," and her subsequent defeat by the "Monitor," and accompanied President Lincoln, Mr. Stanton and Mr. Chase on their return to Washington from Fortress Monroe, a few days after the famous fight.

In the fall of 1865 he again visited Europe, and presided at the Thanksgiving dinner at the Grand Hotel, in Paris, on the 7th of December, where, at his suggestion, Southern gentlemen who acquiesced in the result of the war, were invited to take part in the festival.

During his absence Mr. Jay was elected president of the Union League Club, and when a disposition was manifested on the part of some of its members to dissolve the organization, on the ground that its work was finished, his influence was given in behalf of the majority, who believed that the club had an important duty to perform in the future. In 1867 he was appointed by Governor Fenton a commissioner to represent the State at the establishment of the National Cemetery on the battle-field of Antietam, and true to his nature, he was prompt to sustain the view that liberality and magnanimity alike required that the Confederate dead should also receive honorable burial. In April, 1869, he was nominated by President Grant to the important position of minister to Austria, a nomination which was unanimously confirmed by the Senate; and at a meeting of the Union League, an address was delivered to their retiring president by Dr. Joseph P. Thompson, in response to which Mr. Jay expressed the belief that the honor was intended as a compliment to the club, and as a recognition of the efficient aid it had furnished to the government in its struggle for existence. While minister at Vienna he was empowered to negotiate a treaty which should determine the status of Austrian subjects who had become naturalized as American citizens, and it was finally ratified by the Austro-Hungarian government, after much opposition from successive war ministers, who naturally regarded it as an effort to aid Austrian subjects to evade the military service of the Empire. Another convention was concluded by Mr. Jay in 1871, with Count Andrassy, affording to each country a mutual protection in trade marks, a matter of great importance to our manufacturers, and this treaty is remarkable as being the highest recognition that the Kingdom of Hungary had received in four hundred years.

The Vienna Exposition of 1873 led many American citizens to visit the Austrian capital, and increased the social duties of the Legation. The temporary suspension by the President of the American Commission, on the ground of irregularities in the management, and the official duties which devolved upon Mr. Jay in consequence, aroused much personal feeling against him, and gave rise to much abuse and misrepresentation in both the European and American press. Charges made against him were, after full examination, found to be groundless, and his character as a wise and able representative of this nation was fully sustained.

In 1874 he resigned his diplomotic position and returned to America during the following year. In 1876 he delivered before the New York Historical Society the Centennial Oration in commemoration of the battle of Harlem Plains, and, at the request of the same society, prepared a tribute to the memory of John Lothrop Motley, his predecessor at Vienna, a paper which excited considerable controversy. In 1877 he was appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury chairman of a committee to investigate the affairs of the New York Custom House;—and his re-

port led to many changes and reforms in that branch of the national service. During the same year he was again elected president of the Union League, and upon his declining a re-nomination, in 1878, he was succeeded by George Cabot Ward.

In January and February, 1878, he took an active part in opposing the ill-advised attempt of the city officials to erect an armory for the National Guard in Washington Square, and, in company with many of the best citizens, deemed it of importance that the few breathing-places in the crowded portions of the city should not be diminished.

With a deep interest in the welfare of that portion of Westchester County which had been the home of his ancestors, as well as his own, he was prominent in the formation of a society for village improvement, known as the Katonah Association, which has been of great and lasting benefit in elevating the taste of the community.

The news of the assassination of President Garfield reached Mr. Jay while yet in Europe, and at a meeting of American citizens held at Paris, an eloquent address was delivered by him, portraying in vivid language the duties of the hour.

The frequent contributions from his pen upon the questions of the day are well-known to all, but among them especial mention may be made of articles which appeared in the *International Review*, on the Catholic question and on Presidential elections.

The four hundreth anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther occurred November 4, 1883, and the event was duly celebrated by a public meeting at the Academy of Music, under the auspices of the American Evangelical Alliance. "Never before," says the *New York Herald*, "was such a throng gathered under its roof," and the opening address made by Mr. Jay, as president of the Alliance, was an effort worthy of himself and of the fame of the "Great Reformer."

Upon the seventy-ninth anniversary of the New York Historical Society he read a carefully prepared and highly interesting paper upon the peace negotiations of 1782–83. This paper, which was printed, is a valuable contribution to national history.

To enumerate the various speeches delivered by Mr. Jay upon important occasions, in which he has expressed his views upon national questions, and the various writings he has contributed to our historical and political literature, would far exceed present limits. Through a long life he has been a conspicuous actor upon the stage of public events, and his views and opinions have never failed to attract attention and command respect, and his name will descend to posterity as unsullied as that of his illustrous ancestor. During his whole career he has never in any controversy stopped to consider the odds against which he was fighting. To him to undertake has been to continue, and the sentiment ascribed to the Hero of Switzerland seems to have been the motive-power of his own actions: "*Je ne sais pas si la chose est possible, mais je sais qu'il faut la faire.*"

In him the spirit of the Huguenots lives again, and in him we see a worthy successor of the gallant host who fought at Ivry, and followed as their oriflamme the helmet of Navarre.

When the sessions of court began to be resumed, in 1778, an entirely new set of lawyers appeared. From that time to 1794 the name of Pell appears very frequently on the records. This was doubtless Hon. Philip Pell, born July 7, 1753, "judge-advocate of the Continental army in the Revolutionary war, and a member of the Cincinnati Society." Mr. Bolton says of him: "This illustrious individual had the honor of riding by the side of General Washington when he entered New York City upon 'evacuation day,' November 25, 1783. He was a graduate of King's College (now Columbia) in 1766, and is said to have been one of the best Greek scholars of that day." Hon. Philip Pell was the grandson of Philip, fifth son of Thomas, eldest son of Lord John Pell. He lived in Pelham and was twice married—first, to Mary Ward; second, to Anna Lewis. He died in 1811, and left an only son, like him named Philip, the father of Philip Pell, of San Francisco, California.

Richard Hatfield was another leading lawyer in Westchester County after 1776, the period of his greatest activity ceasing about 1790, though he continued to plead occasionally after that date. He was evidently an energetic man, of uncommon activity, and filled many offices. He held that of county clerk from 1777 to 1802, was surrogate of the county from 1778 to 1787, a delegate to the State Convention which ratified the Constitution in 1788; member of Assembly in 1794; member of the Council of Appointment of the State in 1795, and member of the State Senate from 1795 to 1803. He was one of the organizers of the Presbyterian Church at White Plains, and assisted in organizing the Methodist Church there also. He died at his residence in White Plains in 1813, and left a son Richard, whose name also appears, but infrequently, as practicing law in Westchester County, and a daughter Esther. Another daughter married James Woods, and left a son, Richard Hatfield Woods.

John Strang, one of the attorneys of the Supreme Court was admitted to practice in the Court of Common Pleas of Westchester County in May, 1779, and remained in practice until in the year 1797. During this period he was one of the three leading lawyers of the county. Mr. Strang was the son of Major Joseph Strang, a Revolutionary character of note in Yorktown, and was born near Crompond. He studied law in the office of John Jay, afterwards chief justice of the United States. His place of residence, at least during a portion of the period of his activity as an attorney, was in Bedford, and there Peter Jay Munro was a student in his office for a few months.

Probably at the termination of his career of active practice he removed to Peekskill. At least he lived there for many years towards the close of his life at the house of his sister-in-law, Mrs. Underhill Strang. Mr. Strang died about the year 1830, being then nearly eighty years of age. He never married. A few old-time residents of Peekskill remember him as he appeared late in life, and how he used to pace up and down the sidewalk in front of his residence, holding in front of him a long cane, which he grasped a little above the middle, and wearing a shirt with a ruffled bosom and a tightly-fitting dress coat. In stature he was small. He is said to have been a man of reserved manners and of strong likes and dislikes. He is said to have been buried at Crompond. A tradition among the descendants of Underhill Strang is, that John Strang was an assistant judge advocate in the Revolutionary War, and, but for the fact that he was away on a furlough, would have acted as judge at the trial of Major Andre.

William Popham, of Scarsdale, practiced in the Westchester County Courts in 1785. This gentleman, better known as Major William Popham, descended from a very old and distinguished family, the Pophams of Popham, in the county of Hampshire, England. The sixth in descent from Gilbert Popham, the founder of the family in the year 1200, was Sir John Popham, Knight of the Bath, lord chief justice of the Queen's Bench. The Pophams took sides against the King in the English Revolution and, upon the restoration of Charles II., John Popham, the direct ancestor of Major Popham, removed to Ireland. He was for many years a gentleman of the household to King James the First, and married, it is said, a daughter of the celebrated president John Bradshaw. His great-grandson, William Popham, of Bandon, county of Cork, Ireland, was the father of Major William Popham. This gallant soldier was born in Ireland in 1752 and came to America with his parents at the early age of nine years. The Pophams settled in the town of Newark (State of Delaware), where William spent his youth and received a finished education. He was intended for the ministry, but on the breaking out of the Revolutionary War he entered the American army.[1]

He distinguished himself at the battle of Long Island—his first engagement—and was made a captain. At White Plains and at Brandywine he again gave proofs of indomitable valor and military ability. He acted as aid to General Clinton in the Northern Division of the army, and was also the aid of General Sullivan in the western expedition among the Indians. After the war he resided a few years in the city of Albany, where he entered upon the study of the law, and practiced his profession. He thence removed to New York City, where he practiced law for a few years. In the year 1787 he purchased a farm in Westchester County, which he made his abode. He was then clerk of the Court of Exchequer, an office which he held until it was abolished. He died at New York, September, 1847, aged ninety-five years. He was a remarkably religious man and a member of the Episcopal Church. "He was the friend and companion of Washington, and claimed as his intimates many of the most remarkable men of his day. He belonged to the old school of American gentleman, and in mind and body was distinguished for activity and sprightliness. He was an accomplished scholar, and in every particular a thoroughbred gentleman."[2] Major Popham was president of the New York Society of the Cincinnati. His remains repose in the Popham family vault, near St. James' Church, Scarsdale.

Other lawyers mentioned between 1778 and 1800 are Nathaniel Lawrence, district attorney in 1796, whose name is not frequently mentioned, however, in the court records; Cutting, 1785–88; Skinner, 1787–1805; Troup 1787–95 (probably Robert Troup, of New York; he had a good practice in this country); Pierre Van Cortlandt, of the town of Cortlandt, admitted in 1787, but not often in court; Frederick Prevost, 1787; John Johnston, 1787; Augustus James, 1787; Ogilvie, 1787–93; Lewis, 1787; Watkins, 1788; Brookholst Livingstone (afterward judge of the Supreme Court), 1788; Adrian Kissam, 1789; Aaron J. Lawrence, 1790; Oliver L. Ker, 1790–93; Read, 1790–94; Thomas Cooper, 1790–98; Josiah Ogden Hoffman, 1790; Francis Lynch, 1790–94; James Morris, 1791–94; William Wyche, 1793–96; George D. Cooper, 1793–1812; Cadwallader D. Colden, 1798; James Woods, who had a good practice from 1794 to 1811; Charles Thompson, who did a fair legal business from 1794 to 1816; Joseph Constant, 1795–99; and Benjamin Ferrio, 1795–1805.

At this period Aaron Burr frequently had cases in this court, especially between and including the years 1785 and 1794, when he may be said to have been one of the active members of the bar. Alexander Hamilton, his distinguished political opponent, also tried cases in this county about that time, but they were very few in number.

Peter J. Munro was the leading lawyer from 1789 until 1821. He lived in Mamaroneck, but most of his business was done in New York, where he had an office. He was paralyzed for some years before his death, which occurred September 22, 1833, at an advanced age.

Edward Thomas, surrogate of Westchester County, was a leading lawyer and had an extensive practice, 1786–1806. He was the grandson of Judge John Thomas, the patriot who died a prisoner in New York, in 1777. Edward Thomas married Anne Oakley. He died in 1806, aged forty-four years. His

[1] Bolton's "History of Westchester County."

[2] *New York Express*, September 27, 1847, from which most of the above is condensed.

Chauncey Root Mitchell, who practiced in Westchester County, 1808–11, was the fourth child of Rev. Justus Mitchell, of New Canaan, Conn., and was a brother of Minott Mitchell, of White Plains. He was born June 25, 1786, married Anna, daughter of Hon. Robert Johnston, of Somers, moved shortly thereafter to Delhi, Delaware County, and died there February 5, 1814, aged twenty-seven years. He was possessed of brilliant talents, and was highly gifted as an orator.[1]

David Brush, of Greenwich, Connecticut, practiced here occasionally, 1810–27; and William Silliman, of East Chester had a small practice, but was principally in New York.

Balsamin C. Austin, surrogate of Putnam County in 1813, practiced in this county, 1813–22. He was a man of ability, and but for his unfortunate intemperate habits would have acquired a first-class practice. He lived in Peekskill during these years and then went to Washington, D. C., where he died during Tyler's administration. He was married to a Miss Diven.

John McDonald, a native of White Plains, practiced law from 1814 to 1826 with moderate success. He then moved to New York and became a master in Chancery there. He spent the latter part of his life in gathering materials for a history of Westchester County. The result of his labors is a manuscript which is deposited in the Lennox Library, New York.

Aaron Ward, of Sing Sing, was admitted to the bar in 1816. His history is given in connection with his native town. He was a member of Congress, and more noted as a politician than as a lawyer. He was a member of the law-firm of McDonald & Ward, 1816–18, of Ward & Miller, 1825--29, and of Ward & Lockwood, 1831 and onward. The firm of Ward & Lockwood did a large pension business.

J. White Strang, who was admitted to the Westchester County bar in 1819, was a man of commanding talents and a good orator. He was the son of Dr. Samuel Strang, who was one of the earliest physicians who practiced in Peekskill. He studied law with William Nelson, in Peekskill, and after being admitted to practice, was engaged in a number of cases in which Nelson was employed on the other side, and the intellectual combats between the two are yet remembered, by some of the old members of the bar, as having been the occasion of brilliant displays of legal abilities on both sides. Although a brilliant and able man, he seemed averse to business. Had it not been for this fault, it is thought that he would have obtained a very prominent position at the bar. He died about 1831.

From about 1820 to 1850, Richard R. Voris was the leading advocate of the county. His family was of Dutch origin, and settled at Jamaica, L. I. He was, in early life, a merchant in New York City, and after being successful for some time, met with reverses and failed. Then he studied law with McDonald, at one time of the firm of McDonald & Ward. He began the practice of law at Sing Sing about 1820, and continued it there till his death, in 1852. He left a widow and two children,—Elizabeth L., who became the wife of Marlborough Churchill, and Edgar M., who was for many years a successful physician at New Rochelle.

Richard R. Voris was district attorney for several years before the Constitution of 1846.

He was large and portly, of very fine presence and great dignity and courtesy. He was very successful as a jury advocate. His style in speaking was lucid, simple and still ornate, and his delivery was very easy and natural. He has, we think, the reputation of having been the ablest jury orator this county has ever had. Old residents, in speaking of the lawyers of their earlier days, commend Nelson for practical business sense, Minott Mitchell for astuteness, both in counsel and practice, J. Warren Tompkins for general ability, and Voris for eloquence at the bar. They were all undoubtedly lawyers of much more than average ability, and for many years were some or all of them engaged in all the important litigations before the courts of the county.

William W. McClelan practiced somewhat in this county during the first half of this century, especially in the second quarter of it. He was born at Troy, N. Y., in 1788, and was a son of Hugh Stuart McClelan, who was assistant commissary-general of the Continental army during the Revolutionary War, and a distinguished patriot. The family emigrated to this county from Scotland in colonial days; and it has, in its various members, exhibited a good degree of that sturdy independence and persistence which characterize people of that nationality.

William W. was well educated in the city of New York, where he studied law in the then well-known law-office of Woods & Bogart, and was admitted to practice in New York Common Pleas on the 30th of December, 1809; in the Supreme Court on the 13th of May, 1813, as attorney; and on the 15th of May, 1816, as counselor; in the Mayor's Court of New York City on the 20th of May, 1815; in Court of Chancery on the 15th of June, 1820; and in the Westchester Common Pleas on the 24th of September, 1832. He was appointed master in Chancery, on the 10th of July, 1815, and held the office for many years. He practiced his profession assiduously and successfully in the city of New York until the year 1831, when he largely retired from practice, and established himself at New Rochelle, where he continued to act as counselor and adviser until the time of his death, in November, 1854. He was really more of a New York City than a Westchester County attorney, and his principal achievements at the bar were in that city. He was a member of the Episcopal Church, and tol-

[1] Cothren's "History of Ancient Woodbury, Conn.," vol. i. page 641. He was the grandfather of Chauncey M. Depew

erant of all religious belief. In 1831 he married Frances B. Vickers, at New York City, and reared a family of five children, one of whom, Pelham L., was for a time district attorney of this county and still resides in the village of Mount Vernon, and is an attorney and counselor in active practice.

Hon. William Nelson, late of Peekskill, was in the first half of this century prominent in this county, both as a lawyer and a business man.

His paternal ancestors were of English origin and Puritans. The first one of them who came to this country settled upon a farm in Mamaroneck, in this county, about the middle of the seventeenth century. The Nelsons were leading men in the county during the colonial times. One of them, Polycarpus Nelson, was a signer of the famous declaration by the chief citizens of this country, in support of William and Mary, and in opposition to the House of Stuart.

A branch of the Nelson family settled in Dutchess County, where, at Crum Elbow Creek, on June 29, 1784, William Nelson was born. His father, Thomas Nelson, was a farmer, and William was reared as a farmer's son, working upon the farm in summer and attending district school in winter. He did not have the advantages of a collegiate education. He studied law at Poughkeepsie in the office of Theron Rudd, then an attorney of distinction and large practice, and in 1807 was admitted to the bar. He had intended settling in the extreme West, which was then Buffalo, but circumstances diverted him to Peekskill, where he spent a long, busy and honorable life. He probably did as much as, if not more than, any other person to promote the growth and development of that place. Among other good works, he was largely instrumental in establishing the deservedly famous Peekskill Academy. As a lawyer he ranked high, not so much for eloquence or skill at the bar as for industry, good common sense and integrity. His sterling qualities were appreciated by the people, and brought him a large and lucrative practice and many public honors.

From 1815 to 1818 he was district attorney of his district, comprising the counties of Westchester, Putnam and Rockland. Afterwards, when his district comprised Westchester alone, he held the same position. He held it altogether more than twenty-five years. He was also an Assemblyman from 1819 to 1822; State Senator, and as such, a member of the court for the correction of errors from 1824 to 1827; and Congressman from 1847 to 1851.

In 1812 he married Cornelia M. Hardman, and lived happily with her until her death—a period of fifty-seven years. He survived her only five weeks, and died on the 2d day of October, 1869, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. They reared a large number of children, several of whom have attained to prominent positions, and fully maintain the distinguished name of the family.

William Nelson had the happy, and, for lawyers, somewhat rare, faculty of business skill and sagacity in the management of his own affairs. He left an estate valued at nearly one million dollars. In this respect he undoubtedly excelled all other members of the Westchester County bar, past or present.

His character has been well expressed by another, in these words: "Mr. Nelson had great natural vigor of character; was painstaking and unwearied in every duty to which he addressed himself. He was wise in counsel, and eminently sagacious and practical, genial in nature, courteous in manner, simple in his mode of life, and, above all, possessed a rare singleness of purpose and integrity of nature. These qualities, in addition to a piety that was devout, but unobtrusive, enabled him to sway a large influence over his friends and neighbors, and all other persons with whom he came in contact. His whole life illustrated the true republican simplicity and integrity which characterized the earlier days of the State."

Joseph Warren Tompkins, for many years a leading lawyer in the county, was a native of White Plains and a nephew of the late Governor Daniel D. Tompkins. He graduated at Union College in 1822, and immediately thereafter began to study law in the office of Minott Mitchell. He was admitted to practice in 1825, opened an office in White Plains and commenced the practice of his profession under the most favorable auspices. He soon commanded a large and lucrative professional business, which he retained to the end of his busy life. Up to within a few years of his death he had been employed in nearly every case of magnitude in this and the adjoining counties of Putnam and Rockland. Mr. Tompkins died at his residence in White Plains, August 23, 1872, in the seventy-first year of his age. He left a widow and two children. He was a strong advocate before a jury, and in the trial of a good case had few equals.

Albert Lockwood held a position of prominence in his day at the Westchester County bar. He was the sixth child of Stephen Lockwood, who was born in Connecticut in 1764, and married Sarah Ingersoll in 1790. Albert was born in Stanwich, Conn., November 18, 1802. The family removed from Connecticut to the town of Ossining, Westchester County, about 1825, where Stephen Lockwood purchased a farm of one hundred and fifty acres, located about a mile from Sing Sing. Albert worked with his father and brothers on the farm in summer, and taught the district school during the winter, and during his leisure time studied law. He was admitted to the bar when about twenty-seven years old, and in 1831 formed a partnership with General Aaron Ward, of Sing Sing, which lasted until about 1848. From 1847 until 1851 Mr. Lockwood was county judge, and further political honors would doubtless have been bestowed upon him but for his death, which occurred November 18, 1852. In 1852 he was the Republican nominee for Supreme Court justice. In 1833 Mr. Lockwood married Eliza Jane, daughter of Jacob

Arthur, of Kinderhook, N. Y., a lady of estimable character, who died in 1850. Their children were Arthur I., now of San Antonio, Texas, and Frederick E., Isabella B., Albert C., and Theodore, all of New York City.

Mr. Lockwood was a man of upright character and was highly respected. He was not eminent as an advocate, but was possessed of good common sense, and was a safe adviser in legal matters. Through the political influence of his partner, General Aaron Ward, who was for a long time a member of Congress, Mr. Lockwood obtained a great deal of pension business. Ralph Lockwood, a brother of Albert, was an attorney in New York, and acquired a large business and a high reputation. General Munson I. Lockwood, at one time clerk of Westchester County, and agent and warden of Sing Sing Prison, was another brother.[1]

Stephen D. Horton gave promise of obtaining eminence at the bar, but met with an early death. He was descended from Barnabas Horton, who came to this country from England in 1640. Stephen was the son of Wright Horton, of Yorktown, and Ann Quers his wife, and was born in Yorktown October 3, 1808. He came to Peekskill in 1831, began the study of law with Hon. William Nelson, became the partner of the latter in 1835, and a few years afterwards engaged in practice by himself. He died March 5, 1842, and was buried in the yard attached to the First Presbyterian Church, in Peekskill. He was married to Delia Clapp, sister of Dorlon Clapp, of Peekskill, and had one daughter, who was born in 1842 and died in 1855.

Robert H. Coles, surrogate, 1855–62, was originally from the neighborhood of Tarrytown. He studied law in the office of Minott Mitchell, at White Plains, and located in New Rochelle, where his energy and devotion to his profession soon obtained him a good practice. He was secretary of the Westchester Fire Insurance Company of New York in its early days, when it was located at New Rochelle. He was a Democrat in politics, and an active worker for his party. His death occurred January 15, 1862. He was then barely thirty years old. He was buried in the church-yard at Sleepy Hollow. Mr. Coles was not regarded as a brilliant lawyer, but he was pushing and energetic and was considered honest and reliable. He was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Palmer, of White Plains, and had two daughters and one son.

Elijah Yerks was a lawyer of considerable prominence in Westchester County for many years. He was, in 1805 or 1806, born near Unionville, in Mt. Pleasant, and in early manhood was proprietor of a country store. He subsequently began the study of law in the office of Minott Mitchell, at White Plains, and on being admitted to the bar, in 1833, located in Peekskill. In 1840 he removed to Carmel, Putnam County, where he and Owen T. Coffin, the present surrogate of Westchester County, were the only representatives of the legal profession. After four or five years he returned to Peekskill, and later removed to Tarrytown, where he died in 1864. He was unmarried. Mr. Yerks was one of the most systematic and painstaking of men. He was not quick nor brilliant, and was not considered as more than a fair orator, but he was a reliable adviser. He was economical and accumulated property to the amount of twenty or thirty thousand dollars.

Alexander H. Wells was born at Cambridge, Washington County, N. Y., to which place his father, Daniel Wells, emigrated from Hebron, Conn. He was a graduate of Cambridge Academy, and studied law while filling the office of surrogate, to which, owing to his political influence, he was appointed by Governor William H. Seward in 1840, and which he held until 1844. He was made warden of Sing Sing Prison in 1848. Mr. Wells was a political writer and edited the *Haverstraw Weekly Times* four years, the *Hudson River Chronicle* three years and the *Troy Daily Times* three years. He wrote with force and facility, but his impetuous nature led him often into mistakes which a more prudent journalist might have avoided. He died in Sing Sing in 1857.

Frederick J. Coffin, who succeeded A. H. Wells as surrogate in 1844, was born at Nantucket in 1783. His parents removed to Hudson, N. Y., when he was a mere child. He was admitted to the bar in 1806 and almost immediately thereafter came to Westchester County. He settled in Somers, and married Charlotte Green. He was a master in Chancery for many years, and at one time a justice of the peace in Somers. He also held for a period the office of postmaster of that town. During his incumbency in the surrogate's office he lived in White Plains. At the close of his term he removed to New York, where he died October 23, 1860.

Mr. Coffin was a pleasant, kindly man, and as lawyer had a good practice. His powers as a speaker were good, and his reputation for integrity was high. While many of his decisions in cases coming before him as surrogate were appealed, it is said that his finding was sustained in every case.

Mr. Coffin's children were Mary E., now of New York City; George G., of New York; Isaac G., of Brooklyn; Jarvis B., of San Francisco; and Sarah Ann, Robert A., Frederick J. and Josiah B., deceased.

William Warburton Scrugham, a judge of the Supreme Court for the district including Westchester County and the first lawyer who practiced in the village (now city) of Yonkers, was the son of an Irishman who came to this country from Dublin about the year 1810, and opened a dry-goods store in the lower part of New York City. William was born in March, 1820, and was deprived of both his parents when

[1] The above biography was kindly communicated by Mr. Fred. E. Lockwood.

very young. He was entered at a boarding-school in Westchester County while little more than a child, and remained there for many years, after which he was transferred to the grammar school of the Columbia College, in New York, where he continued to stay until 1838. He then began the study of law in the office of Samuel E. Lyons, at White Plains, and was admitted to practice in 1843. In the latter part of that year he removed to Yonkers, then a mere hamlet, the people of which were almost all tenants of Lemuel Wells. In 1846 he was elected supervisor of the town of Yonkers, and he held that office for many consecutive years, until he declined to serve any longer. In 1847 he was chosen chairman of the Board of Supervisors.

At the first election for district attorney under the



JUDGE WILLIAM W. SCRUGHAM.

present Constitution he was chosen to the office, and he performed its duties for about nine years (1847–56). He was indorsed by both political parties for the office, and his election was practically unanimous. In 1849 he was appointed lieutenant-colonel in the Seventeenth Regiment of the State Militia. In 1859 he was elected a justice of the Supreme Court of New York, and he was incumbent in that office at the time of his death, August 9, 1867.

Judge Scrugham did not like the excitement incident to the trial of causes, and would very rarely enter upon them alone, even in his own cases, but when he did engage in such a trial he was found to be prepared on every point. In his office of public prosecutor, however, he tried all his cases without assistance, believing it to be his duty to do so. In the conduct of his cases he showed good judgment. His practice grew with the growth of Yonkers, and he was enabled to follow his inclinations. He devoted himself chiefly to real estate and counsel business. As a judge he produced a favorable impression, and he would have undoubtedly been re-elected but for his death. He was possessed of a pleasant and genial wit. Judge Scrugham was married, in 1859, to Miss Mary Kellinger, of Yonkers. They had three children,—two daughters and one son.

John J. Clapp, originally from Greenburgh, studied law at the office of J. Warren Tompkins, at White Plains, and located in that town when he was admitted to practice. He was a man of strong common sense; manifested good abilities, both in the office and before the court. His standing as a trial lawyer before the jury was high. He was energetic in disposition, an indefatigable student of the law, and acquired a competence. He died early, in 1866, being then about forty-five years of age. He married Maria Banta. They had three sons,—John Henry, Peter B. (who died young) and Oscar.

Jonathan Henry Ferris was born in the hamlet of Oregon, in the town of Cortlandt, was graduated from Williams College, and studied law in the office of Hon. William Nelson, of Peekskill. He was admitted to the bar about 1842, began the practice of his profession in Peekskill, and soon afterwards entered into a partnership with Calvin Frost, which lasted for many years. A number of years before the close of his life he went to New York and practiced there. Later he went to Haverstraw, and finally he returned to Peekskill. The following year he fell into the Hudson River from a dock in New York while preparing to board a steamboat for Peekskill, and contracted pneumonia therefrom, which resulted in his death, on June 7, 1873.

Mr. Ferris was a man of brilliant abilities, which became obscured to a degree by some unfortunate habits into which he fell. He was refined in his tastes, quick in his conceptions, emotional and sympathetic in his disposition, polished in his manners and graceful and effective in speaking and writing. He was a great reader, and was possessed of vast stores of information. He built up a large practice.

Leonard P. Miller who lived in New Rochelle for many years, and practiced somewhat in this county, was a man of rare ability as a speaker. He was a son of Nicholas Miller, a school-teacher, and afterwards, from 1845 to 1855, a hotel-keeper at New Rochelle. He graduated at Columbia College with a high reputation as a scholar, especially in the classics, and was offered a professorship in Greek at that college. He was for many years a tutor in the family of John Hunter, of Hunter's Island, and educated the grandson, the present John Hunter. While in that position his unoccupied time was devoted to the study of law, under the instruction of William W. McClelan, and about 1859 he was duly admitted to practice. His time and attention were chiefly occupied with

the management of several large estates, viz.: the Hunter, Overing, Van Cortlandt and other estates. He bore a conspicuous part in several of those noted ejectment suits, in which the title of large tracts of land held under patents in Ulster, Sullivan, Greene and Delaware Counties were tested.

About 1850 he was married to a daughter of the late Captain Josiah Le Count, and had one son, John H., who is now a prominent lawyer in New York City. As a speaker, he was brilliant and captivating.

A devoted adherent of the Methodist Episcopal Church, he was ordained as a lay preacher, and on several occasions preached eloquent sermons to large audiences. He died at New Rochelle, October 16, 1876, at the age of fifty-two. Although he did not participate largely in the general practice of law, owing to his special engagements, and so did not become as widely known in the county as a lawyer as some others; yet he was a man of superior qualities, and well deserves to be remembered.

John M. Mason, late of Yonkers, deserves notice as a member of the Westchester County bar, although he practiced chiefly in the city of New York.

Mr. Mason was born in the city of New York on November 8, 1821. He graduated at Columbia College, and studied law with his father, Hon. John L. Mason, who was an eminent lawyer, and from May 1, 1849, to January 1, 1852, one of the judges of the New York Superior Court.

In 1849 Mr. Mason formed a partnership in the law with his cousin, John M. Knox, under the name of Knox & Mason, which continued until his death, and enjoyed a high reputation for ability and integrity.

Mr. Mason possessed a clear and acute mind and a remarkable tenacity of purpose, which, with his untiring diligence and application, made him a most serviceable and efficient adviser and advocate. He was highly esteemed by the members of his profession, who invariably found him candid and liberal in his practice, while zealous in behalf of his client and his cause. He was very patient and persevering in his examination of intricate questions, and in that important branch of the law which relates to titles of real estate, was especially skilled. During most of his active professional life he was a constant sufferer from physical ailments, against which he struggled with an endurance and patience which exhibited, in a most striking manner, energy and resolution.

Mr. Mason took up his residence in Yonkers in 1854, and participated actively in every movement by which its growth and interests have been promoted. In announcing his death to School No. 6, Thomas Moore, principal, appropriately said: "I consider John M. Mason the father of the public-school system in Yonkers, and the main promoter of education in our county."

At the organization of School No. 6 in Yonkers, in May, 1861, Mr. Mason was elected one of the trustees, and he served for some fifteen years, most of the time as president of the board. Neither the arduous duties of his profession nor bodily infirmity influenced him to neglect his duties to the school. In all weathers, and at all seasons, he was promptly in his place. His time and labor were given without stint, and the high standard of public-school education in that city is, no doubt, mainly due to Mr. Mason's devotion and influence. As counsel of the water commissioners, Mr. Mason rendered important services to that city in conducting the intricate proceedings for the condemnation of land and water rights.

He died at Yonkers on the 17th day of February, 1878, leaving a widow and six children.

Elisha P. Ferris, late of White Plains, was a lawyer in good practice and repute from 1865 to the time of his death, which occurred February 8th, 1882.

His family is an old one in this county, and, by intermarriage, connected with the Purdy and several other old Westchester families. He was born February 6, 1840, at White Plains, was educated in the public schools of that place, studied law there in the office of the late John J. Clapp, and was admitted to the bar in 1862. He always kept his office at White Plains. Industrious, patient and reliable in business, he built up a lucrative practice. His popularity with his fellow-townsmen was great, and he held many local offices and positions of trust, among others, justice of the peace, president of the village, president of the Board of Education and supervisor.

His health failed him, and for several of his latter years he suffered from consumption, but displayed great resolution in resisting the disease and in attending to his business. He was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church and a prominent Mason.

On the 30th of April, 1868, he was married to Sarah Wright, of Whitestone, Long Island. She survived him, with three children—daughters.

John Seymour Bates was born in Bedford, and a son of Nehemiah Bates, who was for many years a merchant at Bedford village, and once county clerk of the county. The family came to Bedford from Stamford, Conn., and were among the first settlers.

He graduated at Columbia College in the class of 1838, studied law in New York City with George N. Titus, a lawyer of high standing, and was admitted to the bar about 1840. He returned to Bedford village about 1844, and practiced law there until about 1876, when his health failed and he retired from active practice. He removed to Harlem, and there died in 1884. He was district attorney from 1866 to 1868.

As a lawyer, he was quick in perception, sound in judgment, fluent and ornate in speech, and of rare coolness and self-command.

Of the lawyers who have passed away within the last decade, none stood higher in general estimation than Amherst Wight, Jr., of Port Chester. The son of Amherst Wight, who for sixty years was a member of the New York City bar, and in his prime a very prominent lawyer, he may be said to have in-

herited his fondness for the legal profession and his ability in its practice. The father, Amherst Wight, Sr., was a graduate of Amherst College, and belonged to an old Massachusetts family. He married Johanna Bonnett, who belonged to an old and distinguished New York City family. The son, Amherst Wight, Jr., was born in New York City, August 15, 1828. He attended a private school to his thirteenth year and then went into his father's law-office. The father was an eminent scholar, learned not only in law, but in general studies as well, and he gave his personal attention to his son's education. Under the tuition of the father, the son in time became a ripe scholar and acquired a liberal education.

In 1855 the son was admitted to the bar in New York City. In April, 1856, he married Adele Griswold, a daughter of Daniel S. Griswold, of that city. The father and son entered into a law partnership under the name of Amherst Wight & Son, and practiced in New York City. The firm did a large business, especially in real estate law.

In 1864, on account of the ill health of his wife, Amherst Wight, Jr., removed to the country and took up his residence at Port Chester. The change did not restore the health of Mrs. Wight, and in June of that year she died. Although not at first designing to engage in Westchester practice, he found himself gradually involved in it. Accordingly, in 1870 he formed a law partnership with John H. Clapp, a son of John J. Clapp, and opened an office in Port Chester, in addition to the office in New York City. This partnership continued until Mr. Wight's death, and conducted a very large and valuable business.

His sterling qualities won for him the confidence and regard of the community in which he resided; and, although a sincere and outspoken Republican, he was several times elected to prominent positions in his district, which was very largely Democratic. Among other public positions which he held by popular suffrage were supervisor of the town of Rye, 1871 and 1872, member of the State Assembly, 1873 to 1875, and president of the board of trustees of the village of Port Chester. He was also, in the fall of 1876, the Republican candidate for Congress in his district. In August, 1867, he married Ellen M. Abendroth, a daughter of William Philip Abendroth, late of Port Chester. He died at Port Chester on the 28th of June, 1877. He left surviving him his widow and four children—three (two sons and a daughter) by his first wife and one (a daughter) by his second. His death was universally deplored as a great public loss. He had the entire confidence and respect of all, both as a lawyer and as a citizen. As an advocate his standing was not exceptionally high, but as a prudent and reliable counselor he had no superior among his Westchester cotemporaries.

John A. Husted, for many years an active and influential attorney at Tarrytown, was born at Round Hill, Conn., March 21, 1831. In his youth his parents moved to Western New York, and in the year 1853, he came to Tarrytown, New York; and while engaged in teaching school he commenced the study of law with Elijah Yerks, Esq., a lawyer of that village. After a year or two he went into the office of J. Warren Tompkins, at White Plains, New York, and continued his studies until September 1, 1856, when he was duly admitted in the Supreme Court as an attorney and counsellor-at-law, and at once commenced to practice law in Tarrytown. There for a number of years he was engaged in some of the most important ejectment and partition actions ever tried in Westchester Co. He was an excellent equity lawyer. He died at Tarrytown, N. Y., October 9, 1884.

Edward P. Baird, formerly of Yonkers, for many years enjoyed the largest and most lucrative practice in that city. He was at one time counsel for the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, in reference to its Westchester business; also counsel for the Yonkers' banks, and for many important estates. The people of that city intrusted him successively with the important offices of corporation counsel and city judge. He was a son of the eminent theologian, the late Rev. Dr. Robert Baird, of Yonkers, and a brother of the Rev. Dr. Henry M. Baird, still of that city. His life was spent in Yonkers from early childhood until 1882, when he removed to Minneapolis and settled there in the practice of his profession. He died there October 27, 1885, in the forty-ninth year of his age, leaving a widow and two children.

Isaiah Thornton Williams, who recently died at Chappaqua, was one of the leading lawyers at the Westchester County bar during the past twenty years. He was born at New Ipswich, N. H., on February 12, 1819. He came of an old New England family on his father's side, being able to trace his paternal ancestry to one of the Pilgrims who came over in the "Mayflower;" while on his mother's side, he came of a Southern family. His uncle on that side, Judge Tenney, of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, not only distinguished himself in the field of jurisprudence, but also gained a less enviable fame on the field of honor, being killed in a duel, Sergeant S. Prentiss acting as his second. Mr. Williams was educated at the Academy of Exeter, N. H. While there he made the acquaintance of Ralph Waldo Emerson, and was invited by him to spend a part of the vacation at his home in Concord. This acquaintance ripened into a friendship, which lasted unabated until the death of Mr. Emerson. Through Mr. Emerson, Mr. Williams made the acquaintance and acquired the friendship of A. Bronson Alcott and Henry D. Thoreau.

After leaving the academy he went to Buffalo, and studied law in the office of Henry K. Smith, and afterward in that of President Fillmore, where he remained some years. During Mr. Fillmore's administration he was a frequent guest at the White House, and met many of the prominent statesmen of that period.

He continued in the active practice of law at Buf-

falo until 1854, when he moved to New York City, and there opened an office. He soon built up a large practice, being retained in many suits of the first importance. He had been in New York but a very few years, when he formed the closest friendship with Horace Greeley, continuing unimpaired to the last sad days of Mr. Greeley's life. He was retained by Mr. Greeley to defend *The Tribune* in the many libel suits which were brought against that paper during Mr. Greeley's management, among the most noted of which were the cases of the notorious Count Johannes, and of Dewitt C. Littlejohn, at that time Speaker of the Assembly, in both of which cases Mr. Williams was successful. He was also associated with Charles O'Conor in several important suits. For a time he was partner of Francis B. Cutting; but his mind was of a cast which rendered him impatient of partnerships, and he much preferred to be alone, assisted only by clerks. He did not confine himself wholly to the practice of his profession, but took an active part in the political struggles of 1856, when he made speeches in favor of his old friend, Mr. Fillmore, and in 1860, when he spoke for Lincoln. During the war he took a part in the exciting controversies of that period, sharing in the dangers which surrounded Mr. Greeley and those who acted with him.

Mr. Williams did not confine himself to those questions of public interest which pertained more especially to America. In 1857 he visited Europe, where he interested himself in the ballot question which then agitated England, making speeches in its favor both in England and Wales. While abroad he visited the principal capitals of Europe, enjoying exceptional facilities for meeting prominent men, because of Mr. Fillmore's letters of introduction. In Paris, in London and at Oxford University he received marked attention from men distinguished in scholarship, politics and law, by whom he was sought, for his brilliant conversational powers. While in Paris he was thrown into the society of Charles Sumner, between whom and Mr. Williams a friendship was formed, which survived with unabated warmth for many years.

In 1867 excessive labor in his profession broke down his health, and he was obliged to retire from the practice of law. He thereupon accepted the position of register in bankruptcy for New York County. He acquired a high reputation in that office, writing many valuable opinions. In 1872 he threw himself heart and soul into the political struggle for the Presidency between Mr. Greeley and General Grant, speaking in several States in favor of the former.

In 1860 Mr. Williams went to live at Fordham, then in Westchester County, but since annexed to New York City, where he remained until 1869, when he bought a farm near Mr. Greeley's residence at Chappaqua, in which he took great interest and pride. In 1877 he resigned the registership of bankruptcy and returned to the practice of his profession, and opened an office at White Plains, having formed a partnership with M. M. Silliman. In 1881 he dissolved this partnership and returned to New York, although he had built up a large and lucrative practice in Westchester County, and there continued in the active practice of his profession up to the time of his death. His last birthday, on which he reached the age of sixty-seven, was spent in arguing a case before the Court of Appeals at Albany.

In 1849 he married Ellen E. White, a daughter of Ferdinand Elliot White, of Boston. She died in 1877, and he did not marry again.

In Westchester County he was one of the original incorporators of the Westchester Historical Society and one of its vice-presidents. At the time of his death, and for many years before, Mr. Williams was a member of "All Saints" Protestant Episcopal Church, at Briar Cliff, and was greatly interested in the temporary home for destitute children. He also took an active part in the meetings of the Bedford Farmers' Club. He died at his residence in Chappaqua on April 5, 1886, after a few hours illness, of neuralgia of the heart, in his sixty-eighth year, leaving four sons and one daughter surviving him. He was well read not only in the law, but in general literature, and in social intercourse he was a most kind, entertaining and courteous gentleman.

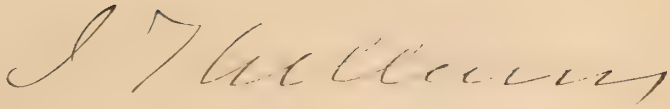
Reuben W. Van Pelt, late of Yonkers, for many years, especially in his early manhood, held a very high position both at the Westchester and the New York City bars. He was of very great capacity as a lawyer and early in his practice gained full recognition of his abilities. As a young man he made phenominal progress in his profession.

Unfortunate circumstances several years ago diverted him largely from legal practice, and afterwards he engaged in various speculative ventures, none of which proved successful. He died at Putnam, Conn., on the 2d day of May, 1886.

In the prime of his practice as a lawyer he delivered some of the finest arguments, both before the court and before the jury, that ever have been heard in the county. He was of good origin and had a liberal education. His ability, energy and industry are acknowledged by all who knew him.

David B. Williamson was a son of Major-General Williamson, of Maryland, who acquired distinction in the organization of the National Guard of that State. He was born in Maryland, but lived abroad during most of his youth, and was educated in Germany. For some time he was an attache of the United States Legation at Madrid. He was about twenty-five years of age when he returned to this country and began the study of law in New York, where he made his home. He took a warm interest in the State Militia and was a member of the Seventh Regiment. General Fitzgerald appointed him his chief-





of-staff, a position which he held for several years. He was prominent among the military lawyers who codified the laws affecting the National Guard, and was chosen president of the National Guard Association. Mayor Edward Cooper, of New York City, appointed him park commissioner, and for four years he served as treasurer of the board. He married a daughter of Elias Butler, of Hyde Park, who, with five children, survives him. He died July 12, 1886, at his home in Dobbs Ferry, aged fifty-five years.

The present members of the Westchester bar are men of ability and integrity, and many of them are in the enjoyment of lucrative practice and of high repute, not only within the county, but throughout the State and at the bar of the Court of Appeals. We here give their names and residences. Several of them, however, have retired from active practice, or practice chiefly in New York City,—

WESTCHESTER COUNTY BAR.

Adams, A. J . . . . . Mount Kisco.
Adee, Frederick . . . . . Westchester.
Adee, George A . . . . . Westchester.
Adee, Philip H . . . . . Westchester.
Allen, William Porter . . . . . Harrison.
Allerton, W. S . . . . . Mount Vernon.
Alexander, John W . . . . . Yonkers.
Andrews, George C . . . . . Tarrytown.
Archer, Eugene . . . . . White Plains.
Atkins, T. Astley . . . . . Yonkers.
Bailey, S. C. H . . . . . Cortlandt.
Baker, Nelson H . . . . . Sing Sing.
Baker, Fisher A . . . . . Yonkers.
Baker, Seward . . . . . Westchester.
Banta, Matthias . . . . . Mamaroneck.
Banks, Charles G . . . . . New Rochelle.
Barton, William M . . . . . Peekskill.
Barnett, William E . . . . . Pelham Manor.
Baxter, John H . . . . . Peekskill.
Benard, Franklin B . . . . . Westchester.
Bigelow, C. C . . . . . Mount Vernon.
Bird, Winfield S . . . . . Tarrytown.
Blankman, Edward . . . . . Westchester.
Brennan, John F . . . . . Yonkers.
Brown, William Reynolds . . . . . .
Brown, Wilson, Jr . . . . . White Plains.
Brown, J. Barclay . . . . . Tarrytown.
Bruen, Alexander J . . . . . Hartsdale.
Buchanan, E. G . . . . . Yonkers.
Buel, Oliver P . . . . . Yonkers.
Butler, William Allen . . . . . Yonkers.
Butler, William Allen, Jr . . . . . Yonkers.
Butler, Willard Parker . . . . . Hartsdale.
Burns, Arthur J . . . . . Yonkers.
Chamberlain, Henry C . . . . . Underhill.
Clapp, John H . . . . . Port Chester.
Clapp, Charles A . . . . . Sing Sing.
Close, Odle . . . . . White Plains.
Clopton, William H . . . . . Scarsdale.
Cobb, Marcus L . . . . . Sing Sing.
Coffin, Owen T . . . . . Peekskill.
Conklin, William H . . . . . New Rochelle.
Collins, William H . . . . . Mount Vernon.
Couch, Franklin . . . . . Peekskill.
Crumb, L. F . . . . . Peekskill.
Collins, S. W . . . . . Harrison.
Crane, Joseph T . . . . . Mount Kisco.
Crane, A. B . . . . . Hartsdale.
Cowles, Charles P . . . . . Rye.
Cowles, Edward B . . . . . Rye.
Cowles, Justus A. B . . . . . Rye.
Daly, Joseph F . . . . . Yonkers.
Darrow, John C . . . . . Shrub Oak.
Davidson, William B . . . . . Dobbs Ferry.
Davison, C. S . . . . . Tarrytown.
Davenport, G. W . . . . . New Rochelle.
De Lancy, Edward F . . . . . Mamaroneck.
De Lancy, W. E . . . . . Mamaroneck.
Dillon, Maurice . . . . . Port Chester.
Donohue, John C . . . . . Yonkers.
Donohue, John C., Jr . . . . . Yonkers.
Donoghue, Francis X . . . . . Yonkers.
Dusenberry, Edwin C . . . . . White Plains.
Dykman, Henry T . . . . . White Plains.
Draper, Alonzo . . . . . Sing Sing.
Ellis, Matt. H . . . . . Yonkers.
Ely, W. H. H . . . . . Tarrytown.
Frost, Elihu B . . . . . Peekskill.
Fowler, S. Loder . . . . . Peekskill.
Ferris, Clinton . . . . . Peekskill.
Ferris, Claiborne . . . . . Westchester.
Ferris, Henry . . . . . Westchester.
Ferguson, John H . . . . . Yonkers.
Field, David Dudley . . . . . Mamaroneck.
Fiero, Joshua M . . . . . Mamaroneck.
Fiero, William P . . . . . White Plains.
Fitch, Theodore . . . . . Yonkers.
Fitch, S. Hedding . . . . . Yonkers.
Fitch, James S . . . . . Yonkers.
Frost, Calvin . . . . . Peekskill.
Frost, Clarence H . . . . . Peekskill.
Geary, John T . . . . . Yonkers.
Getty, Robert P., Jr . . . . . Yonkers.
Gibney, John . . . . . Sing Sing.
Gifford, Silas D . . . . . Tuckahoe.
Glover, Frank N . . . . . Mount Vernon.
Gorton, Charles E . . . . . Yonkers.
Griffin, Henry C . . . . . Tarrytown.
Haines, Charles B . . . . . Bedford Station.
Haight, Daniel . . . . . Port Chester.
Halsey, Edward G . . . . . Peekskill.
Hart, Robert S . . . . . Mount Kisco.
Hart, Reginald . . . . . Mount Kisco.
Hart, Monmouth G . . . . . White Plains.
Hawley, David . . . . . Yonkers.
Henderson, Henry C . . . . . New Rochelle.
Herrick, Dwight S . . . . . Peekskill.
Hoffman, Arthur T . . . . . Mamaroneck.
Horton, Cyrus W . . . . . Peekskill.
Horton, Dudley R . . . . . City Island.
Holls, F. W . . . . . Mount Vernon.
Hoffman, Henry I . . . . . Mount Vernon.
Horton, Elisha . . . . . White Plains.
Hubbel, Zadock . . . . . Mount Kisco.
Hunt, James M . . . . . Yonkers.
Hunt, David H . . . . . Mount Kisco.
Hunt, William A . . . . . Peekskill.
Hunt, George W . . . . . Mount Vernon.
Huntington, B. F . . . . . White Plains.
Husted, James W . . . . . Peekskill.
Husted, Thomas S . . . . . Peekskill.
Hyatt, A. Jackson . . . . . White Plains.
Hyatt, E. Clarence . . . . . Mount Kisco.
James, Elbert P . . . . . Peekskill.
Johnson, Samuel William . . . . . Mamaroneck.
Johnson, William S . . . . . Mamaroneck.
Kellogg, William C . . . . . Yonkers.
Kene, Cornelius E . . . . . New Rochelle.
Keogh, Martin J . . . . . New Rochelle.
Keyes, Malcolm S . . . . . Yonkers.
Keyes, Edwin R . . . . . Yonkers.
Knapp, Sanford R . . . . . Peekskill.
Lamberton, W. R . . . . . New Rochelle.
Larkin, Francis . . . . . Sing Sing.
Larkin, Francis, Jr . . . . . Sing Sing.
Lawlor, Norman A . . . . . Mount Vernon.
Lent, Stephen . . . . . Peekskill.
Lent, Smith . . . . . Sing Sing.

Lent, Herbert D. . . . . Mount Vernon.
Littel, John W . . . . . Peekskill.
Lockwood, James B . . . . . White Plains.
Logan, Edgar . . . . . Yonkers.
Long, Louis L . . . . . Armonk.
Long, Jacob L. . . . . Armonk.
Lovatt, Edward T. . . . . Tarrytown.
Lyon, Addison J. . . . . Mount Vernon.
McCord, Robert . . . . . Peekskill.
McClellan, P. L. . . . . Mount Vernon.
McClelland, Charles P . . . . . Dobbs Ferry.
Marshall, William J. . . . . Mount Vernon.
Marshall, Stephen S. . . . . White Plains.
Mills, Isaac N. . . . . Mount Vernon.
Millard, James S. . . . . Tarrytown.
Mitchell, Josiah S. . . . . White Plains.
Murray, William . . . . . Dobbs Ferry.
Moran, James H . . . . . White Plains.
Neil, E. C. . . . . Somers.
Nelson, Henry C . . . . . Sing Sing.
Noxon, Charles H. . . . . New Rochelle.
Owens, Silas J. . . . . Peekskill.
Ostrander, Charles H . . . . . Mount Vernon.
Peck, J. A . . . . . Port Chester.
Paulding, Hiram . . . . . White Plains.
Peake, Cyrus A. . . . . Yonkers.
Pemberton, Wm. H. . . . . Mount Vernon.
Pentz, George B . . . . . Yonkers.
Peters, J. Montgomery . . . . . East Chester.
Platt, William P. . . . . White Plains.
Platt, Lewis C. . . . . White Plains.
Porter, David B. . . . . Rye.
Post, John J . . . . . Rye.
Poucher, George W . . . . . Yonkers.
Prime. Ralph E. . . . . Yonkers.
Prime, Alanson J . . . . . Yonkers.
Purdy, William F . . . . . Tarrytown.
Purdy, Elias P . . . . . White Plains.
Roosevelt, Henry E . . . . . New Rochelle.
Reevs, Gabriel . . . . . Yonkers.
Reynolds, Pierre . . . Sing Sing.
Riley, William . . . . Yonkers.
Robertson, William H. Katonah.
Romer, William . . . White Plains.
Roosevelt, Charles H. New Rochelle.
Sanders, James P. . . Yonkers.
Sheil, Denis R . . . . . Wms. Bridge.
Sheldon, George P. . . . . White Plains.
Silkman, Theodore H . . . . . Yonkers.
Silkman, James B. . . . . Yonkers.
Silliman, Minott M . . . . . White Plains.
Skinner, William M. . . . . White Plains.
Skinner, William M., Jr. . . . . White Plains.
Small, John C. . . . . Yonkers.
Smith, Duncan . . . . . Yonkers.
Smith, Marvin R . . . . . Peekskill.
Stilwell, Benjamin S. . . . . Yonkers.
Suits, David . . . . . Mount Vernon.
Sweny, William H. . . . . Yonkers.
Squires, Ebenezer P . . . . . Rye.
Tilden, Samuel J . . . . . Yonkers.
Tierney, Michael J . . . . . New Rochelle.
Taylor, Allen . . . . . Yonkers.
Terwilliger, J. W . . . . . Sing Sing.
Thayer, Stephen H., Jr . . . . . Yonkers.
Titus, Charles T. . . . . Scarborough.
Travis, Eugene B . . . . . Peekskill.
Travis, David W. . . . . Peekskill.
Underhill, A. S . . . . . Sing Sing.
Valentine, William G . . . . . Sing Sing.
Van Cott, William H . . . . . Mount Vernon.
Verplanck, David . . . . . White Plains.
Watson, Samuel . . . . . Sing Sing.
Westcott, Clarence L . . . . . White Plains.
Williams, Elliott . . . . . Chappaqua.
Williams, David O. . . . . Mount Vernon.
Wood, Joseph S. . . . . Mount Vernon.
Woodworth, William A . . . . . White Plains.
Wells, Edward . . . . . Peekskill.
Williams, R. H . . . . . Chappaqua.
Yale, Lucius T . . . . . Tarrytown.
Young, Charles H. . . . . New Rochelle.

The present distinguished justice of the Supreme Court from this county, Hon. Jackson O. Dykman, and surrogate, Hon. Owen T. Coffin, are treated of at length in another part of this work.

As we review the Westchester judges and lawyers, their records, professional and otherwise, we readily conclude that the county has been especially gifted in both. Its judges, at least in the past, have been learned, upright and faithful to duty. There is neither record nor tradition that any of them ever was guilty of corrupt or improper conduct in his position. Each has left the ermine unsullied.

The lawyers, as a class, have been exceptionally able, dignified, courteous, industrious, true to the interests of their clients and trusted counselors of the court. Many of them, as Benjamin Nicoll, Timothy Wetmore, Richard Morris, Gouverneur Morris, John Jay, Philip Pell, Richard Hatfield, John Strang, Peter Jay Munro, Edward Thomas, Martin S. Wilkins, Daniel D. Tompkins, William Nelson, Minott Mitchell, Richard R. Voris, Joseph Warren Tompkins, Albert Lockwood, John J. Clapp, Jonathan Henry Ferris, Amherst Wight, Jr., and Isaiah T. Williams, were lawyers of unusual ability and high reputation. By their careers at the bar, they honored the legal profession, and remain bright examples for the emulation of their successors.



BIOGRAPHY.[1]

HON. OWEN T. COFFIN.

Of the existing generation of public men, there is none who is more thoroughly identified with the public affairs of Westchester County than its present surrogate, Owen T. Coffin, who was born July 17, 1815, at Washington, Dutchess County, N. Y. He is descended from an honorable ancestry, being sixth in the line from Tristram Coffin, who came from Devonshire, England, and was subsequently chief magistrate of the island of Nantucket. The energy of the ancestor has been impressed upon his descendants and their name is identified with many of the most important business enterprises of the country. Among the most conspicuous of these descendants was Isaac Coffin, a gallant naval officer, who, previous to the Revolution, was in the British service, and rising to the rank of admiral, was knighted by his sovereign

[1] The following biographical sketches of members of the Westchester County bench and bar were prepared and inserted in this chapter by the editor.



Orrin N. Coffin

and received a grant of the Magdalen Islands, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, which are still in the possession of his family. He was afterwards a member of Parliament, and distinguished both as a wise and a witty legislator.

Robert Coffin, the father of Owen T., was a thrifty farmer and a man of high standing and great influence in his town, of which he was a magistrate for many years, and although not a member, he was an adherent of the principles of the Society of Friends, which was very numerous in the section where he lived. Taking a great interest in the affairs of the State, he represented his county for a term or two in the Legislature. He married Magdalen, daughter of Taber Bentley and granddaughter of Col. James Vanderburgh, who was one of the most influential citizens of Beekman, Dutchess County, and a worthy representative of an ancient family, who came from Holland and settled in that region at an early day. He was a member of the Provincial Congress in 1776, and a zealous friend of the patriot cause. At his house Washington and Lafayette were frequently entertained, with many of their brother officers. The mother of the present surrogate possessed the characteristics of a true and noble-hearted woman, which greatly endeared her to her family and friends; like her husband, she was in sympathy with the principles of the Society of Friends, and excelled in those qualities which have made the members of that faith models of morality and virtue. Between herself and her children there existed a most affectionate confidence, and their joys and sorrows were made her own.

The children of Robert and Magdalen Coffin were ten in number. Jane, the oldest (now deceased), married Caleb Morgan, of Poughkeepsie, and Alexander H., the second child, is living in that city. Hezekiah R., Charles and Sarah, wife of Henry M. Swift, live in Dutchess County. Eliza married George B. Caldwell, of Poughkeepsie. George W. is mayor of Santa Barbara, Cal. William H., deceased, left a family now living in New York, and Robert G. is on the old homestead, about half a mile south of the village of Mechanic, Washington township, Dutchess County.

Owen T. Coffin was the seventh child and the fourth son, and remained on the farm with his parents, assisting them during the summer and attending the excellent Quaker school in the winter months. When fourteen years old he was sent to the academy at Sharon, Conn., and thence to Kinderhook Academy, where he was distinguished for his assiduous attention to study and for his great fondness for mathematics, in which he attained proficiency. Entering Union College in 1833, he graduated in 1837 with great credit in the same class with Hon. John K. Porter, judge of the Court of Appeals, between whom and himself there has been a constant friendship. After leaving college he began the study of law in the office of Judge Rufus W. Peckham, and for a time had charge of the portion of his business usually attended to by a managing clerk. Upon his admission to the bar, in 1840, he established practice in Carmel, Putnam County, where he remained two years, gaining a large business and winning respect and confidence. In 1845 he became a member of the well-known law-firm of Johnston, Coffin & Emott, of Poughkeepsie. He retired from the firm to form a copartnership with General Leonard Maison, a distinguished lawyer and prominent in State affairs. He continued the practice of his profession in Poughkeepsie, holding several places of trust, among them the office of district attorney, until 1851, when he received an invitation from Hon. W. Nelson and his son, W. R. Nelson, to associate himself with them as a partner in a law-office established in Peekskill, and, having accepted the invitation, he removed to this county, which has since been his place of residence. In 1871 he was elected surrogate of Westchester County, re-elected in 1876 and again in 1882, and holds the office at present.

When one considers the extent of Westchester County, its wealth and population, it is evident that the office of surrogate is one of the most important in the gift of the people. The incumbent is frequently called upon to decide questions of the greatest importance and involving extensive interests.

To the solution of these questions Mr. Coffin has applied with unceasing industry the powers of an active and vigorous mind, well stored with legal knowledge, and a reputation for honor and integrity which renders his opinions and decisions worthy of the respect and confience of his legal brethren, and of the entire community. To determine these questions requires a thorough knowledge of the statutory law, and a familiar acquaintance with the cases in which the brightest lights of legal science have given their interpretations of law. That Mr. Coffin possesses these qualities in the fullest degree is a fact that is fully recognized, and it is the unanimous opinion of those most capable to judge that of all who have held the office in Westchester Co., no one deserves to occupy a higher rank, and few have had a more extensive acquaintance with the members of the legal profession in the State of New York. To mention even a tithe of them would far exceed these limits, but it is sufficient to state that he had abundant opportunity of witnessing the efforts and studying the methods of such "legal giants" as Daniel Cady, Joshua A. Spencer, Greene C. Bronson, Hiram Denio, Ambrose L. Jordan, and others famous for learning and eloquence.

Mr. Coffin married Belinda E., daughter of Gen. Leonard Maison, in 1842. By this marriage he had three children, two of whom died in early childhood, and one, Elizabeth, wife of the late Edward B. Platt, is living in Dutchess County. Mrs. Coffin died in 1856, and, in 1858, he was again married to Harriette, daughter of the late Dr. Samuel Bancroft Barlow, and a sister of S. L. M. Barlow, of New York City. On her father's side, Mrs. Coffin is related to Joel Barlow,

the distinguished author of "The Columbiad," and on her mother's to Major Charles Wadsworth, who, when Sir Edmund Andros demanded the charter of Connecticut, snatched it in the darkness caused by the sudden extinction of the lights, and hastened to conceal it in the famous "Charter Oak."

By this second marriage Mr. Coffin has two children, Magdalen Bentley and Samuel Barlow, who is now a student in Union College. A third child died in infancy.

Previous to his election as surrogate he was elected, in 1859, supervisor of the town of Cortlandt, but declined all offers of re-election. He takes a deep interest in educational matters, and has been for twenty-five years president of the board of trustees of the Peekskill Academy. For many years he has been a member and warden of the Episcopal Church at Peekskill, and a regular attendant upon and devout participator in its services.

In the words of one who has known him for many years—"Though past his sixty-ninth year, Mr. Coffin is still in the vigor of active life. This is no doubt owing to the regularity of his habits and his great fondness for out-door work in field and garden. No one is more systematic in his industry. By it he is enabled to discharge promptly all official duties, to give considerable time to general reading and to work every day with his own hands on his ample grounds situated on the river-bank at Peekskill, which Barry Gray named Sunset Hill. Should a stranger call there in the early morn, or just before the close of day, in the season for it, and when the weather is propitious, and should he encounter a slender man, in shirt sleeves, with a sharp face, aquiline nose, bright, but fixed and cheery look, iron-gray beard and hair, the whole head General Jackson like, and should he receive frank and cordial reception, enlivened with some sportive remark, he may know that he is face to face with Owen T. Coffin, surrogate of Westchester County."

EDWARD WELLS.

Mr. Wells, a leading member of the bar of Westchester County, was born in Durham, Greene County, New York, December 2, 1818. His father, Noah Wells, was a native of Colchester, New London County, Conn., where he married Dimmis, daughter of David Kilbourne. Both families came from England, and their genealogies have been published by their members. The ancestry of Mr. Wells, on his father's side, has been very thoroughly traced in the "History of the Wells Family," by the late Albert Wells, of New York, a work of the greatest value, and embracing the results of extended research; and his genealogy on his mother's side appears in the "History of the Kilbourne Family," written by Hon. Payne Kenyon Kilbourne.

The children of Noah Wells were Rev. Noah H.; Albert, who was thirty years principal of Peekskill Military Academy; Mary E., wife of Hiram Bell (deceased), of East Haddam, Conn.; Francis H., a prominent lawyer of San Francisco, Cal.; and Edward.

Noah Wells removed to Greene County in 1810, and died in June, 1829. His widow then removed to Fishkill Landing, in Dutchess County, and her son Edward was fitted for college at Newburgh Academy, which was then under the management of his brother Albert, who was his guardian. In 1835 they removed to Sing Sing, where he continued his studies at Mount Pleasant Academy, then under his brother's charge, and at the conclusion of his preparatory course entered Yale College and graduated in 1839. He returned to Sing Sing and studied law in the office of General Aaron Ward, who was associated with Albert Lockwood, and remained till 1842, being for a portion of the time assistant teacher in Mount Pleasant Academy. He then removed to White Plains and studied with Minott Mitchell, was admitted to the bar as attorney and solicitor in October, 1842, and in 1845 as counselor-at-law.

Upon his admission he removed to Peekskill and established his practice in partnership with John Currey. This partnership was dissolved five years later. Mr. Wells has continued the business till the present time, and has established not only an extensive practice, but a highly honorable reputation as a counselor. In 1850 he was nominated by the Whigs for district attorney, was elected by a majority of three hundred and thirty and at the conclusion of his term re-elected by the largely increased majority of one thousand one hundred, and declining a nomination for a third term, devoted his time and labors to the practice of his profession.

He has ever taken an active part in all efforts to promote the moral welfare of the community and was for several years president of the Westchester County Bible Society. He is a zealous advocate of the temperance cause and fearlessly supports its principles. At the formation of the Republican party in 1854, he found its views coincident with his own, and has ever since been a prominent member of that organization. Fervid in his opposition to slavery, he was a firm supporter of the Union in the war which ended in the destruction of the system which had so long been a blot on the nation.

He married Hannah Hamill, daughter of Rev. Charles W. Nassau, D.D., of Lawrenceville, N. J., who was formerly a professor and for a time the president of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. Their children are Edward, Jr., who graduated from Yale College in 1884; Charles Nassau, now a student of Lafayette College; and Anna Hamill, who resides with her parents at Peekskill.

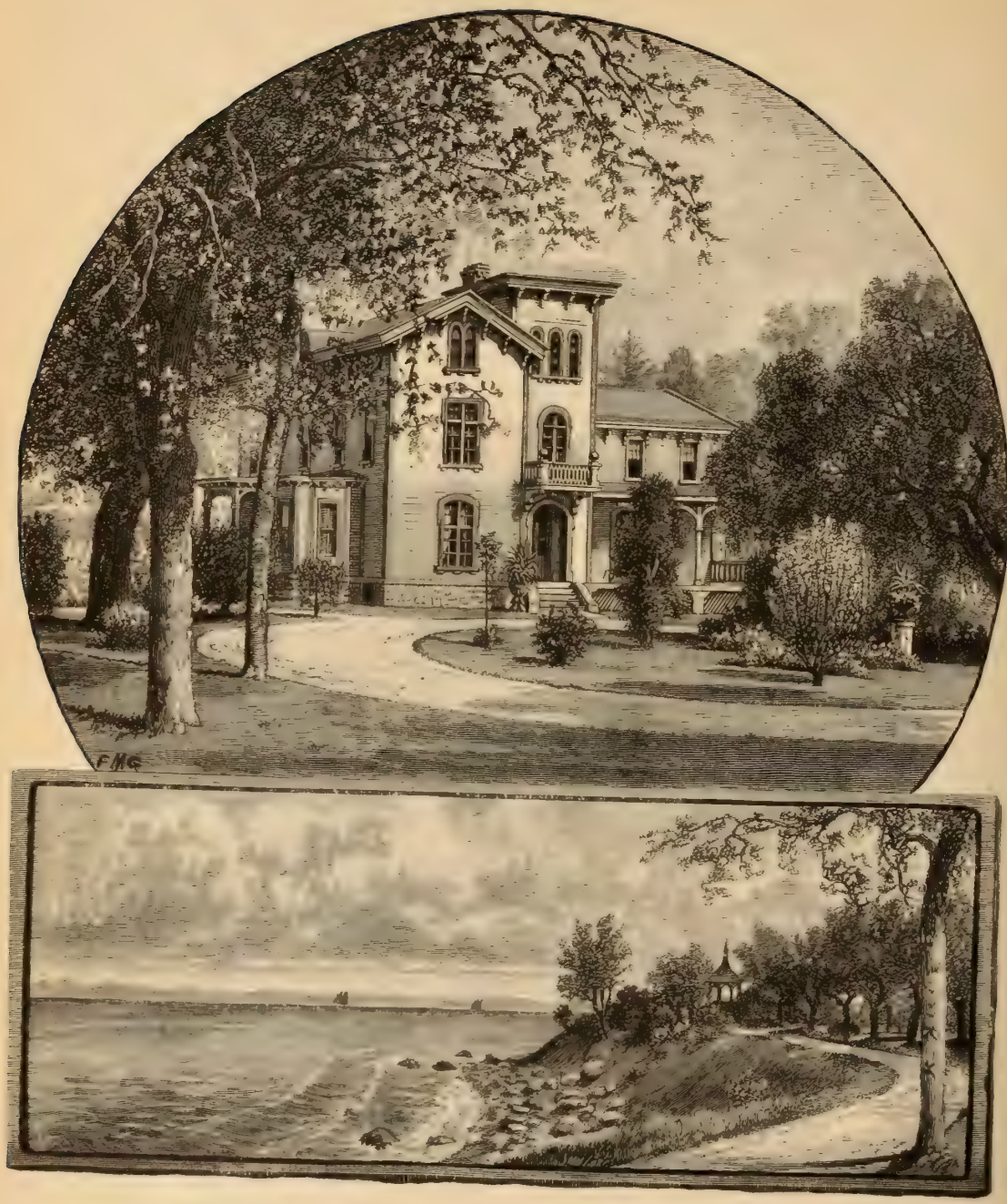
Mr. Wells is a man of extensive learning, the possessor of a large and valuable library, well versed in general literature, and especially in the study of Roman civil law, and holds an honorable position as a member of the legal fraternity.



Ch. L. Thomson



"ISLAND HOME,"
RESIDENCE OF C. T. CROMWELL,
MANERSING ISLAND, RYE, N. Y.



RESIDENCE OF THE LATE WM. P. VAN RENSSELAER,

MANURSING ISLAND, WESTCHESTER CO., N. Y.



W. H. VanRensselaer

CHARLES THORN CROMWELL.

Mr. Cromwell is a descendant of the famous family whose history was for so many years identified with that of the British Empire. Among his ancestry are enrolled the names of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, Secretary of State to Henry VIII., who was beheaded July 28, 1540; Sir Henry Cromwell, of Hinchinbrook, surnamed, for his munificence, the Golden Knight; Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of England, and many others.[1]

Two nephews of the Lord Protector came to this country; one settled in South Carolina and the other in Westchester County. It is from the Westchester branch of the family that Charles Thorn Cromwell is descended. His father, John I. Cromwell, who married Elizabeth Thorn, of Glen Cove, L. I., was a wholesale dry-goods merchant in New York City until the war was declared, in 1812, with Great Britain.

At that time he gave up his business, and, raising a company of volunteers, marched with it to the northern frontier, becoming actively engaged there in most of the battles which took place. He was appointed second lieutenant of artillery and was in command of a company at the battle of Plattsburg, where he also acted as quartermaster. His bravery won for him the respect and esteem of his superior officers, and he was brevetted first lieutenant as a reward of merit. Many flattering letters from the generals under whom he served, from time to time, are still in the possession of his son, notable among which is an autograph note from Major-General McComb.

At the close of the war his name was honorably mentioned in general orders and the government offered him a position upon the peace establishment, which he declined, in order that he might retire from active life, which he did. Removing to Glen Cove, he purchased a farm and resided upon it until his death, in 1824.

Charles Thorn Cromwell, his third child, was born in New York, May 8, 1808. After attending private schools at Jamaica and Flushing, L. I., he entered Union College, graduating in 1829. While there, with three others, all of whom are now dead, he organized the "Sigma Phi Society." After his graduation he entered the law-office of Minott Mitchell, at White Plains, N. Y., and remained with him two years, when, with two friends, he made a tour of Europe. He spent a year in most interesting and profitable diversion, and then returned to New York and was admitted to the bar.

He opened an office in the city, where he remained for many years, building up for himself an extensive and lucrative practice. Twenty years ago he retired from business, though his name is still connected with the legal firm which he organized, and whose office is at No. 21 Park Row.

[1] For a full account of the Cromwell family, see "Foster's British Statesmen," vi. 2; also, "Carlyle's Letters and Speeches of Cromwell," i. 32–40.

During his active career Mr. Cromwell handled many prominent cases with such skill as to win for himself not only a high reputation in commercial centres, but also the regard and respect of the entire profession.

For many years he has lived in his beautiful residence on Manersing Island, near Port Chester, spending his winters in New York.

He is a member of Christ Church (Episcopal) and was formerly one of its vestrymen, having contibuted largely toward its erection. He married Henrietta Amelia Brooks, daughter of Benjamin Brooks, of Bridgeport, Conn. She is a descendant of Colonel John Jones and Theophilus Eaton, first Governor of the colony of New Haven. There were three children, one of whom (the eldest son) was drowned from a yacht in Long Island Sound. Those surviving are Oliver Eaton and Henrietta, who married John De Ruyter.

Mr. Cromwell, though well along in life, still retains his strength, and his name continues to be associated with every progressive and benevolent movement in and about the village which is the home of his choice. He is at present one of the oldest living members of the St. Nicholas Club.

WILLIAM PATTERSON VAN RENSSELAER.

Mr. Van Rensselaer was the second son of the patroon, Stephen Van Rensselaer, of Albany, and was born March 6, 1805. His mother was a daughter of Judge William Paterson, of New Jersey. After graduating at Yale College, in 1824, he was commissioned aid-de-camp to Governor De Witt Clinton, with the title of colonel, which post he soon relinquished, and from 1826 spent four years in Europe, traveling extensively and pursuing legal studies in Edinburgh.

Upon his return he entered the office of Peter A. Jay, then a well-known lawyer in New York. For a number of years afterward he resided in Albany and Rensselaer County, but the last twenty years of his life were spent at his home at Manursing Island, near Rye, Westchester County. He died in New York, November 13, 1872.

He inherited from his distinguished father many noted characteristics. Conspicuous among these was a true simplicity. Free from all pretension and eminently unselfish, he found his happiness in a life of retirement and in unobtrusive but earnest endeavors to do good. A genuine sympathy with works of Christian benevolence was another inherited trait. He was an attentive observer of the great and philanthropic movements of the day and a most liberal supporter of every worthy cause whose claims were brought to his notice.

A man of noble impulses and clear convictions, he was no less decided in the rebuke of injustice and iniquity that in the approval of that which was good.

The uprightness and elevation, the kindliness and generosity of his nature, his fine intellectual gifts and

high culture, and with all an unaffected humility, the fruit of true religion, made him the marked example of a Christian gentleman.

SAMUEL JONES TILDEN.

In an old-fashioned frame dwelling-house still standing, though considerably older than our Federal Constitution, Mr. Tilden was born on the 9th of February, 1814. The old homestead, where four generations of the family have been reared, fronts upon the long street which constitutes the back-bone of the village of New Lebanon, in the county of Columbia, in the State of New York.

Mr. Tilden's ancestry may be traced back to the latter part of the sixteenth century and to the county of Kent, in England, where the name is still most honorably associated with the army, the navy and the church. In 1634 Nathaniel Tilden was among the Puritans who left Kent to settle in America. Eleven years previous he had been mayor of Tenterden. He was succeeded in that office by his cousin John, as he had been preceded by his uncle John in 1585 and 1600. He removed with his family to Scituate, in the colony of Massachusetts, in 1634. He was one of the commissioners to locate that town, and the first recorded conveyance of any of its soil was made to him. His brother Joseph was one of the merchant adventurers of London who fitted out the "Mayflower." This Nathaniel Tilden married Hannah Bourne, one of whose sisters married a brother of Governor Winslow and another a son of Governor Bradford. Among the associates of Joseph Tilden in fitting out the "Mayflower" was Timothy Hatherby, who afterward married the widow of Nathaniel Tilden, and was a leading citizen of Scituate until expelled from public life for refusing to prosecute the Quakers.

Governor Tilden's grandfather, John Tilden, settled in Columbia County, since then uninterruptedly the residence of this branch of the Tilden family. The Governor's mother was descended from William Jones, Lieutenant-Governor of the colony of New Haven, who, in all the histories of Connecticut, is represented to have been the son of Col. John Jones, one of the regicide judges of Charles the First, who is said to have married a sister of Oliver Cromwell and a cousin of John Hamden. The Governor's father, a farmer and merchant of New Lebanon, was a man of notable judgment and practical sense and the accepted oracle of the county upon all matters of public concern, while his opinion was also eagerly sought and justly valued by all his neighbors, but by none more than by the late President Van Buren, who, till his death, was one of his most cherished and intimate personal friends.

Samuel J., after a suitable preparatory education at Williamstown, Massachusetts, was entered at Yale College in the class of 1833, where, however, in consequence of ill health, he was not able to complete the course. He concluded his collegiate studies at the New York University, and then took the course of law in that institution, at the same time entering the law-office of the late John W. Edmunds, then a prominent member of the New York bar. While yet in his teens he was a watchful student of the political situation, and tradition has preserved many interesting stories of his triumphs, both of speech and pen, in the political arena. Young and obscure as he then was, Presidents Jackson and Van Buren had few more effective champions in this State of the great measures of their respective administrations than this stripling from New Lebanon.

He was admitted to the bar in 1841. Four years before, and when only twenty-three years of age, he delivered a speech in Columbia County on the subject of "Prices and Wages," which not only attracted the attention and won the admiration of the leading political economists of that time, but is to-day one of perhaps the half-dozen most profound, comprehensive and instructive papers on that complicated subject now in print in any language.

Upon his admission to the bar, Mr. Tilden opened an office in Pine Street, in the city of New York, which will be remembered by his acquaintances of that period as a favorite resort for the leading Democrats, whether resident or casually on a visit to that city.

In 1844, in anticipation and preparation for the election which resulted in making James K. Polk President, and Silas Wright Governor of the State of New York, Mr. Tilden, in connection with John L. O'Sullivan, founded the newspaper called the *Daily News*, by far the ablest morning journal that had up to that time been enlisted in the service of the Democratic party. Its success was immediate and complete, and to its efficiency was largely due the success of the Democratic ticket that year. As Mr. Tilden did not propose to enter into journalism as a career, and had embarked in this enterprise merely for its bearing upon the Presidential campaign of 1844, he retired from it soon after the election, presenting his entire interest in the property to his colleague.

In the fall of 1845 he was sent to the Assembly from the city of New York, and while a member of that body was elected to the convention for remodeling the Constitution of the State, which was to commence its sessions a few weeks after the Legislature adjourned. In both of these bodies he was a conspicuous authority, and left a permanent impression upon the legislation of the year, and especially upon all the new constitutional provisions affecting the finances of the State and the management of its system of canals. In this work he was associated, by personal and political sympathy, most intimately with Governor Wright, Michael Hoffman and with Azariah C. Flagg, then the controller of the State, who had all learned to value very highly his counsel and co-operation.

The defeat of Mr. Wright in the fall of 1846, and



Samuel J. Tilden



"GRAYSTONE."

RESIDENCE OF HON. SAMUEL J. TILDEN,

YONKERS, N. Y.



VIEWS AT "GRAYSTONE."

YONKERS, N. Y.

the coolness which had grown up between the friends of President Polk and the friends of the late President Van Buren, resulted fortunately for Mr. Tilden, if not for the country, in withdrawing his attention from politics and concentrating it upon his profession. He inherited no fortune, but depended upon his own exertions for a livelihood. Thus far his labor for the State, or in his profession, had not been lucrative, and, despite his strong tastes and pre-eminent qualifications for political life, he was able to discern at that early period the importance, in this country at least, of a pecuniary independence for the successful prosecution of a political career. With an assiduity and a concentration of energy which has characterized all the transactions of his life, he now gave himself up to his profession. It was not many years before he became as well known at the bar as he had before been known as a politician. His business developed rapidly, and though he continued to take more or less interest in political matters, they were not allowed after 1857 to interfere with his professional duties.

From that time until 1869, when he again consecrated all his personal and professional energies to the reform of the municipal government of New York City, a period of about twenty years, his was nearly or quite the largest and most lucrative practice in the country conducted by any single barrister. During what may be termed the professional parts of his career he has associated his name imperishably with some of the most remarkable forensic struggles of our time.

It was, however, during this period of Mr. Tilden's life, in which he was devoting himself almost exclusively to his profession, that his name figures prominently in one of the most important political transactions in American history. The convention held in 1848 at Baltimore for the selection of a Presidential ticket to be supported by the Democratic party presumed to deny to the regular delegates from New York State, of whom Mr. Tilden was one, admission to their body upon equal terms with the delegates from other States, assigning as a reason that the convention which chose them had declared that the immunity from slavery contained in the Jeffersonian ordinance of 1787 should be applied to all the Territories of the Northwest, so long as they should remain under the government of Congress. Mr. Tilden was selected by his colleagues of the delegation to make their report to their constituents,—a report which helps to make the Utica Convention of June, 1848, one of the most momentous in the history of the country.

"With this intolerant proscription of the New York Democracy began the disastrous schism which was destined to rend in twain both the great parties of the country and practically to annihilate the political organization which had given a wise and beneficent government to the country for half a century. Then, too, and there were laid the foundations of the political conglomerate, which in 1860 acquired, and for a quarter of a century retained, uninterrupted control of our Federal Government. . . .

"Just twenty-eight years after the delegate from New York, who had been selected by his colleagues for the purpose, broke to their outraged constituents the story of their State's humiliation, that same delegate received the suffrages of a large majority of his countrymen for the highest honor in their gift; and to-day, through that delegate's influence, another citizen of New York who was nominated by a Democratic National Convention, which imposed no sectional tests, and who was elected without the vote of a single slaveholder, becomes the chief magistrate and most honored citizen of the Republic.

'The wheel is come full circle.'

and the bones of the Democratic party that were broken upon the cross of slavery in 1848, now, after an interval of thirty-six years, are once more knit together, and the traditions and the doctrines inherited from the golden age of the Republic are about to resume, not merely their official, but their moral supremacy in the nation." [1]

The four years from 1869 to 1873 were mainly devoted by Mr. Tilden to the overthrow of what was known as the Tweed Ring, which had thoroughly debauched every branch of the New York City government, legislative, executive and judicial, and was threatening the State government also with its foul embrace.

"The total surrender of my professional business during that period," he has said in one of his published communications, "the nearly absolute withdrawal of attention from my private affairs, and from all enterprises in which I am interested, have cost me a loss of actual income, which, with expenditures and contributions the contest has required, would be a respectable endowment of a public charity.

"I do not speak of these things," he adds, "to regret them. In my opinion, no instrumentality in human society is so potential in its influence on the well-being of mankind as the governmental machinery which administers justice and makes and executes laws. No benefaction of private benevolence could be so fruitful in benefits as the rescue of this machinery from the perversion which had made it a means of conspiracy, fraud and crime against the rights and the most sacred interests of a great community."

When Mr. Tilden thus wrote he had not experienced nor could he have foreseen the legal consummation of his labors in the arrest, imprisonment or flight of all the parties who, only a few months before, seemed to hold the wealth and power of the Empire State in the hollow of their hands, nor the condemnation of Tweed to the striped jacket and cell of a felon, nor the recovery of verdicts which promised to restore to the city treasury many millions of ill-gotten plunder.

Nor could he have foreseen, among the most direct and immediate results of his labors for the purification of the New York City and State governments, his election as Governor in the fall of 1874, by a majority of more than fifty thousand over General Dix, the Republican candidate.

The talents and public virtues which, as a municipal reformer, won the confidence of the people of his native State and made him Governor, on this new and wider theatre won the confidence and admiration of the nation and made him its choice by a considerable popular majority for the Presidency in 1876. It was not, however, in the order of Providence that he or the people were to enjoy the legitimate fruits of this latter victory.

When Congress convened in the winter of 1876–77, and proceeded to discharge its constitutional

[1] "Writings and Life of Samuel J. Tilden," edited by John Bigelow. Pub., Harper & Brothers, 1885.

duty of counting the electoral votes for President and Vice-President, it appeared that there were one hundred and eighty-four uncontested electoral votes for Samuel J. Tilden for President and for Thomas A. Hendricks for Vice-President, one hundred and sixty-five uncontested electoral votes for Rutherford B. Hayes for President and William A. Wheeler for Vice-President, and twenty votes in dispute. One hundred and eighty-five votes were necessary for a choice; consequently, one additional vote to Tilden and Hendricks would have elected them, while twenty additional votes were required for the election of the rival candidates. The whole election, therefore, depended upon one electoral vote. This gave to the mode of counting the vote an importance which it had never possessed at any of the twenty-one previous elections in the history of our government.

The provisions of the Constitution relating to the mode of counting the vote were sufficiently vague to furnish a pretext for some diversity of opinion upon the subject, wherein the temptation to find one was so great. A majority of the Senate being Republicans and a majority of the House of Representatives being Democrats, that the Senate would not agree to to count any one of these twenty votes for Tilden and Hendricks was assumed; and to avoid a conflict of jurisdiction, which was thought by some to threaten the peace of the country, a special tribunal, to consist of members of Congress and of the Supreme Court, fifteen in number, was created, upon which the duty of counting the electoral vote was devolved by an act of Congress. One of the members of this tribunal was classified as an Independent, seven as Republicans and seven as Democrats. The Republicans voted to count all the votes of the three contested States for Hayes, and the Independent, voted with them, and the candidate elected to the Presidency by a considerable popular majority was compelled to give place to the candidate of a minority.

The circumstances under which Mr. Tilden was deprived of the Presidency made it inconvenient, indeed impossible, to obey the counsels and warnings of declining health to lay down the leadership of the great party whose unexampled wrong was represented in his person, until he could surrender it into the hands of its proper national representatives. As soon, however, as the National Democratic Convention assembled in 1880, he felt constrained to address to the chairman of the New York delegation the memorable letter in which he proclaimed his well-considered intention to retire from public life, for the labors of which he had long felt his health and strength were unequal. In 1884 he was obliged to repeat his resolution, to prevent his nomination by the delegates to the National Convention, who were almost unanimously chosen because of their avowed partiality for Mr. Tilden as their candidate, notwithstanding his impaired and failing health. Finding it impossible to obtain his consent to run, the convention accepted a candidate of his choice from the State which he had served so long and faithfully, and his choice was ratified by the nation at the general election.

Mr. Tilden is now enjoying the repose he has so fully earned, and such health as repose only could confer, at his princely home of Greystone on the banks of the Hudson, now the pilgrim's shrine of the reinstated party, which Jefferson planted and which Jackson and Van Buren watered.

"He is one of the few surviving statesmen who had the good fortune to receive early political training in the golden age of the Democratic party, when public measures were thoroughly tested by the Constitution and by public opinion, and when by ample debate the voters of the whole nation were educated, not only to embrace, but also to comprehend, the principles upon which their government was conducted,—a training to which his subsequent political career bears continual testimony. Whatever heresies of doctrine have crept into our public policy since those days, the responsibility for them will not rest with him. In all the papers and speeches with which from time to time he has endeavored to enlighten his countrymen, it will be difficult to find a line or a thought not in harmony with the teachings of the eminent statesmen who, during the first fifty years of our national history, traced the limits and defined the functions of constitutional Democracy in America. From that epoch to this there has been scarcely a question of public concern having its roots in the Constitution which Mr. Tilden has not carefully considered and more or less thoroughly treated. He was a champion of the Union and of President Jackson against the Nullifiers and Mr. Calhoun. He denounced the American system of Mr. Clay as unconstitutional, inequitable and sectional. He vindicated the removal of the government deposits from the United States Bank by President Jackson, and exploded the sophistical doctrine of its lawyers that the Treasury is not an executive department. He vindicated President Van Buren from the charge made by William Leggett of unbecoming subserviency to the Slaveholding States in his Inaugural Address. He was among the first to insist upon free banking under general laws, thus opening the business equally to all, and abolishing the monopoly which was a nearly universal superstition. He exposed the perils of banking upon public funds. He advocated the divorce of bank and State, and the establishment of a sub-treasury. He asserted the supervisory control of the Legislature over corporations of its own creation. He exposed the enormities of Mr. Webster's scheme to pledge the public lands for the payment of the debts of the States. He drew and vindicated in a profoundly learned and able report the Act which put an end to the discontents of the New York 'Anti-renters.' He wrote the protest of the Democracy of New York against making the nationalization of slavery a test of party fealty. He was the first, we believe, to assign statesmanlike reasons for opposing coercive temperance legislation. He pointed out, as no one had done before, the danger of sectionalizing the government. He planned the campaign, he secured the requisite legislation, he bore much the largest share of the expense, and, finally, he led the storming-party which drove Tweed and his predatory associates to prison or into exile. He purified the judiciary of the city and State of New York by procuring the adoption of measures which resulted in the removal of one judge by impeachment and of two judges by resignation. He induced the Democratic Convention of 1874 to declare, in no uncertain tone, for a sound currency, when not a single State Convention of either party had yet ventured to take a stand against the financial delusions begotten of the war, which for years had been sapping the credit of the country. It was at his instance that the Democratic party of New York, in the same Convention, pronounced against third-term Presidents, and effectively strengthened the exposed intrenchments which the country, for eighty years and more, had been erecting against the insidious encroachments of dynasticism. During his career as Governor Mr. Tilden applied the principles of the political school in which he had been educated to the new questions which time, civil war and national affluence had made paramount. He overthrew the Canal Ring, which had become ascendant in all the departments of the State government. He dispersed the lobby which infested the legislative bodies. He introduced a practical reform in the civil service of this State, and elevated the standard of official morality. In his messages he exposed the weakness and inadequacy of the financial policy of the party in power, the mismanagement of our canal system, the Federal assaults upon State sovereignty, and



Chauncey M. Depew.

the pressing need of radical reforms both in the State and Federal administrations." [1]

It is due to Mr. Tilden, also, to say that he has rarely discussed any matter of public concern without planting the structure of his argument upon the solid ground of fundamental principles. Always cautious in the selection of his facts, singularly moderate in his statements and temperate in his language, he, better than perhaps any other statesman of our time, can afford to be judged by his record. Who that has figured so prominently in public affairs has said or written less that he would prefer not to have said; less that his maturer judgment cannot approve; less that will not commend itself to the deliberate judgment of thoughtful men and to an unprejudiced posterity?

HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

Mr. Depew, distinguished as a lawyer and statesman, was born at Peekskill, April 23, 1834. His ancestry was of the Huguenot race, from which have sprung so many noble men to make immortal names in history. His family were early settled at Peekskill, where his father, Isaac Depew, resided on the farm which had been the home of his ancestors for two hundred years. His early years were spent on the old homestead, and his education was finished at Yale College, where he graduated in 1856. Resolved to enter the legal profe-sion, he studied law with Hon. William Nelson, was admitted to the bar in 1858, and commenced practice in his native town. His natural ability, sound knowledge of the law and great oratorical talent caused his rapid advancement. In his youth he took part in politics, was a delegate to the Republican State Convention in 1858, and a distinguished and effective speaker in the campaign of 1860. In every Presidential contest from that time to the present, his speeches have been listened to by thousands of his fellow-citizens, and his opinions have never failed to attract attention and command respect. At the beginning of the war he was adjutant of the Eighteenth Regiment N. Y. V., and served three months. In 1861 he was elected member of Assembly, and re-elected in 1862. His legislative career, which was marked with great ability, prepared the way for a still higher position, and in 1863 he was elected Secretary of State. He received, but declined, the appointment of commissioner of emigration, but served for one year as tax commissioner for the city of New York. In 1866 he received from President Johnson the appointment of minister to Japan,—a position which he resigned after holding the commission for one month. He was appointed one of the commissioners of the new capitol at Albany in 1871. The Liberal Republican party gave Mr. Depew the nomination for Governor in 1872; but he, together with the rest of the ticket, failed of election. During the controversy which led to the resignation of Hon. Roscoe Conkling as United States Senator, Mr. Depew was one of the most prominent among the candidates proposed as his successor, but withdrew his name in the interests of harmony. He was appointed one of the regents of the university in 1877, a position which he still retains. For several years he was vice-president and general counsel for the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad, and is now (1886) president of the road,—a position which furnishes ample scope for his abilities.

Among the prominent orators of the day, there are few who have been more frequently called upon to deliver addresses upon occasions of public importance. A speech delivered in the Legislature, in 1862, upon the subject of "State Finances" has been considered one of his best efforts, and attracted wide attention. On the 4th of July, 1876, he delivered the centennial oration at Sing Sing, and made a brilliant address at Kingston on July 30, 1877, the anniversary of the formation of the State government. On September 23, 1880, he addressed a large assembly at Tarrytown, in commemoration of the capture of Major Andre, and he was the orator of the day upon the occasion of unveiling the statue of Alexander Hamilton, in Central Park. At the election of a United States Senator, in 1885, he was tendered the nomination by all divisions of the Republican party, but declined to be considered a candidate, and the choice fell upon Hon. William M. Evarts.

Upon his maternal side, Mr. Depew is connected with the family of the celebrated Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, his mother being a granddaughter of the sister of that illustrious statesman.

He married, in 1871, Elise, daughter of William Hegeman, Esq., of New York, and has one son, who bears his father's name.

FRANCIS LARKIN.

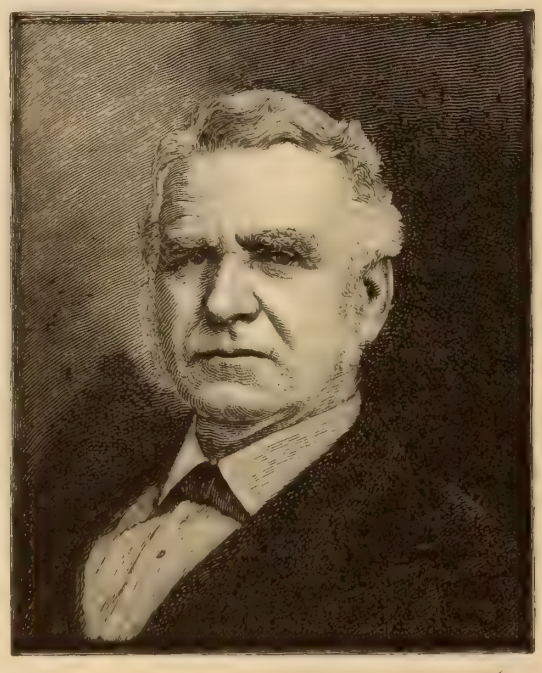
Francis Larkin, well and prominently known among the legal fraternity of Westchester County, was born at Sing Sing, August 9, 1820. His father, John Larkin, came from the neighborhood of Belfast, Ireland, and after his arrival in this country, married Elizabeth Knox, who was also born in Ireland, near Donegal. The early part of Mr. Larkin's life was passed on a farm, upon which he worked till he attained his majority. After teaching school for a while, he resolved to study for the legal profession, and entered the office of Richard R. Voris, Esq., who was a prominent lawyer, and District Attorney of the County. In 1847 he was admitted to the bar as attorney and counsellor at law. Immediately after his admission he established his practice in Sing Sing, and has continued it to the present time, and by strict attention to the duties of his profession, has established an enviable reputation, commanding the confidence

[1] "Writings and Speeches of Samuel J. Tilden," edited by John Bigelow, preface.

of a very extended clientage. He has been a member of the Republican party, and received its nomination for Congress, in 1864, but as the district was strongly Democratic, his opponent, Hon. William Radford, was elected.

He has held the offices of trustee and president of the village of Sing Sing, and justice of the peace, and in 1851 was elected supervisor of the town of Ossining, in which positions he performed the duties of the offices to the entire satisfaction of the community.

He was married April 1, 1852, to Sarah E., daughter of Ebenezer Hobby, of New York. Their children are Mary E., wife of Adrian H. Joline, a prominent lawyer of New York City; Sarah, wife of Dr. Joel Madden; Frank, who married Lily, daughter of George A. Brandreth; John, Adrian H., and Alice. Of these Frank and John are practicing lawyers, and both graduates of Princeton College, and the youngest son, Adrian H., is now a student at the same institution. The youngest daughter is at present studying at the school for young ladies under the tuition of Miss Dana, at Morristown, N. J.



Francis Purdy

HON. SAMUEL PURDY.

The family of which Mr. Purdy is a representative has long been settled in Westchester County, their ancestor being Francis Purdy, who was living in Fairfield, Conn., previous to 1659. The line of descent is as follows,—1st, Francis; 2d, John; 3d, Joseph; 4th, Jonathan; 5th, Jonathan; 6th, Benjamin; 7th, Sylvanus; 8th, Samuel M.

Sylvanus Purdy, the father of Samuel M., married Effalinda, daughter of Andrew Purdy, of East Chester, and his son was born at the homestead of his maternal grandfather, August 28, 1824. This homestead (which was on the farm formerly belonging to Bartholomew Ward, and sold by him to Andrew Purdy), stood in what is now the village of Mount Vernon, at the corner of Sixth Avenue and Fourth Street, on the east side, and now belongs to the heirs of John Stevens. The early boyhood of Mr. Purdy was passed at this place, and at the age of twelve he went to Mamaroneck, and attended a school taught by John M. Ward, a well-known teacher of that day. Here he prepared to enter Columbia College, a plan which he afterwards abandoned, and at the conclusion of his school term he entered, in 1843, the law office of Samuel E. Lyon. In this office he remained four years, was then admitted to the bar, and established his practice at West Farms. During his first year there he was elected to the offices of Justice of the peace and town clerk, and has been continuously re-elected to the former position. He was elected supervisor of the town of West Farm, and held that office in 1855, 1856, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867 and 1868, being four times elected without opposition, and at the other elections by a very large majority. In 1867 he was elected member of Assembly by a majority of eight hundred and twenty, and served on the committee on internal affairs. The following year he was re-elected, and was re-appointed on the above-named committee.

His practice as a lawyer has been almost entirely confined to real estate. In this branch of legal knowledge he has few equals, and it may be safely said that there is no one who is more thoroughly conversant with the history of the land titles in this county. He is constantly called upon to decide questions concerning ancient boundaries, the locations of which have passed from memory. The amount of money invested upon the security of real estate in this county, and of which he has the charge and oversight, exceeds a million dollars, which shows better than any words can express, the confidence which is placed in him by the community where his clientage is so large.

He was in early life a Whig, but joined the Democratic party at the election of Buchanan, and has ever since been connected with it.

He married, in 1847, Rachel, daughter of Caleb Purdy, of Harrison. Their only son, Caleb, a young man of great promise, died, in 1869, soon after his graduation from Columbia College.

Mr. Purdy is a member of the Episcopal Church, and now holds the position of senior warden, and is superintendent of the Sabbath-school.

Soon after establishing his practice at West Farms



Samuel M Purdy



he purchased the homestead formerly belonging to Dr. William Hoffman, on the west side of Main Street, or the old Boston Post Road, which has ever since been his residence.

Mr. Purdy is a type of the self-made man. Commencing with small means he has accumulated a competency ; by strict attention to business, and by his integrity and honesty of purpose, he has gained what is of still greater importance, the confidence and respect of the entire community.

WILLIAM AUGUSTUS BEACH.

On Broadway in Tarrytown stands the handsome stone mansion, which for four years previous to his death was the residence of William Augustus Beach, formerly a leading lawyer in New York City, and is at present occupied by his family.

Mr. Beach was born at Saratoga Springs, New York, December 10, 1809. His father, Miles Beach, was an early settler and successful merchant in that village. His mother, whose maiden name was Catharine Warren, was a first cousin of General Warren of Revolutionary fame. Augustus (as Mr. Beach was usually known) received no college education. He studied law in his native village and for some years after his admission to the bar was engaged there in the practice of his profession. In the law firm of which he was a member, Nicholas Hill, Jr., and Augustus Bockes, who was later a supreme court judge of that district, were the other partners. From the first, he showed remarkable powers in influencing juries to the conclusions he desired, and a keenness in seizing upon the points of advantage in his cases, and he soon acquired a local reputation as an advocate of ability.

In 1851 he removed to Troy, New York, where he made his residence for the next twenty years. In this new and larger field, he achieved a proportionately greater fame and success. He founded the firm of Pearson, Beach & Smith, which later, on the retirement of Hon. Job Pearson, became Beach & Smith. Legal interests of great importance were intrusted to his care, and he became attorney and counsel for all the large railroad corporations in the city.

When the Hudson River Bridge Company secured articles of incorporation for the purpose of bridging the Hudson River at Albany, the city of Troy, which was opposed to the building of the bridge, engaged Mr. Beach to endeavor to prevent its construction by an appeal to the courts. A preliminary injunction was obtained enjoining the bridge company from proceeding with their work,but an attempt to have the injunction made permanent resulted in the case being carried into the Supreme Court of the United States, where the bill of complaint was dismissed.

During the administration of Governor Seymour, while the Civil War was in progress, Mr. Beach was retained to defend Col. North and others, who were charged with tampering with the votes of soldiers. This case was carried into the Supreme Court of the United States, where, during that time of high political excitement, it occasioned widespread interest. Mr. Beach not only succeeded in procuring the acquittal of his clients, but also laid the foundation for the proceedings which ended in the discontinuance of the system of substituting military inquisitions for authorized civil courts. His argument was listened to by Senators and Representatives and his skillful conduct of the case made him the recipient of many enthusiastic manifestations of approbation.

In 1868 he obtained the acquittal before the courts of impeachment of canal commissioner Robert C. Dorn.

During his residence in Troy he was frequently tendered the nomination to a judgeship, but declined the honor. The title of judge, however, was commonly prefixed to his name.

In 1871 he removed to New York, where he commanded at once a large practice, and was pitted in the legal arena against the foremost lawyers of the city. He took the place of Charles A. Rapallo, now a justice of the New York Court of Appeals, in the firm of Rapallo, Daly & Brown. Afterwards on the withdrawal of Mr. Daly, the firm became Beach & Brown. Their office was in the Herald building. Mr. Beach became engaged in a number of noteworthy cases. In the action brought by the Erie Railway Company against Wm. H. Vanderbilt, popularly known as the five million dollar suit, Messrs. Beach and Rapallo were retained by Mr. Vanderbilt, and succeeded in obtaining a verdict in his favor. In the celebrated suit of Bowen vs. Chase, which involved the title to the valuable real estate left by Madame Jumel, Mr. Beach appeared for the plaintiff and was opposed by Charles O'Connor. The trial lasted for over a month, and resulted in the disagreement of the jury.

In the prosecution of Edward S. Stokes for the murder of James Fisk, Jr., he assisted the district attorney, with the result that Stokes was convicted of murder in the first degree. In a re-hearing of the case Mr. Beach did not appear and the decision was reversed. When Frank Walworth was tried for killing his father Mr. Beach and Charles O'Connor defended him, and Mr. Beach refused any remuneration for his services.

Perhaps the most widely known of his cases was the suit brought by Theodore Tilton against Henry Ward Beecher. He was senior counsel for Mr. Tilton and was assisted by Wm. Fullerton, General Roger A. Pryor, Samuel D. Morris and Thomas E. Pearsall. For Mr. Beecher appeared William M. Evarts, John K. Porter, Austin Abbott, Benjamin F. Tracy, Thomas G. Shearman, John L. Hill and John W. Sterling. In summing up the evidence for Mr. Tilton, Mr. Beach occupied the sessions of the court from June 10th to June 23d, 1875. The result of this trial, as is well known, was the disagreement of the jury.

After this time his activity in the pursuit of his profession began to decrease. For ten or fifteen years previous to his death he suffered from heart disease, which gradually grew worse, and in the first half of 1884 his condition became very serious. The immediate cause of his death was a congestive chill, taken at the house of his physician, at Tarrytown, at one o'clock Saturday afternoon, June 28, 1884. He was removed to his own home on Broadway, in Tarrytown, and died there at forty minutes past three o'clock the same afternoon.

In person he was somewhat above the medium height and well proportioned. He had a massive head and regular and strongly marked features. His white hair, which only partly covered his head, when brushed back, as he always wore it, showed a broad, full forehead. He wore a chin beard which, in his advanced years, was white. In disposition he was genial.

He left a wife and six children. He married Jennie Wilson, daughter of Jesse Wilson, of Albany, in 1858. His children were Captain Warren Beach, at present a member of General Hancock's staff; Judge Miles Beach, of the Court of Common Pleas in New York; John Beach, of Knoxville, Tenn.; Anna, wife of Walter S. Appleton, of the firm of D. Appleton & Co.; William, aged eleven years; and George, aged ten years.

J. MALCOLM SMITH.

The ancestors of Mr. Smith have been citizens of Westchester County for many generations past. His great grandfather, John Smith, was a tenant and afterward the owner of one of the farms of the Manor of Phillipsburg. This homestead, situated about two miles east of Sing Sing, he left by will to his son Caleb Smith, who died in 1832, at an advanced age. The latter married Elizabeth Sherwood, and they were the parents of a large family. One of their sons Isaac C. Smith, was born in 1797, and married Maria, daughter of George Titlar, who came when a child to this country from the north of Ireland, was a soldier during the Revolution, and one of the company who laid the great chain across the Hudson River at West Point. Mr. Smith died in 1877, leaving three children,—George T., Cornelia (wife of James T. Stratton, of Oakland, Cal., late United States Surveyor-General of that State), and J. Malcolm Smith, who was born in New York, March 11, 1823, while his parents were residing temporarily in that city, but removed with them to Sing Sing in early infancy. His father was desirous of giving him a collegiate education, and with that view he attended the preparatory school at Middletown, Conn., and subsequently entered the Wesleyan University. Here he continued till he passed the sophomore examination, when he was compelled to leave college on account of ill health, and was principally engaged in outdoor pursuits until past the age of thirty. During this time he studied law, was admitted to the bar and established his practice at Sing Sing, where he remained till 1868. While a resident Mr. Smith was elected one of the trustees of the village, and was also elected justice of the peace for three successive terms. He was for a number of years one of the loan commissioners for Westchester County, and for five years prior to 1867 clerk of the Board of Supervisors. At the general election in 1867 he was made county clerk of Westchester County and removed to White Plains in 1868. Finding the records and business of the important office, to which he had been chosen, in great confusion, as reported by a committee of the Board of Supervisors, he, upon taking possession of the office, at once devoted himself to the task of bringing order out of comparative chaos. So well did he perform his duties that at the expiration of his term he was re-elected, and in 1873 was chosen for a third term without opposition, his election being especially favored by the most prominent lawyers of the county without regard to party ties. Upon his retirement from office the following appeared in one of the leading newspapers of the county, reflecting, in substance, notices which appeared in nearly all the county papers:

"J. Malcolm Smith, Esq., whose third term of office as County Clerk of this County expired on the first of the present month, carries with him, in retiring from his official labors, the respect, good opinion and confidence of our entire community; and our Board of Supervisors, on the eve of his retiring from the office which he has so long and so ably filled, took occasion to give public and official certification to the correct and efficient manner in which he has discharged the various and important duties of the office during the past nine years, in the unanimous adoption of the Report of its Standing Committee on County Clerk."

The report of the Supervisors' Committee referred to closes as follows:

"Your Committee would report that at the request of J. Malcolm Smith, the present County Clerk, whose term of office is about to expire, they have made a thorough investigation as to the present condition of the books, papers and records of the office, and find the minutes of all the Courts duly recorded; the Registers of Actions and Special Proceedings written up to date and properly indexed; the Judgments docketed in the most plain and neat manner; the Lis Pendens, Sheriff's Certificates, Assignments, &c., all recorded and plainly indexed; and everything relating to the papers and records of the office showing that regularity and order prevail throughout, and that no unfinished business will be left to be performed by Mr. Smith's successor in office.

"Mr. Smith has always been a Democrat, and for twenty years prior to his retirement from office held a prominent position in the councils of his party."

Since his retirement he has been engaged in the practice of law in White Plains, devoting himself more especially to examination of titles and matters of law pertaining to real estate. He has been for forty years connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church, and is well known as an active and influential member, largely aiding financially and by judicious counsel in the erection of churches, both in Sing Sing and White Plains. He has been an extensive traveler in various portions of the United States and few men in this county have a wider circle of acquaintance. He married Hannah, daughter of James McCord, of Sing Sing. They have one child,



L. Malcolm Smith



John B. Haskin

Ella, wife of Charles V. Moore, of the well-known insurance firm of W. M. Onderdonk & Co., of New York City.

A few words should be added concerning his father, Captain Isaac C. Smith. During his whole life Captain Smith was identified with the growth and business of Sing Sing. He was the builder of the steamboat "Mount Pleasant" in 1835 and the "Telegraph" in 1836, and was the projector of the morning steamboat line from Sing Sing to New York. He was the builder of more than one hundred vessels, from a small sloop to a ship of three thousand tons. During his life he bore a part in the erection of five churches, and was known as the "father of Sing Sing Methodism," being one of the original corporators of the first church of that denomination in the village, and the largest contributor towards its erection. After a life of active usefulness, he died while on a visit to his son in White Plains, having reached his eightieth year.

HON. JOHN B. HASKIN.

Among the political leaders of Westchester County a prominent place must be given to Hon. John B. Haskin, who is descended from a long line of true American ancestry. His grandfather, Benjamin F. Haskin, was a native of Sheffield, Massachusetts, where he was born in 1767, and removed when a young man to Poughkeepsie, where he entered a store as clerk, and became partner. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Gilbert Cornwell, who lived at Nine Partners, and removing to New York, became largely connected with shipping interests, and the owner of several vessels. His children were Henry R.; Benjamin F., a sea-captain who settled in Peru, where his descendants are still found; William E., of Davenport, Iowa, who died in 1884, Harriet, wife of —— Collins; Maria, wife of —— Graham; Jane, wife of Casper Trumpy, now living at Greenwich, Ct.; and Caroline, wife of William Brown, of Yonkers, who died in 1885.

Henry R. Haskin, the oldest son, was born October 27, 1794, and died January 24, 1848. He was educated at St. Mary's College, Maryland; was a midshipman in the War of 1812; was with Commodore Chauncey at the battle of Sackett's Harbor, and was wounded there. He was a man of good education and ability, and established business in a store on Varrick Street, New York. In 1816 he married Elizabeth, daughter of John Bussing, who lived near Williams' Bridge, and was a descendant of Aaron Bussing, who came from Holland, and settled at Harlem. He was the owner of a farm of four hundred acres in the Manor of Fordham, which he left to his two sons, Johannes and Petrus. It remained in the hands of their descendants for one hundred and fifty years, and a portion of it is now in Bedford Park. The children of this marriage were Henry R., who died in California; John B.; and William E., now treasurer of the Board of Excise in New York. After the death of Mrs. Haskin, Mr. Haskin was married a second time, to Ann, daughter of Benjamin F. Lowe, and they had two children—Harriet, wife of R. Ridgly Wheatly, of New York, and Benjamin F., a member of the Excise Board of New York, who died, greatly lamented by his many friends, March 1, 1884.

John B. Haskin, the second son, was born at the Mansion House, in Fordham, August 27, 1821, the place of his birth being now a portion of Woodlawn Cemetery. His mother, whose name he never fails to mention in terms of the utmost respect and affection, was a woman of great energy and determination, qualities which she transmitted to her son. His early education was received at the public school, and when fourteen years old he entered the law-office of George Wilson. His natural quickness and ability were such that in four years he was sufficiently expert to take charge of the law-office of John M. Bixby. From his earliest days he was brought in constant contact with politics and politicians, and having passed the requisite examination, he was admitted to the bar May 16, 1842, his certificate being signed by Hon. Samuel Nelson, Judge of the Supreme Court. Five years later he was elected to the office of civil justice, and held court at the corner of Bowery and Third Street, and continued in this position till 1849, when the office was abolished. He seemed naturally destined for active political life, and his influence and ability were soon felt in the councils of his party. Fortunately for himself and the public, he was not a man to be bound by party trammels, or to be the obsequious slave of party rule. He called himself a "National Conservative Democrat," and might almost be said to be his own party. In 1848 Mr. Haskin removed from New York and settled at Fordham, near the scenes of his early childhood. The Democracy of his native county had to some extent escaped the corrupting influences which had made the party in New York a disgrace to the city and the State. Here he came in contact with a class of politicians who were more able to appreciate his true position and ready to join their forces with his own. In 1850 he was elected supervisor, and was re-elected, and one of his many acts for public benefit was his successful effort to erect a free bridge over Harlem River.

In 1853 he was appointed corporation attorney and held office till 1856. In that year he was elected member of Congress for the Ninth District on the regular Democratic ticket. It was soon evident that he was not the man to sit on a back seat. His first speech attracted at once the attention of the House, being made in opposition to the attempt of Alexander H. Stephens to disgrace Admiral Hiram Paulding for causing the arrest of the noted filibuster, William H. Walker. This speech marked Mr. Haskin as one of the accomplished orators of the House. In the fierce political strife which followed the attempt to introduce

slavery into the Territory of Kansas, he took at once a prominent position, and was one of the first to raise his voice against the Lecompton fraud, among the most active of the adherents of Senator Stephen A. Douglass, and an untiring organizer of the Democrats in the House against the administration. As a matter of course, a man who ventured to kick over the traces of party discipline was speedily denounced as a traitor to his party, but his opposition to Buchanan has been more than justified by the impartial verdict of history.

In 1858 Mr. Haskin was an Independent candidate for Congress, his opponent being Gouverneur Kemble, of Cold Spring. This was probably the most exciting political contest ever witnessed in the district, and resulted in the election of Mr. Haskin by a majority of thirteen votes. His nature showed itself when he stated from his seat in Congress, "I came here with no party collar on my neck." His independence was too plain to be misunderstood, and an attack upon him in the personal organ of President Buchanan was answered by him in an able speech on the floor of the House, in which his position and relation to the Democratic party were fully explained. "I am a Democrat,—a Democrat in essence, in substance, and not in mere form ; Democracy, according to my reading, is the rule of the people under the law." In the Thirty-sixth Congress he was chairman of the Committee on Public Expenditures, and member of the Committee on Public Printing, and organized the research into current corruption known as the "Covode Investigation." Among his most intimate friends was Senator Broderick, of California, who had been his early schoolmate, and the friendship then begun continued till the day when the Senator fell, the victim of a duel occasioned by political animosity. It devolved upon Mr. Haskin to deliver a fitting tribute to the memory of his friend, which was a masterpiece of pathetic eloquence.

His last speech in Congress was delivered February 23, 1861. It was a characteristically bold and clear review of the agitation which led to the great crisis in our history ; expressed his belief that the perilous condition of the country was directly traceable to the conduct of President Buchanan, and contained a scathing denunciation of the treasonable acts of his Cabinet.

During the course of the war a weaker man in his position would have been a Copperhead, but in Mr. Haskin the Union found a strong supporter. In 1863 he was elected supervisor of West Farms, and conducted with success the measures for raising troops and assisting the government in its efforts to subdue rebellion. Prominently identified with all local improvements, his most active efforts were devoted to the establishment of the public school in his district on a sure foundation. In the face of bitter opposition on the part of many of the wealthy men in the vicinity, he succeeded in procuring the erection of the present school building at Fordham, at a cost of seventy thousand dollars, which must ever remain a monument to his energy and public spirit.

Mr. Haskin married Jane, daughter of Peter Valentine, a representative of one of the oldest families in the county. Their children are Elizabeth, wife of E. V. Welsh ; Emma, wife of Colonel J. Milton Wyatt ; John B., Jr., Adele Douglass, wife of Joseph Murray, Jr.; and Mary.

The estate of Mr. Haskin, at Fordham, though now a part of the great city, has not yet lost its rural beauty. Here, surrounded by all that can make life enjoyable, he passes his days in the society of his family and friends. The visitor will find there as his host one who is thoroughly versed in the ways of the world, and whose intimate acquaintance with politics and politicians has made the name "Tuscarora Haskin" one of the best known in Westchester County.

As a politician Mr. Haskin has been remarkably successful, but the secret of his success and influence may be stated in a few words. Utterly fearless in the expression of his views, his friends know him as one upon whom they can depend, while his enemies find in him a man who can neither be frightened nor cajoled. A weak politician of an inferior grade will truckle to his adversaries and strive to conciliate by unworthy means. Mr. Haskin is the type of a politician who boldly defies his opponents and challenges them to a contest which they generally have the prudence to avoid. Among the notable instances of his traits may be mentioned his fearless letter to the authorities of the St. John's College, of Fordham, representatives of a power to which weaker politicians would have yielded with obsequious reverence, while his bold and scathing rebukes of many of the prominent politicians of the present time are too well known to require mention, and his firm self-reliance has shown by its success the truth of the saying, "They can conquer who believe they can."

MATHIAS BANTA.

Mr. Banta, who is among the best known jurists of Westchester County, and by his activity in the espousal of every just cause has brought himself prominently before its people, both in political and social life, was born in the city of New York, October 3, 1828. He was one of ten children and the only son of Solomon Banta, who married Maria Roome, of New Jersey.

While quite young his father sent him to Public School No. 3, in the Ninth Ward, New York City, from which he graduated. He then attended the private school of Mr. Starr, in Amos Street, leaving it at the age of sixteen to enter the University of the City of New York.

In 1848, after his graduation from college, he entered the law-office of David E. Wheeler as managing clerk, remaining in this position till the death of his employer, in 1869, when the business was divided,

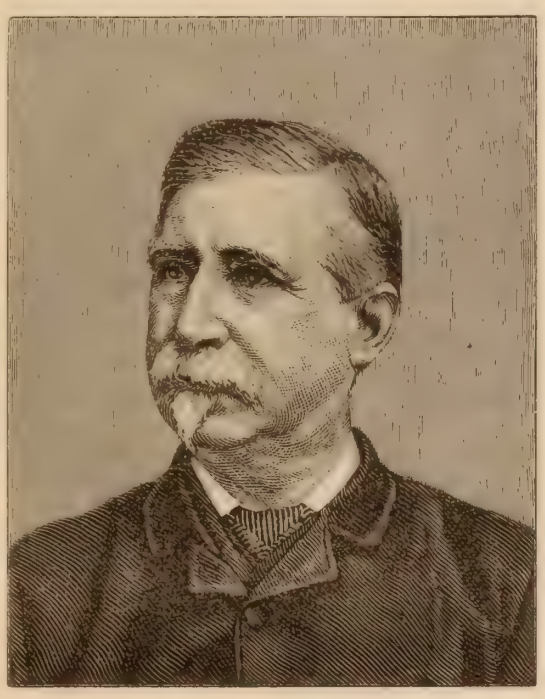


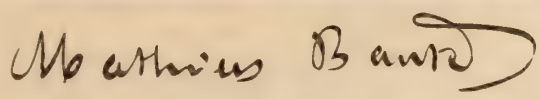
Truly yours
Ernest Hall

the real estate portion of it falling into his own hands.

Mr. Banta has since continued to manage the business. By his faithful attention to the interests of his clients and his skill in the management of the affairs which they have placed in his hands, he has accumulated for himself an extended and lucrative practice, which is continually increasing.

In 1870, after a long residence in New York, he removed to Mamaroneck, where he resides at present. From his arrival in Westchester County he has deeply interested himself in its politics. Being a Democrat, he immediately identified himself with his party in Mamaroneck, and was elected in 1877 supervisor of the town, an office he continues to hold. The liberal course pursued by him in the County Board so won the approval of his party that in 1885 he was made their nominee for surrogate, and received a large majority of the votes cast at the election. A previously rendered decision, however, to the effect that no vacancy existed, deprived him of the office.





In 1849 Mr. Banta married Miss Eliza Gedney. They have three children, —Hannah M., wife of William A. Turner; Everetta, wife of F. S. Sheldon; and Eloise J.

He is an attendant of the Methodist Church, of Mamaroneck, and is highly respected in the community as an honorable and useful citizen.

HON. ERNEST HALL.

Hon. Ernest Hall, prominent as a member of the bar, and a judge of the City Court of New York, was born in London, England, October 24, 1844. His father, Henry B. Hall, was a landscape and portrait engraver, came to America with his family in 1850 and settled at Woodstock, in Morrisania. He afterwards removed to George Street, near the Boston road, where he died in 1884.

Judge Hall attended the old Public School No. 3, on Fordham Avenue (now Third Avenue), near One Hundred and Sixty-ninth Street, from 1851 to 1858, when he graduated. He then obtained a position in the well-known publishing house of the Putnams, and remained until 1860. In the fall of that year he began the study of law in the office of Henry Spratley, of Morrisania. He continued there until 1861, when he entered the office of Carpentier & Beach, in New York, and remained until May, 1864. In 1863 he joined the Seventy-first Regiment New York Militia during the Gettysburg campaign, and returned at the close of the riots in New York. He resumed his law studies until August 24, 1864, when he joined the navy as a landsman, and was detailed as clerk on board the receiving ship in Brooklyn Navy-Yard. He was afterwards on the United States steamer "Mohican," commanded by Daniel Ammen, now rear admiral on the retired list, and was attached to the North Atlantic Squadron. While on this vessel he was clerk to the executive officer. He was engaged in both battles of Fort Fisher, N. C., in December, 1864, and January, 1865, spent the winter on the Ogeechee River, in Georgia, and assisted in the dismantling of Fort McAllister, which had previously been captured by Sherman's army. He came North in March, and received his discharge in Boston, May 24, 1865. He then entered the law school of the University of the City of New York in the senior class, graduated June 17, 1866, and was admitted to the bar. He established an office for the practice of law in Morrisania, which he continued till 1877, when he removed to New York, and was elected judge of the City Court November, 1881, a position which he still holds.

From 1869 to 1873 he was a member of the board of trustees of the town of Morrisania. In the latter year he was appointed counsel to the corporation, and served in that capacity until the time of the annexation to the city of New York. He was subsequently appointed by E. Delafield Smith, then corporation counsel of the city of New York, to attend to all suits then pending affecting the annexed district, and was continued in this position by William C. Whitney, the successor of Mr. Smith. He was also counsel of the Board of Excise, of the German Savings Bank and of the Fire Department of Morrisania. He is a member of Post Lafayette, of the Grand Army of the Republic, and assisted in its organization.

Judge Hall's brothers, as well as himself, were actively engaged in the late war. Henry B. Hall was major of the Sixth New York Artillery, fought at the

battle of Bull Run, was wounded at Brandy Station in 1863, and was discharged from service upon recovering from his wound. Charles B. Hall was a member of the Seventy-first Regiment in 1861, and afterward joined the Ninety-fifth Regiment New York Volunteers, and his brother Alfred was a member of the Seventy-first Regiment in 1862–63. Judge Hall has four sisters—Annie, wife of Edmund H. Knight (she died in 1858, leaving three children); Emily, wife of William Momberger; Alice and Eliza, both unmarried.

Judge Hall married Charita, daughter of Cyprian Tallient. Their children are Charita, Alma and Edna.

He is well known as an able and distinguished member of the bar, and is especially noted for the clearness and perspicuity with which he delivers his charges to the jury. Gifted with a voice of remarkable power, his enunciation and his reasoning are alike perfect. Every point of the subject is laid down in so careful a manner as to render it perfectly plain to the most common intellect, and with an impartiality which leaves no ground for the charge of intentional bias on either side of the case. As an active and energetic politician, he is one concerning whom it is safe to prophesy still higher positions in the future.

The brothers of Judge Hall constitute the well-known firm of H. B. Hall's Sons, steel engravers, and their name is known in connection with the finest specimens of that art to be found in this country.

HON. SAMUEL WILLIAM JOHNSON.

Mr. Johnson is a great-great-grandson of the distinguished American clergyman, Dr. Samuel Johnson, who was born in Guilford, Conn., October 14, 1696, and died at Stratford, in the same State, June 6, 1772.

His son, William Samuel Johnson, was first president of Columbia College, a member of the convention that framed the Constitution of the United States and the first delegate in the Senate of the United States from the State of Connecticut.[1]

A grandson of William Samuel Johnson, was a New York lawyer of prominence and was a member of the Senate of the State of New York. He married Miss Laura Wolsey, sister of President Wolsey, of Yale College. Their second child and oldest son, Samuel William, was born in the city of New York, October 27, 1828. After a preparatory course in private schools of the city he entered Princeton College, graduating in 1849. He then entered the Law School, Cambridge, Mass., and after a full course graduated in 1851. He afterward entered the law-office of District Attorney N. Bowditch Blunt, remaining till 1852, when he was admitted to the bar.

Immediately after admission Mr. Johnson removed to Cattaraugus County, N. Y., where he remained for thirteen years in charge of a large landed interest. In 1865 he retired from active life, removing at the same time to Rye Neck, where he has since resided. He has been active in the politics of the county ever since his arrival in it. He early connected himself with the Democratic party in the home of his choice and has held several important political positions.

In 1871 he was appointed by Governor John T. Hoffman commissioner-general and chief of ordnance for the State of New York. He has been *nine* times elected supervisor of the town of Rye and was for two years chairman of the board. For three years he was a member of Assembly from the Second District of Westchester County. It is a remarkable fact that he is the fourth member of the family in the direct line who has represented a constituency in State Legislatures. He also interested himself in military affairs. From 1853 to 1872 he held commissions from the State of New York, the last one being that of brigadier-general.

He has been prominent in club life and is at present a member of the Manhattan, University and St. Nicholas Clubs, of New York City. He is also a director in the North River Fire Insurance Company and a trustee of the Port Chester Savings Banks.

He married Miss Frances Ann Sanderson, of New York, who died at her home in Mamaroneck in 1879. Their only living child, William Samuel, is a member of the bar in New York City, and resides with his father.

Mr. Johnson is a highly respected and useful citizen and his liberal spirit and cordial disposition has made him many warm and lasting friendships.

HON. G. HILTON SCRIBNER.

The ancestors of the family of which Mr. Scribner is an honored representative were among the early settlers of Salisbury, N. H., and the name is frequently found in the annals of that town. That of Samuel Scribner occurs in 1754, and during the following year he, in company with one of his neighbors, was taken prisoner by the Indians and carried to Canada, where he was sold as a captive, but was subsequently ransomed by the colonial government. In 1756 he joined the regiment of Colonel Nathan Meserve, which was raised for the Crown Point expedition, and served from May to December of that year. In 1757 he was a soldier in the regiment of Colonel Thomas Tash, and in the following year appears as one of the regiment raised by Colonel John Hart. The Revolution found in him a man ready for the hour, and, though exempt by age, he was one of the first to enlist in the regiment commanded by Colonel John Stark, which took an active

[1] For a full description of his life, see Appleton's Encyclopædia; also "Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson," by E. E. Beardsley (New York, 1874).



Sam'l W. McJohnson



G. Hilton Scribner

part in the battle of Bunker Hill. Among the list of soldiers in the town of Salisbury, May 27, 1776, are the names of Edward, Ebenezer, Benjamin and Jonathan Scribner.

David Scribner, son of Ebenezer and grandson of Samuel, was born May 12, 1767, and was the father of thirteen children,—David, Hannah, Sarah, Eben, Sewall B., Silas, Ruth, Jacob D., Jonathan, Albert G., Hannah D., Alfred and Almira H.

Sewall B. Scribner was born March 12, 1793, and removed from his native place (Andover, N. H.) to Monroe County, N. Y., in 1816. At that time the present city of Rochester was a mere hamlet, and Mr Scribner was among the pioneers in what is now one of the most prosperous portions of the State.

In 1821 he married Clarissa De Wayne Hilton, daughter of David Hilton, who was descended from a noted line of English ancestry, whose family records are unbroken from June 23, 1295, to the present time. The children of this marriage were Gilbert Hilton Scribner, Alsada, Arveda (wife of William E. Stickland, of Rochester), Albert S. (who died in 1852), Mary (wife of Van Buren Denslow), Celesta (deceased) and Celia M.

Gilbert Hilton Scribner was born in Ogden, Monroe County, N. Y., June 23, 1831, and his early education was received in the common schools of his native place, which offered exceptional advantages. He subsequently became a student at the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary, at Lima, N. Y., and, after remaining there two years, entered college at Oberlin, where he received the highest honors for his thoroughness and originality. At the close of his collegiate course, in 1853, he went to New York and began life in the great city without friends or acquaintance, and with little to encourage him, but an amount of determination and energy with which he could not fail to work his way. Commencing the study of law in the office of Hon. Daniel B. Taylor, who enjoyed a large practice and was the possessor of one of the largest law libraries in the city, the young student, by indefatigable labor, soon made himself useful in his chosen profession, and, in 1855, was admitted to the bar and soon after called to practice in the United States Courts as proctor, solicitor and advocate. Rising rapidly in his profession, his prudence and ability soon gained him a large and lucrative practice, and he was frequently retained as counsel for many monied corporations and large estates. In 1862 he was one of the organizers of the North America Life Insurance Company of New York, of which he became a director and counsel, and, after long and arduous labor in collating and analyzing facts and statistics in relation to travel and accidents, framed a bill, which was passed by the Legislature, allowing that company to insure against accidents to travelers. This was the first authority granted in this country for accident insurance.

Mr. Scribner came to Yonkers in 1858, and since that time his life and career have been identified with the history of Westchester County. Upon coming to Yonkers he built a house on Woodworth Avenue, near Locust Street, there being at that time very few dwellings in that vicinity. His home was surrounded by a beautiful locust grove. He subsequently moved to a residence at "Hillside," near the corner of Broadway and High Street. His present residence, "Inglehurst," was purchased in the spring of 1880, and from its elevated position commands one of the finest views of the Hudson River. It is also a landmark, being situated at the extreme north bounds of the "Lemuel Wells estate," which embraced the greater part of the thickly-settled portion of the city of Yonkers.

The first official position held by Mr. Scribner was that of village trustee, in 1863. At that time, with a few others, he organized a very thorough temperance reform. Born of Whig parentage, he early attached himself to that party, and remained a member while it had an existence. He attended the convention which nominated Fremont, in 1856, and since that time has been an able and earnest supporter of the Republican party. In 1863 he was made chairman of the County Committee. It was due to his ownership and efforts that the *Statesman*, the leading Republican paper in the county, was established. In addition to his extensive law practice, he was for a time the president of the Palisades Bank of Yonkers, and also a director of several large corporations.

In 1868 he retired from the practice of law and with his family made a long tour in Europe. He made a second trip in 1870, was present at the declaration of the Franco-Prussian War, and enjoyed special opportunities of visiting the armies of the contending powers.

Previous to his departure for Europe he had received and declined a nomination for State Senator, but upon his return, in the fall of 1870, was elected member of the Assembly by a very large majority, and was the first member other than a Democrat who had been elected from the district for over thirty years. The weight of his ability and influence was soon felt and he soon became a leader in the Legislature and in his party, devoting much of his time and effort to opposing the measures of the "Tweed Ring," then in the height of its power, but destined to a sudden and disastrous fall. In March, 1871, he was instrumental in organizing the Young Men's State Republican Association, the object of which was to unite discordant elements and end the strifes which had impaired the usefulness of the party. This organization very naturally chose Mr. Scribner for its president, and having shown himself a competent and faithful leader, he was nominated by acclamation at the State Convention in Syracuse, in 1871, for Secretary of State, a nomination which was signally confirmed at the succeeding election by a majority of over twenty thousand. Soon after the close of the Legis-

lature of 1871 the representatives of the insurance, banking and other corporate interests of the State united in a complimentary tribute to Mr. Scribner for his intelligent, able and successful opposition to unjust legislation while a member of Assembly. The ceremony of the presentation of a service of silver plate took place in the chambers of the Board of Underwriters in New York, and an address engrossed on parchment, signed by and presented on behalf of the presidents of more than fifty of the monied institutions of New York, was not only a compliment to Mr. Scribner's character, but a certification that he had performed his public services in an acceptable manner.

Notwithstanding the engrossing cares of an active political and business life, he has never permitted his tastes for literature and art to become dull or enfeebled. Often organizing and always connected with one or more literary circles, he has not suffered his love of learning to be stifled by the cares and responsibilities of his profession or the routine of daily labor. To him is due the credit of establishing the Bancroft Society of New York, and also "The Society of Pundits," a literary circle, which for many years continued its meetings, and embraced in its membership some of the brightest men and women of the city which he had made his home. He was also for many years a trustee of the Bible Union and also of the Rochester Theological Seminary.

The profound problem of the origin of life upon our planet has engrossed the attention of the greatest minds in the world of science, but still remains a question to which there seems no reply. Next to this comes the inquiry as to the place of its first manifestation, the determination of which would appear equally hopeless. Devoting his leisure time and thought to this and kindred subjects, Mr. Scribner has embodied his theories and the results of his investigations in a monograph entitled "Where did Life Begin?" This work, which appeared in November, 1883, immediately attracted the attention of the investigating and scientific public. It is a carefully prepared and forcibly written treatise, having for its object the establishment of the theory that all life, both vegetable and animal, must have had its origin within the polar circles, and further, that by the cooling of the earth's substance, and the consequent lowering of surface temperature at the poles, all organic life has been gradually driven to the temperate and to the equatorial regions. To express an opinion as to the truth or fallacy of this theory would in this place be presumptuous, but it is sufficient to say that the hypothesis has not only been well received by the press and scholars, but has been the means of turning the attention of men of science to a closer consideration of the subject, and the discoveries that may follow may far exceed the most sanguine expectations of its author.

Upon his retirement from political life Mr. Scribner accepted the office of vice-president of the Belt Railroad (so-called) of New York, and retained that position until 1880, when he was chosen president, a position which he still holds. He is also connected with many associations of a social and charitable nature, being a member of the Union League Club, president of the Skin and Cancer Hospital of New York, an institution which has done much to relieve human suffering; a member of both the British and the American Associations for the Advancement of Science, and trustee of St. John's Hospital in Yonkers.

He married Sarah Woodbury, daughter of Hon. James Osgood Pettengill of Rochester, who, as a legislator, and as an officer and patron of the Rochester Theological Seminary and other institutions of learning, is well known in Western New York. His father, Captain James Pettengill, came from Salisbury, N. H., and settled at Ogden, Monroe County, in the early part of the present century. The ancestors of the various families of this name were four brothers, Matthew, David, Andrew and Benjamin, who came from Yorkshire, England, in 1640, and settled in Newburyport, Mass., whence they removed to Salisbury. The mother of Mrs. Scribner was Emeline, daughter of Manlius G. Woodbury, who was an early settler and was made alderman in the first charter election in the city of Rochester.

Mr. Scribner has six surviving children,—Gilbert Hilton, Jr., Howard, Florence, Marion, Marguerite and Osgood Pettengill.

CHAUNCEY SMITH.

Phillip Smith was born in Connecticut, March 15, 1774, and married Sally Smith November 23, 1799. She was a granddaughter of Benjamin Stebbins, who came from England and settled in Deerfield, Mass., and was probably the ancestor of the families of that name in this country. Phillip and Sally Smith located shortly after their marriage at Bedford, Westchester County, N. Y., and were members of the old Episcopal Church of that place. They were parents of eight children, of whom Chauncey Smith was the sixth and was born November 10, 1810.

Bedford was then the county-seat and a place of no small importance; in fact, the principal village of the county. Mr. Smith at an early age entered the High School and academy at Bedford, which was an institution of note, second to none in the State, and included among its pupils Hon. William H. Robertson, Hon. James W. Husted and many others of distinction. A short time after graduating he studied law, and was admitted to the bar January 7, 1851.

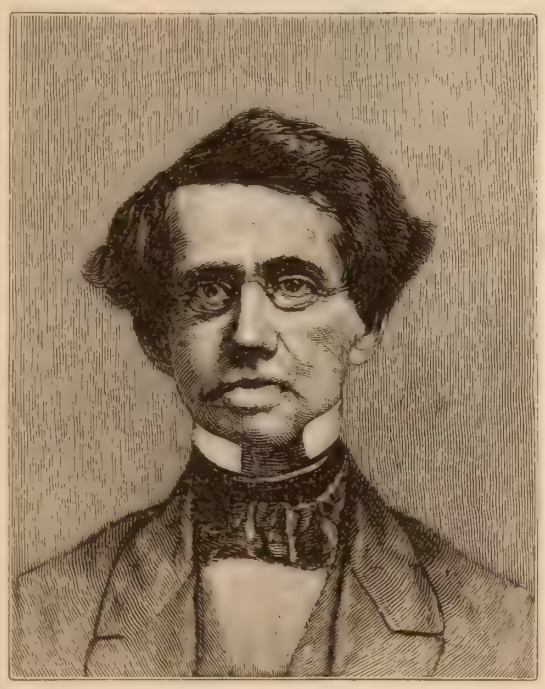
He married Hannah, daughter of John P. Horton, of New Castle, Westchester County, whose wife was Elizabeth Fowler, both descended from old Westchester County families.

Elizabeth was a first cousin of Isaac Van Wart, who was one of the captors of Major Andre. Mr. Smith moved to White Plains and was appointed deputy

county clerk in 1847, and appointed county clerk the same year, to fill a vacancy.

In January, 1847 or 1848, he was appointed agent of Sing Sing State Prison, and after leaving Sing Sing practiced law in White Plains for several years.

He removed to Morrisania shortly after the settlement of the new village, about thirty years ago, and opened a law-office where he continued successfully the practice of his profession up to the winter of 1877, when he was compelled to give up business on account of a paralytic stroke. He was an old-school type of a Christian gentleman, highly respected in all the walks of life, and active in the true interests of the society and community in which he lived. He was intimately acquainted with, and highly respected by, the men who were first connected with the growth and prosperity of Morrisania, such as Nicholas McGraw, Jordan L. Mott, Gouverneur, Henry and William H. Morris, Robert H. Elton, Hon. Silas D. Gifford and many others and was well known throughout the county. He was naturally of a retiring disposition, and although often urged to accept public office, he refused. He continued an invalid from 1877 to his death, which occurred December 25, 1883, at the homestead in which he had resided for more than twenty-five years. He left two daughters and one son, W. Stebbins Smith, who is a member of the bar, in active practice, particularly in the counties of New York and Westchester. Mr. Smith studied law in the office of his father and attended the Columbia College Law School, from which institution he received his diploma, and was admitted to the bar June 12, 1871.



Chauncey Smith

EDWARD TRAFFORD LOVATT.

Mr. Lovatt was born May 22, 1850, at Newark, N. J. His father was John Lovatt and his mother Mary Ann Lovatt. He was the eldest of six children. Educated both in the ordinary English branches and in the classics in the public schools of that city, he graduated with high honors at the Public High School when he was but fifteen years old, receiving his diploma on July 21, 1865. He then went to the city of New York and began life as an errand boy in a wholesale fancy goods house, but his parents having removed, on May 23, 1866, to the village of North Tarrytown, in Westchester County, he entered his father's silk mills, in that village, to learn silk manufacture, and acquired a thorough knowledge of that industry.

On May 22, 1871, he married Miss Sarah Theodosia Tompkins, a descendant of one of the most respected families of Westchester County, she being a grandniece of the Hon. Daniel D. Tompkins, formerly Governor of New York and Vice-President of the United States.

For several years after marriage Mr. Lovatt remained at his trade, but it being distasteful to him he determined to become a lawyer, which had always been his great ambition. In order to do this, not having the means to attend college, he laid out the same course of reading as he would have been required to take if attending law school, and while busy in the mills during the day, pursued his studies at night and early in the morning, thus mastering the many thousands of pages of legal text works necessary to a thorough understanding of the principles of law. Entering a law-office in Tarrytown, he completed the three years' clerkship then necessary for a student's admission to practice. On February 14, 1878, he passed the prescribed examination, was sworn in as an attorney-at-law, and in May, 1878, was admitted as a Counsellor of the Supreme Court. His energy, perseverance and knowledge of the law soon gave him a leading place in his profession at the Westchester County bar.

He has been engaged in numerous cases of importance, both in the criminal and civil courts, many of which have been reported. He has been remarkably successful as an advocate. Among the many cases in the criminal courts in which he was counsel for the defense, some of the more prominent murder trials were those of William Newman, Fitzgerald, Brownlee, Coleman and Angelo Cornetti, the last-named being the first tried in this State under the amendments to the Code of Criminal Procedure, by which all capital cases can be appealed and execution of sentence thereby stayed until the appeal can be heard.

He has also tried a great number of civil causes and has met with unusual success. He was one of the counsel in the famous "Anderson Will Case," in which a large sum of money was recovered for his clients,—two little girls, aged ten and twelve years, grandchildren of John Anderson.

He has built up an extensive and lucrative practice, has acquired property, and his pleasant and modest house on Beekman Avenue, North Tarrytown, is provided with all the surroundings and appointments necessary to make it, what it certainly is, a happy home.



No person in his neighborhood takes a deeper interest in educational matters. Being a firm believer in the public-school system of the State, he is one of its most active supporters and is now president of the Board of Education of the village.

Mr. Lovatt has always been an ardent Republican, and upon the principle that all good citizens should participate in the politics of the State and country, he has taken a very active part, having been a delegate to most of the conventions held by his party.

In March, 1883, although running against a highly respected citizen of his village, he was elected president, having received four-fifths of the ballots cast.

In November of the same year, in the Republican County Convention, he was unanimously nominated for district attorney of Westchester County.

He is a member of the Republican County Committee and enjoys the friendship and confidence of the other leaders of the party. He is of a genial and social disposition and has a large circle of warm friends. He is a member and trustee of St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church of North Tarrytown.

He is an effective public speaker, easy in his manners, ready and fluent in speech, possessing a large fund of mother wit. His studious habits, quick perception, faculty of illustration, clear judgment and logical conclusions carry conviction with them.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION.

BY GEORGE JACKSON FISHER, M.D.,
Of Sing Sing.

EXCEPTING to gentlemen of the medical profession, there is nothing particularly interesting in the life of a physician or the transactions of a medical society. Each family, though familiar with its own medical adviser, seldom looks beyond its favorite to learn the traits of character, the extent of acquirements or the skill of others. The technical studies, and subtle researches of physicians, who strive to keep abreast with the rapid progress of the medical sciences, possess no interest or charm to the general public. It is only concerned with powers and results, and these only when disease interferes with the performance of the daily routine of business and pleasure, or when danger threatens life. So it becomes a difficult, perhaps a needless, and almost certainly a thankless task to attempt to write the sketch proposed.

On the 1st day of June, 1858, the writer of this chapter read the annual address, as president, before the Medical Society of the County of Westchester, taking for his theme "Biographical Sketches of the Deceased Physicians of Westchester County, N. Y.," which address was subsequently published in pamphlet form, "by order of the Society." (New York, 1861, 8vo., pp. 52.)

He must now go back seven and twenty years, and make extracts from that "plain, unvarnished tale of character, merits, traits and experience of those medical men who have previously been the incumbents of the field we now occupy," to which will be added brief sketches of several honored members of our beloved profession who have since been called from their labor—some at the full end of man's allotted time, and others abruptly, in the prime of man-

hood's vigor, and in the midst of their greatest usefulness.[1]

Over twenty years ago, Dr. James Fountain gave the writer a little document that was previously supposed to be irrecoverably lost, which contains the original records of the first five meetings of the Medical Society of Westchester County. This book was restored to the society, by which it is now preserved. It begins thus,—

"At a respectable Meeting of Physicians of the County of Westchester on the 8th Day of May, 1797—at the House of William Barker in the White Plains—Present—

"Archibald McDonald.	Lyman Cook.
Charles McDonald.	David Rodgers.
John Ingersoll.	Matson Smith.
Elisha Bruister.	Elias Cornelius.

"That a due improvement and proper regulations may be maid in the Practice of Physic within the County of Westchester and for the Purpose of a necessary and immediate compliance with the Law of the Legislature passed the last Session. The Physicians afforesaid formed themselves into a Society to be known and called hereafter by the name and style of *the Medical Society of the County of Westchester*. Upon Motion Doct^{r}. A. McDonald, of the white plains, was Elected president of the Society *Pro tempore*, and upon said motion Doctr. Matson Smith, of New Rochelle, was Elected Secretary thereof.

"The Society, Pleased with the present progress and desireous that the Board shall hereafter exist upon the most fair and respectable terms: and that the Physicians of the County shall indiscriminately receive an invitation to unite with the present members and to encourage this Laudable dissign." (Here ends the first page.)

"*Resolved* upon motion that the following resolution be inserted in the *Danbury Journal* and *Mount Pleasant Register*:

"*Resolved* upon motion the Physicians of Westchester County be indiscriminately informed that it is the intention and hearty wish of the Members of the Society that there may be a perfect union of the Profes sion of Physic within the County for the purpose of establishing the Practice upon a liberal and satisfactory Plan, that there may be a due observance of the law passed at the last session of the Legislature of the State: And that an oppertunity may be given for such an union, the Society have proposed a meeting on the 13th Day of June next, at House of Maj^{r}. Jesse Hally, in Bedford, and hope this mode will be considered unequivically an invitation. Should any gentleman neglect the present season of uniting with the Society after the Meeting afforesaid, no gentleman can expect admission in the Society without a vote for the purpose.

"Upon motion resolved that Doct^{r}. A. McDonald, David Rodgers and Matson Smith be a Commit ee to propose a Constitution for this Society against the Meeting at Bedford, which Constitution shall be Subject to Amendment.

"The Board Adjourn'd to Meet at the House of Maj^{r} Jesse Hally, in Bedford, on the 13th Day of June next.

"Matson Smith,
"*Secretary Pro. Tempore.*"

The second meeting took place, as proposed, at Major Holly's house, June 13, 1797, at which seventeen doctors were present. After the transaction of business it was

"*Unanimously resolved* that the Revnd Robt. Z. Whitmore be invited to preach a Sermon before the Society at their next meeting. The board Adjourned to meet at the House of Mr. Sutton Craft, Near New Castle Church, on Tuesday, the 8th Day of August Next, at 10 o'clock A.M."

Only six members were present at the third meeting. No mention is made concerning the sermon, and we are left in doubt as to whether it was preached or not.

The fourth meeting occurred September 12, 1797, at Mr. Sutton Craft's, with eight members present. This is the first meeting at which it appears that anything strictly medical was proposed. "Doctor Ebenezer White was appointed to deliver a dissertation on the utility of a Medical Society," at the next meeting.

The fifth meeting took place at White Plains, "Tuesday the 31st day of October, A.D. 1797." Eight doctors were present. At this meeting the constitution was adopted. This is given in full in the minutes.

The sixth, and last meeting recorded in this little manuscript of thirteen pages was the annual meeting, which was held in Bedford on Tuesday, May 8, 1798, at which twelve members were present. Dr. Lemuel Mead "delivered a dissertation upon Physiology to the satisfaction of the Society."

The records of the society from this meeting to June, 1830, are, unfortunately, lost. The society, I believe, has never failed to convene, at least annually, since its organization. At the present time it holds four sessions a year, each of which is fairly well attended. It has served the general purposes for which it was founded, though it cannot boast of having made any considerable contributions to medical literature. Its publications consist of several editions of its constitution and bye-laws,—a "Fee Bill," 1868; "Proceedings of the Society at its annual meeting, held in the village of Sing Sing June 3, 1856," 8vo., pp. 50, Sing Sing, 1857; and two pamphlets of "Biographical Sketches of Deceased Physicians of Westchester County, N. Y.," 8vo., pp. 52, 1861; "In Memoriam," 8vo., pp. 41, 1875; and a "List of Registered Physicians," 1881.

The individual members of the society have made no insignificant additions to the literature of the profession. Appended will be found as nearly a complete list of the contributions as it has been possible to make at this time. By this it will be seen that more than a hundred articles, aggregating about twenty-two hundred pages of medical matter, have been put in print by our physicians during the past sixty years.

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS TO MEDICAL LITERATURE MADE BY THE PHYSICIANS OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY, N. Y. [1825-1885].

This list must prove interesting, not only to the physicians of the present time, but to those who may follow us in the future. If each of the counties of our State has contributed as much as Westchester, the aggregate must amount to many volumes of no inconsiderable value.

1825.

"An Account of an Epidemic Erysipelatous Fever Prevailing in the Counties of Westchester and Putnam, in the State of New York." By James Fountain, M.D. Pp. 30. [*N. Y. Med. and Phys. Jr.*, vol. iv. pp. 330–359. New York, 1825.]

"Observations on Prenanthes Altissima." By Dr. James Hubble, of Westchester, N. Y. Pp. 3. [*N. Y. Med. and Phys. Jr.*, vol. iv. pp. 484–486. New York, 1825.]

"On the Employment of Calomel and Opium in Dysentery." By Dr. Moore Hoit, of Peekskill, N. Y. Pp. 4. [*Ibid.*, vol. iv. pp. 487–490.]

[1] The biographies of living medical men which have been inserted in the chapter by the editor of this history are indicated by foot-notes, and the writer is in no way responsible for them. They have been prepared by various persons, and are inserted in accordance with the wishes of the publishers of the work.

1826.

"Reflections on Diseases of Irritation." By James Fountain, M.D. Pp. 50. [*N. Y. Med. and Phys. Jr.*, vol. v. pp. 145–164; pp. 397–426. New York, 1826.]

"A Case of Chorea Sancti Viti." By James Fountain, M.D., of Yorktown, Westchester County, N. Y. Pp. 5. [*Ibid.*, vol. v. pp. 563–567.]

1827.

"Observations on Intermittent Fever." By James Fountain, M.D. Pp. 27. [*N. Y. Med. and Phys. Jr.*, vol. vi. pp. 529–556. New York, 1827.]

1828.

"A Case of Pseudo Syphilis." By James Fountain, M.D. Pp. 3. [*N. Y. Med. and Phys. Jr.*, vol. vii. pp. 348–351. New York, 1828.]

1829.

"Practical Observations on Punctured Wounds." By James Fountain, M.D., of Yorktown, Westchester County, N. Y. P. 3. [*N. Y. Med. and Phys. Jr.*, vol. i. New Series, pp. 308–310. New York, 1829.]

1837.

"An Essay on Typhus Fever." By James Fountain, M.D., of Westchester County, N. Y. Pp. 31. [Trans. of the Med. Soc. of the State of New York, vol. iii. pp 207–237. Albany, N. Y., 1837.]

1847.

"On the Nature of Phlegmasia Dolens." By James D. Trask, M.D. Pp. 38. [*Am. Jr. Med. Sci.*, N. S., vol. xiii. p. 26 January, 1847.]

"An Address to the Westchester County Medical Society on the Laws of Epidemics, as exhibited in those that have prevailed in that county during the last twenty years." By Benjamin Bassett, M.D., president of the Society. Pp. 9. [*The N. Y. Jr. of Med. and The Collateral Sciences*, vol. ix. pp. 183–192. New York, 1847.

"Baptistæ Tinctoria" [Indigo Weed.] By James Fountain, M.D. [*N. Y. Jr. of Med. and The Collateral Sciences*, vol. ix. pp. 410, 411.]

1848.

"Monograph. A Statistical Inquiry into the Causes, Symptoms, Pathology and Treatment of Rupture of the Uterus." By James D. Trask, M.D. Pp. 79. [*Am. Jr. Med. Soc.*, N. S., vol. xv. January, 1848, p. 104–146; April, 1848, p. 383–418.] Includes 303 cases.

"Congenital Enlargement of Kidney." By G. J. Fisher. P. 1. [*Am. Jr. Med. Sci.*, N. S., vol. xv. p. 570. April, 1848.]

1853.

"Amputation of the Thigh for Caries." By G. J. Fisher, M.D. Pp. 4. [Nelson's *Northern Lancet*, vol. vii. p. 161. June, 1853.]

"Report of Physician and Surgeon of New York State Prisons at Sing Sing for the year 1853." By Geo. J. Fisher, M.D. Pp. 8. [*Annual Report of Inspectors for* 1853, p. 132–140.]

1854.

"Report of the Physician and Surgeon of New York State Prisons at Sing Sing for the year 1854." By G. J. Fisher, M.D. Pp. 13. [*Annual Report of Inspectors for* 1854, p. 298–310.]

1855.

"Prize Essay. Statistics of Placenta Prævia." By James D. Trask, M.D. Pp. 97. [Extracted from the *Trans. Am. Med. Asso.*, vol. viii. p. 572–689. Philadelphia, 1855.] 251 cases.

1856.

"Cases of Rupture of the Womb, with Remarks; Being a Sequel to a Monograph upon this Subject, in this Journal for January and April, 1848." By James D. Trask, M.D. Pp. 31. [*Am. Jr. Med. Sci.*, N. S., vol. xxxii. p. 81–111.]

"Report of Committee on Medical Topography, Epidemics and Endemics of the Southern Section of Westchester County." By James D. Trask, M.D., of White Plains. Pp. 26. [Proc. of Med. Soc. of Westchester County, 1857, p. 3–28.]

"Case of Phlegmasia Dolens after Typhoid Fever, and the Same of the Upper and Lower Extremities after Parturition." By James Fountain, M.D., of Jefferson Valley. Pp. 2. [*Ibid.* p. 40–41.]

"A Case of Chronic Nephretis, &c." By G. J. Fisher, M.D. Pp. 4. [Trans. Med. Soc. S. of N. Y., 1856, p. 173–176.]

"Cases Illustrating the Effects of Needles Accidentally Penetrating Different Portions of the Body." By Geo. J. Fisher, M.D., of Sing Sing, N. Y. Pp. 5. [Proc. of Med. Soc. of Westchester County., p. 29–33.]

"An Apology for a Report on Surgery for the Northern Section of Westchester County." By G. J. Fisher, M.D. Pp. 4. [*Ibid.*, p 33–36.]

1857.

"Removal of a Large Fibrous Nasal Polypus, by the Knife." By G. J. Fisher, M.D. Pp. 2. [*Am. Med. Monthly*, vol. viii. p. 15–17.]

"Double Monstrosity." By G. J. Fisher, M.D. Pp. 2. [*Am. Med. Monthly* for Oct., 1857, vol. viii. p. 229.]

"A Case of Chronic Tubercular Splenitis." By G. J. Fisher, M.D. Pp. 3. [Trans. Med. Soc. S. of N. Y., 1857, p. 175–177.]

"Remarks on Table of Contents and General Index of Transactions of Med. Soc. of the State of N. Y." "List of Presidents of Med. Soc. of State of N. Y., 1807–1857." "Titles of Articles in the Trans. M. S. of S. of N. Y., 1832–1857." "General Index of Trans. M. S. of S. of N. Y., 1832–1857." By Geo. J. Fisher, M.D. Pp. 50. [Trans. 1857, p. 179–227.]

"Puerperal Mania: Has it any Connection with Toxæmia?" By J. Foster Jenkins, M.D. Pp. 7. [Reprinted from *Am. Med. Monthly*, N. Y., Nov., 1857.]

1858.

"Splitting of the Alveolar Process of the Lower Jaw." By G. J. Fisher, M.D. Pp. 2. [*Dental Register of the West*, vol. xii. p. 187–189.]

"Report on Spontaneous Umbilical Hemorrhage of the Newly-Born." By J. Foster Jenkins, M.D. Pp. 58. [Reprinted from Trans. of the Am. Med. Assoc., vol. xi. p. 263–318. Phila., 1858.]

"Biographical Sketches of the Deceased Physicians of Westchester County, N. Y. Being the Annual Address before the Westchester County Medical Society, at its sesson held in White Plains, June 1, 1858." By George J. Fisher, A.M., M.D. Published by order of the society. 8vo, pp. 52. New York, 1861.

1860.

"Spontaneous Complete Inversion of the Uterus; reposited recovery." By G. J. Fisher, M.D. P. 1. [*Am. Jr. Med. Sci.*, N. S., vol. xl. p. 341.]

1861.

"A Successful Case of Ovariotomy." By G. J. Fisher, A.M., M.D., of Sing Sing, N. Y. Pp. 2. [The *Am. Med. Times*, N. S., vol. iii. p. 355–357, N. Y., 1861.]

"Rupture of the Uterus; an account of three cases, with remarks, etc." By G. J. Fisher, M.D., of Sing Sing, N. Y. Pp. 9. [Trans. of the Med. Soc. of the State of N. Y., p. 171–179. Albany, 1861.]

"On the Animal Substances Employed as Medicines by the Ancients." By G. J. Fisher, A.M., M.D., of Sing Sing, N. Y. Read before the Westchester Co. Med. Soc., June 11, 1861. Pp. 16. [From the *Am. Med. Monthly* for January, 1862.]

1862.

"A Description of the Newly-invented Elastic Tourniquet, for the use of Armies and Employment in Civil Life. Its Uses and Applications, with Remarks on the Different Methods of Arresting Hemorrhage from Gunshot and other Wounds." Pp. 31. N. Y., 1862. [This tourniquet, called *Lambert's*, was invented by Dr. Charles A. Lee, who wrote this anonymous pamphlet.]

1863.

"Relations of War to Medical Science. The annual address delivered before the Westchester County Med. Soc., June 15, 1863." By J. Foster Jenkins, M.D. Pp. 16. [Published by request of the Society. N. Y., 1863.]

"Report of Fifty-seven Cases of amputation in the Hospitals near Sharpsburg, Md., after the Battle of Antietam, September 17, 1872." By G. J. Fisher, M.D., of Sing Sing, N. Y. Pp. 8. [*Am. Jr. of the Med. Sci.*, N. S., vol. xlv. pp. 44–51. Phila. 1863.]

1865–68.

"Diploteratology. An Essay on Compound Human Monsters, Comprising the History, Literature, Classification, Description and Embryology of Double and Triple Formation, Including the so-called Parasitic Monsters, Fœtus in Fœtu, and Supernumerary Formation of Parts or Organs in Man." By G. J. Fisher, M.D. Pp. 193; 126 figures on 32 lithographic plates. [Trans. of the Med. Soc. of the State of N. Y. 1865, p. 232–268. *Ibid.*, 1866, p. 207–296. *Ibid.*, 1867, p. 396–430. *Ibid.*, 1868, p. 276–306.]

1866.

"On Provision for the Insane Poor of the State of New York and the Adaptation of the 'Asylum and Cottage Plan' to their wants; as illustrated by the History of the Colony of Fitz James, at Clermont, France." By Charles A. Lee, M.D. Pp. 30. [Trans. Med. Soc. of the State of N. Y. for 1866, p. 156–185.]

1868.

"Report on Insanity." By Charles A. Lee, M.D. Pp. 32. [Extracted from the Trans. of the Am. Med. Assoc. vol. xix., p. 161–168. Phila. 1868.]

"Report on Texas Cattle Disease." By George J. Fisher, M.D. Pp. 2. [Report of Metropolitan Board of Health, 1868, p. 189–190.]

1869.

"Report to Metropolitan Board of Health of Sanitary Inspector of the Town of Ossining." By George J. Fisher, M.D. Pp. 2. [Report Met. Bd. of Health for 1869, p. 165–166.]

1870.

"Does Maternal Mental Influence have any Constructive or Destructive Power in the Production of Malformations or Monstrosities at any Stage of Embryonic Development?" By G. J. Fisher, M.D., of Sing Sing, N. Y. Pp. 57. [Reprinted from vol. xxvi. of the *Am. Jr. of Insanity* for January, 1870. Utica, N. Y., 1870.]

"Three Cases of Imperforate Anus, with Remarks." By J. H. Pooley. M.D. Pp. 20. [Reprinted from *Am. Jr. Obst.*, vol. iii., No. 1, May, 1870.]

"Tent Hospitals." By J. Foster Jenkins, M.D. Pp. 25. [Trans. *Am. Social Science Assoc.* Cambridge, Mass., 1874.]

"A Medico-Legal Opinion relating to the sanity of Carlton Gates." By Charles A. Lee, M.D. Pp. 30. [Papers read before the Med.-Leg. Soc. of the City of New York. First series, p. 204–233.]

1871.

"A Contribution to the Natural History of Tubercles." By C. F. Rodenstein, M.D. Pp. 20. [Read before the Yonkers Med. Association. Published at the request of Med. Soc. of Westchester County, N. Y. Reprinted from the *N. Y. Med. Jr.*, Dec., 1871.]

"The Late Dr. John Conolly, of Hanwell, England." By Charles A. Lee, M.D. Pp. 12. [Reprinted from the *Am. Pract.* for Aug. 1871.]

"Report of the Surgical Cases Treated in the St. John's Riverside Hospital, Yonkers, N. Y., during the Year 1870." By J. H. Pooley M.D. Pp. 19. [Reprinted from the *N. Y. Med. Jr.*, Nov., 1871.]

"Suggestions Relative to the Sequestration of the Person of Alleged Lunatics." By R. L. Parsons, M.D. Pp. 42. [Papers read before the Med.-Legal Soc. of the City of New York. First series, p. 332–373.]

"Medico-Legal Considerations upon Alcoholism, and the Moral and Criminal Responsibility of Inebriates." By Paluel De Marmon, M.D. Pp. 24. [Read before the Med.-Leg. Soc. of the City of New York, March 31, 1871. Reprinted from the *Med. World*, Dec. 1871; also in first series of papers read before Med.-Leg. Soc. of the City of New York, p. 374–402.]

"Medico-Legal Suggestions on Insanity." By Charles A. Lee, M.D. Pp. 22. [Papers read before the Med-Leg. Soc. First series, p. 467–488.]

1872.

"On Imperforate Anus: the Rectum Communicating with the Vagina." By J. H. Pooley, M.D. Pp. 34. [Reprinted from *Am. Jr. of Obstetrics*, &c., vol. iv., No. 4, Feb., 1872.]

'The Origin of Cæsarean Section; an historical sketch." By C. F. Rodenstein, M.D. Pp. 19. [Reprinted from the *N. Y. Med. Jr.*, April, 1872.]

"Two Cases of Rare Disease of the Tongue." By J. H. Pooley, M.D. Pp. 4. [Extracted from *Amer. Jr. Med. Sci.* for April, 1872.]

"Report of the Surgical Cases Treated in the St. John's Riverside Hospital, Yonkers, N. Y., during the year 1871 (second year)." By J. H. Pooley, M.D. Pp. 20. [Reprinted from the *N. Y. Med. Jr.*, Nov., 1872.]

"Some General Remarks on the Surgery of Childhood." By J. H. Pooley, M.D. Pp. 13. [Reprinted from "Trans. Med. Soc. of the State of New York," 1872.]

1873.

"Thermometry in Cerebro-Spinal Meningitis." By C. F. Rodenstein, M.D. Pp. 13. [Read before Med. Soc. of the County of Westchester. Reprinted from Dr. Brown-Sequard's "Archives of Scientific and Practical Medicine," vol. i. p. 210–222, March, 1873.]

"Nævus." By J. H. Pooley, M.D. Pp. 28. [Reprinted from *N. Y. Med. Jr.*, June, 1873.]

"Report of the Surgical Cases Treated in the St. John's Riverside Hospital, Yonkers, N. Y., during the year 1872 (third year)." By J. H. Pooley, M.D. Pp. 30. [Reprinted from *N. Y. Med. Jr.*, Oct., 1873.]

"Case of Epithelioma of the Cheek and Lower Eyelid. Removal—Blepharoplasty." By J. H. Pooley, M.D. Pp. 7. [Reprinted from "Archives of Ophthalmology and Otology," vol. iii., 1873.]

1874.

"Cases in Surgery, Lumbar Colotomy, etc." By J. H. Pooley, M.D. Pp. 11. [Reprinted from the *N. Y. Med. Jr.*, Jan., 1874.]

"Injections of Tincture of Iodine into the Cavity of the Uterus in Hemorrhage after Delivery." By James D. Trask, M D. Pp. 15. [Reprinted from *Jr. of Obstetrics* for Feb., 1875.]

"Morphine-Poisoning Successfully Treated by Atropia and Electricity." By J. D. Trask, M.D. Pp. 13. [Reprinted from the *N. Y. Med. Jr.*, Aug., 1874.]

"Report of the Surgical Cases Treated in the St. John's Riverside Hospital, Yonkers, N. Y., during the year 1873 (fourth year)." By J. H. Pooley, M.D. Pp. 29. [Reprinted from *N. Y. Med. Jr.*, Dec., 1874, and Jan., 1875.]

"Injuries which Happen to the Wrist-Joint and to the Parts in its Vicinity, as Results of Falls upon the Hand. An examination of the evidence on which is based the establishment of the occurrence of luxations at the wrist and radio-carpal articulations; also a consideration of the nature of the deformity, of the symptoms and of the treatment of Colles' fracture, with a *résumé* of the literature of this subject, being the Merritt H. Cash prize essay for 1874." By Thomas K. Cruse, M.D. Pp. 63. [Trans. Med. Society of the State of New York, 1874, p. 56–118.]

1875.

"De Mortuis Nil Nisi Bonum. Biographical sketches of lately deceased members of the Medical Society of the County of Westchester." Published by the vote of the Society, passed June 16, 1874. 8vo, pp. 40. Katonah, N. Y., 1875.

"Biographical Sketch of the Late James Fountain, M.D., of Jefferson Valley, Westchester County, N. Y." By James H. Curry, M.D. Pp. 9. Katonah, N. Y., 1875.

"Biographical Sketch of Philander Stewart, M.D., of Peekskill, N. Y." By J. H. Curry, M.D. Pp. 4. Katonah, N. Y., 1874.

"Biographical Sketch of Peter Moulton, M.D." By Dr. William C. Pryer. Pp. 9. Katonah, N. Y., 1875.

"Tecratology." By George Jackson Fisher, M.D. Pp. 4. [Johnson's "Cyclopædia," vol. iv. p. 782–785.]

"Inaugural and Anniversary Addresses delivered before the Medical Society of the State of New York, at its Sixty-ninth Session, held at the City of Albany, February 2, 3, and 4, 1875." By the President, George Jackson Fisher, M.D., of Sing Sing, N. Y. 8vo, pp. 57. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1875. [Trans. of the Med. Soc. of the State of New York for the year 1875, p. 4–15, p. 54–111.]

1877.

"A Brief Historical Sketch of the Discovery of the Circulation of the Blood." By George Jackson Fisher, M.D. Pp. 14. [Reprinted by the *Popular Science Monthly*, July, 1877.]

1878.

"On the Effect of Atropine in Diminishing the Pains and Shortening the Duration of the First Stage of Labor." By Henry L. Horton, M.D. [Reprinted from the *Am. Jr. of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children*, vol. xi., No. 3, July, 1878.] Pp. 20. New York, 1878.

"Clinical Notes in Obstetrics and Gynæcology." Read before the Yonkers Med. Association March 15, 1878. By Eugene Peugnet, M D. Pp. 83. [Reprinted from the *Ohio Med. and Surg. Jr.*, Columbus, 1878.]

1879.

"Observations on the Digestion of Milk." By E. F. Brush, M.D. [*N. Y. Med. Jr.*, Sept., 1879.]

1880.

"Case of a Rare Variety of Human Diprosopic Monster, with Observations on the Genus Diprosopus." By George Jackson Fisher, M.D. Pp. 4. [Annals of the Anatomical and Surgical Society, Brooklyn, N. Y., vol. ii. p. 193–197.]

1880–83.

"Historical and Bibliographical Notes: A Series of Sketches of the Lives, Times and Works of the Old Masters of Anatomy and Surgery." By George Jackson Fisher, M.D. Pp. 330. [Annals of Anatomy and Surgery, New York and Brooklyn, vols. ii.–viii., 1880–83. Vol. ii.: Paré, Eustachius, Colot, Fallopius, Taliacotius, Columbus, Wiseman, Fabricius ab Aquapendente, Guy de Chauliac, Harvey. Vol. iii.: Harvey, Rhodion, Hippocrates. Vol. iv.: Herophilus and Erasistratus, Galen. Vol. v.: Celsus. Vol. vi.: Mundinus, Rhazes. Vol. vii.: Avicenna, Hally Abbas. Vol. viii.: Albucasis, Avenzoar.]

1881.

"Milk. An essay read before the Med. Soc. of the County of Westchester Tuesday, June 21, 1881." By E. F. Brush, M.D., Mount Vernon, N. Y. [The *Med. Record*, vol. xx. p. 149–151.]

"Skimmed Milk as an Article of Food." By E. F. Brush, M.D. [The *Med. Record*, vol. xx. p. 459–461.]

"One Mode of Improving Cow's Milk for Human Food. Read before the Yonkers Med. Soc. Oct. 7, 1881." By E. F. Brush, M.D. [*Ibid.*, vol. xx. p. 539–541.]

"Kumyss." By E. F. Brush, M.D. [*Ibid.*, vol. xx. p. 673–675.]

"One Phase of the Germ Theory. Read before the Yonkers Med. Soc. April 22, 1881." By E. F. Brush, M.D. [*Ibid.*, vol. xiv. p. 568–569.]

"The Tartrate of Quinoline as an Antiperiodic." By Edwin I. Harrington, M.D. Pp. 3, and temperature charts. [*Med. Bulletin*, Phila., Nov. 1881.]

"Nicholas Tulp—(1593–1672)." A sketch by George Jackson Fisher, M.D., of Sing Sing, N. Y. Pp. 5. [*N. C. Med. Jr.*, vol. vii. p. 204–208, Wilmington, N. C., 1881.]

"On the Private Care of the Insane." By Ralph L. Parsons, M.D. Pp. 26. [Reprint from *The Alienist and Neurologist*, St. Louis, Oct. 1881.]

1882.

"Imperfect Nutrition in Infants." By E. H. Hermance, M.D., Yonkers, N. Y. [The *Med. Rec.*, vol. xxii. p. 320.]

"Acute Milk-Poisoning." By E. F. Brush, M.D. [The *Med. Rec.*, vol. xxii. p. 424–426.]

1883.

"Vaccination Observations and Suggestions." By E. F. Brush, M.D. [The *Med. Rec.*, vol. xxiii. p. 677–679.]

"Œsophagitis as a Disease of Infancy." By E. F. Brush, M.D. [*Ibid.*, vol. p. xxiii. 35–37.]

"Reciprocal Insanity." By Ralph L. Parsons, M.D. Pp. 17. [Reprinted from the *Alienist and Neurologist*, Oct. 1883.]

"Jury Trial of the Insane." By Ralph L. Parsons, M.D. Pp. 27. [Papers read before the Med.-Legal Soc. of the City of N. Y., 1883, p. 327–353.]

1884.

"Sketch of Abûl-Walid Mohammed Ibn-Ahmed Ibn-Mohammed Ibn-Roshd (commonly called Averroës)." By George Jackson Fisher, M.D. Pp. 5. (*Pop. Sci. Monthly*, July, 1884, p. 405–409.]

"A Memorial Sketch of the Life and Character of the late John Foster Jenkins, A.M., M.D., of Yonkers, N. Y." By George Jackson Fisher, M.D., of Sing Sing, N. Y. Pp. 21. [Reprinted from the Transactions of the Med. Soc. of the State of N. Y., by order of the Med. Soc. of Westchester Co., N. Y. Syracuse, N. Y., 1884.]

"The Faculty of Speech." By E. F. Brush, M.D. [*Popular Science Monthly*, April, 1884.]

"An Obstinate Case of Ovarian Dysmenorrhea, Oophorectomy, with Remarks on the Utility of the Operation." By E. H. Hermance, M.D., of Yonkers, N. Y. [The *Med. Rec.* vol. xxv. p. 430–431.]

1885.

"History of Surgery." By George Jackson Fisher, M.D. Pp. 57. [*International Encyclopædia of Surgery*, N. Y., 1886, vol. vi. p. 1146–1202.]

"Vesical and Renal Calculi—Open Urachus—Lithotomy." By A. C. Benedict, M.D., of Yonkers, N. Y. [The *Med. Rec.*, vol. xxvii. p. 208. N. Y., 1885.]

"Traumatic Gastric Fistula Opening into the Pancreatic Duct, resulting in death after forty years." By E. F. Brush, M.D., of Mt. Vernon, N. Y. [The *Med. Rec.*, vol. xxvii. p. 623–624. N. Y., 1885.]

"Intubation of the Larynx." By E. F. Brush, M.D. [*Ibid*, vol. xxvii. p. 206–207. N. Y., 1885.]

Dr. Peter Hugeford, of Cortlandtown, was probably the first regular physician in the northwestern portion of Westchester County.

He was an Englishman by birth and education, an accomplished medical practitioner and a gentleman of the decided English stamp, as can be seen by his full-length portrait which now hangs in an ancient parlor of his granddaughter, Mrs. Betsey Field, a widow of over eighty years, residing near the village of Peekskill. He was a successful practitioner previous to the Revolution. Being a Royalist, he retired to the British army when war was declared. His fine farm of two hundred acres was confiscated, and subsequently given by government to John Paulding, for his service as one of the three captors of Major Andre.

He was probably the most accomplished physician of his day in this country.

Dr. Stanly, of Cortlandtown, was cotemporary with Dr. Hugeford. He emigrated from Connecticut, and settled in Cortlandtown, at precisely what date is not known. He was celebrated for his great caution; he carried with him his scale and weights, and at all times weighed carefully every dose of medicine he administered.

He had one son, whom he educated thoroughly to the medical profession. Young Dr. Stanly married the only child of Richard Currie, a wealthy farmer of this county. They united under the most auspicious and flattering circumstances. He died prematurely of brandy, his wife of opium, leaving a large family, most of them in indigent circumstances.

Dr. Elias Cornelius, of Somers, was a native of Long Island, and served as surgeon's mate in the Revolutionary army. After the close of the war he settled in the western part of Somers, where he practiced his profession over forty years with eminent success and credit. During the Revolution he contracted the habit of smoking, snuffing and tippling, but, contrary to the generally received opinion, was never intoxicated during his long and arduous life.

Dr. James Fountain says: "Dr. Cornelius was truly a pattern physician; with a very limited medical education, he commenced the active duties of his profession, but full of energy and ambition, he studied and practiced both by day and by night. He kept three good horses, and rode off rapidly, and on his arrival at home he gave his horse over to his groom, and went directly into his office, and there spent all his available time in the pursuit of knowledge or in the compounding of medicines. He availed himself of every means of information; he commenced taking the first medical periodical ever published in America, viz.: *The Medical Repository*, and ever since continued to read it. He had also all the principal authors of his day, and studied them thoroughly. Having been inspired by a genuine love, with the requisite enthusiasm, for his profession, he gave it his undivided attention, and the whole

force of his energies and talents were made subservient to it. He died at the age of sixty-eight years, having been blessed with a large family, which were carefully and respectably bred. One of his sons, having been thoroughly educated, became one of the most celebrated and accomplished divines in the New England States."

He commenced life in extreme poverty, and left his heirs an estate of nearly fifty thousand dollars.

Dr. Lyman Cook, of Cortlandtown, was an eminent and successful physician. He was chosen the delegate of the Westchester County Society, which he represented by attending the first meeting of the State Medical Society in 1807.

He engaged somewhat in politics, and was once elected to the office of high sheriff of the county. He removed to one of the Western States, where he located as a physician.

Dr. Elias Quereau, of Yorktown, was born in the city of New York, and pursued his medical studies under Dr. Hugeford. Early in the Revolutionary War he married in the city of New York, where he engaged in practice for a short time.

Owing to the unsettled state of the country he frequently changed his residence and field of practice. Being a Royalist, he embarked for St. John's, with other refugees, but soon returned to his native State in consequence of the inclemency of the Canadian climate. He finally settled in Yorktown, in this county, which was the native place of his wife, where he continued to reside during the remainder of his life.

In Yorktown he seems to have commenced anew. He joined the Baptist denomination and became an active member. With a few others he built a church, which, under the charge of Elder E. Fountain, was a prosperous society, was kept together forty years by their united aid, and continues to the present.

He was a modest, quiet and unassuming man, and a pious, consistent and benevolent Christian. His Sunday earnings he invariably set apart for the benefit of the church, believing that, as his duties on that sacred day were labors of love and necessity, he had no right to appropriate the avails thereof to the common purposes of life. He died in his eighty-sixth year, leaving several children and many friends to lament his loss.

Dr. Francis Fowler practiced in White Plains and vicinity about eighty or ninety years ago. He came from Newburgh, Orange County, N. Y., and soon after his arrival married a sister of ex-Sheriff Amos W. Hatfield, of White Plains. His talents and practice are said to have been respectable and gave promise of good success, but in a few years after settling in White Plains, he died, leaving a widow, but no children.

Dr. Brewster also practiced in White Plains previous to or about the time of Dr. Fowler, but nothing further is known of him.

Dr. William Baldwin, late of New York City, lies beneath a large, plain, but handsome monument, in the yard of the first, or old Methodist Church, of White Plains. He was born in Northford, Conn., commenced practice about 1800, and married Elizabeth, daughter of John Falconer, a prominent citizen of White Plains, where he practiced with considerable success for about fifteen years. He then removed to the city of New York and located himself in East Broadway; became a prominent and successful practitioner in that section of the city, and gained a more than ordinary practice and honorable position among his professional brethren. He left a widow, but no children.

Dr. Seth Miller, of Sing Sing, was born in April, 1766. He came from Lower Salem, and, after practicing several years at New Castle, settled at Sing Sing, before 1790, being the first physician to locate in the latter village. Mrs. John Miller, who, in 1858, was eighty-six years old, stated that Dr. Miller had attended her husband when he was suffering from the yellow fever. It was the first case of the disease known in Sing Sing, and did not spread, Mr. Miller being the solitary victim. He had contracted it during a visit to New York, where it was raging at the time.

Dr. Miller's eldest daughter married Dr. Kissam, of New York, and his second became the wife of Dr. Wallace, of Troy. She was extremely beautiful and highly accomplished, and is said to have been so well versed in medicine that she undertook to continue her husband's practice after his death. Her father is said to have been very skillful and enjoyed the confidence of a large circle of friends and patients. His health began to fail several years before his death, and he invited Dr. Jeremiah Drake Fowler to settle at Sing Sing and participate in and eventually succeed to his practice. He died November 23, 1808, in the forty-second year of his age, and was interred in the cemetery at Sparta, below Sing Sing.

Dr. Archibald Macdonald, of White Plains, was one of the most distinguished of the early physicians of the county and prominent among the founders of the Medical Society. He was a native of Inverness, Scotland, and came of the Glengarry branch of the Macdonalds. His father, in 1745, joined the forces of Charles Edward, the last of the Stuart pretenders who endeavored to regain by arms the British throne, and perished in battle when his son was but a few weeks old, so that the parent and his youngest child never saw each other. The embryotic physician was brought to this country about 1757, when he was twelve years old, by his brother, a British officer serving in Canada. He received his medical education in Philadelphia, at the charge of this brother, who may be supposed to have procured him the position which he subsequently held of surgeon in the King's army. After practicing in North Carolina, in 1787 he married in Dutchess County, N. Y., and in 1795 removed to White Plains, where he practiced until his death,

December 21, 1813, in his sixty-ninth year. The genealogy of the family indicates that one of his ancestors married a daughter of Robert Bruce. Personally very popular, his practice was large and his professional reputation so high that he was often called long distances for consultations.

His son, James Macdonald, studied medicine with Dr. David Palmer, of White Plains, and Dr. David Hosack, of New York. As an investigator of insanity, in the treatment of which he became an expert, he visited the principal lunacy asylums of Europe; and, on his return to this country, was one of the founders and proprietors of the Sanford Hall Asylum, at Flushing, L. I. He died in 1849, leaving his brother, Allen Macdonald, in charge of that institution.

Dr. Stephen Fowler, a native of Orange County, N. Y., practiced in New Castle, Westchester County, eight years previous to his death, which occurred in 1814, when he was but thirty-five years of age. Despite his youth, he was quite successful, and accumulated in that short time a moderate fortune. He died from typhoid pneumonia, which was then epidemic in the neighborhood. Dr. Joshua W. Bowron was one of his students, and upon his death located in the immediate vicinity of his office.

Dr. Donal, of Colaburg (now Croton), on the Hudson, was a young man who began practice in 1814, during the prevalence of typhoid pneumonia, and won much praise for his successful treatment of the disease by the stimulating plan. He removed to New York and died there.

Dr. Clark Sanford resided at Greenwich, Conn., but for thirty years prior to his death, in 1820, when he was over sixty years old, had a wide professional connection in Westchester County. He was a native of Vermont, and the manufacturer of a superior article of pulverized Peruvian bark. His grinding-mills were at Byrom's Mills, now called Glenville; they were the first establishment of the kind in the United States, and his son John continued and enlarged the business with great profit. He is spoken of as "a bold practitioner of both medicine and surgery." He was a very eccentric man and an inveterate smoker, always carrying his pipe between his lips or in his boot leg. He could never endure the smell of ipecacuanha, which produced in him an asthmatic affection. He educated to the profession his son Josephus, who settled in the South and died there. Another son, Henry, became an apothecary in New York City.

Dr. William H. Sackett, born at Greenwich, Conn., in 1781, made his home at Bedford, Westchester County, about 1805, and married a daughter of Col. Jesse Holly some three years later. A man of splendid general culture, and a keen student of the new lights then being thrown upon the science of medicine by Cullen, Brown, Darwin and Rush, he was esteemed the most accomplished physician in the county. He had graduated at Yale and pursued his medical studies under Dr. Perry, at Ridgefield, Conn. Prompt in response to calls, he rode the country over on a fast gray mare which is still associated with his memory. To his excessively arduous labor is attributed his premature death, for he passed away December 29, 1820, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. He was the preceptor of Dr. Joseph Baily and Dr. Mead, of Tarrytown.

Dr. Ebenezer White, son of Rev. Ebenezer White, of Southampton, L. I., was born in the lower section of Westchester County, in 1744, located in Yorktown before the Revolution and was so ardent a patriot that the British made several attempts to capture him. Once a squadron of horse were sent to Crompond with orders to surround his house and take him prisoner, so that he might be exchanged for a British surgeon whom the Americans held. A friendly warning enabled him to escape, but they seized Dr. James Brewer, who resided in the neighborhood, and in a skirmish with a party of Americans who fired upon them as they were passing along Stoney Street, Dr. Brewer was mortally wounded. He expired the next morning, November 20, 1780, in the arms of Dr. White. He was a native of Massachusetts, but thirty-nine years old, and the husband of Hannah Brewer, by whom he had four sons and three daughters. Dr. James Brewer, of Peekskill, was his grandson. Dr. White was prominent in politics and the church. He was once elected to the New York State Senate, and died March 8, 1825, aged eighty-one.

Dr. Henry White, son of Dr. Ebenezer White, was born at Yorktown, August 31, 1781, and studied medicine under the tuition of his father. In 1802 he attended the medical lectures at Columbia College. In 1803 he was in partnership with Dr. Joshua Secor, in New York City, but in the same year returned to the place of his nativity. In 1804 he practiced at Hackensack, but once more came back to Yorktown in the same year. The Westchester County Medical Society, in 1809, elected him delegate to the State Society for four years. He was for several years surrogate of the county, and in 1823 became one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas. He continued the general practice of medicine until about 1840, after which he accepted no calls except as consulting physician. He died in November, 1857.

Dr. Elisha Belcher was born in Lebanon, Conn., in 1757, and became surgeon's mate and surgeon in the Revolutionary army. Stationed at Greenwich, Conn., he made that place his residence after peace had been declared, and extended his practice across the State line into Westchester County. He educated many young men in the profession, including his sons Dr. William N. Belcher, of Sing Sing, and Dr. Elisha R. Belcher, of New York City. Four of his seven daughters married physicians—the fourth becoming the wife of Dr. Stephen Fowler, of North Castle, and

after his death the wife of Dr. Henry White, of Yorktown. Other daughters married Dr. Darius Mead, of Greenwich, Conn., Dr. David Palmer, of White Plains, and Dr. Bartow F. White, of Somers, son of Dr. Ebenezer White. Dr. Elisha Belcher died in December, 1825, as he was approaching his sixty-ninth year.

Dr. John Ingersoll, born about 1745; the place of his nativity is unknown; came from the vicinity of Horseneck prior to 1804, and settled three miles north of Yonkers, where he died of delirium tremens in August, 1827. Being the first physician about Yonkers, he had a practice which obliged him to ride from King's Bridge to the outskirts of White Plains, and he would encounter the darkest night and the most pitiless storm rather than neglect his duty at the bedside of a patient. Until inebriety conquered him he was fairly successful as a physician and was especially favored in obstetrical cases, but his surgery is recorded to have been very bungling—probably because of a lack of training in that department.

Dr. Samuel Adams, a Scotchman by birth and surgeon in the British army, went upon the medical staff of the American forces during the Revolution, and then bought a farm near Mount Pleasant, which for nearly fifty years he cultivated while practicing his profession. Uncouth in his manners and abrupt in speech, his surgical skill yet caused him to be employed in difficult cases in all parts of the county, and his services were in constant requisition. His energy and will were indomitable, his perseverance unflinching, and he was a tyrant over his professional associates and his patients. His operations were of the heroic kind, and their progress emphasized with profuse oaths, the expressions of his passionate temper. He seems to have lived and died an avowed atheist. He served a term in the State Legislature, and was over ninety years of age when he died, about 1828.

Dr. Jeremiah Drake Fowler, born December 28, 1785, at Peekskill, studied at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York City, where he received his degree, and located at Sing Sing. No medical man could have been more popular than he was in his day, and he earned his eminence legitimately by skill in his profssion. He was a prominent member of the Westchester County Medical Society, and several times its delegate to the State Society. In 1817–18–he was elected justice of the peace and was also a practical surveyor. Through going security for friends he nearly ruined himself financially, and died October 28, 1828.

Dr. Samuel Strang, of Peekskill, was a son of Major Joseph Strang, of Revolutionary fame. The family name of L'Estrange has been corrupted from the original French form. They were Huguenot emigrés and came to this country in 1686. Dr. Strang was born in Yorktown in 1766, studied with Dr. Ebenezer White, married his daughter and moved to Peekskill, where he died in December, 1831. He was the preceptor of his son, Dr. Eugene J. Strang, who died at the age of twenty-seven, after practicing one year.

Dr. William F. Arnold, born at Chatham, Rensselaer County, New York, June 1, 1809, learned the drug business in the store of Drs. Platt and Nelson, at Rhinebeck, and was aided by friends to attend a course of lectures at Rutgers Medical College. When he located at White Plains, about 1829, he was almost penniless, but his abilities soon procured him a remunerative practice. In May, 1832, he married Miss Williams, of Rhinebeck, and shortly afterward removed to New York City on account of his failing health, but within a brief period returned to White Plains, where he and his brother conducted a drug-store in connection with his office practice. In the autumn of 1843 he went to St. Thomas, W. I., for the improvement of his health and practiced dentistry there, but his disease gained on him so rapidly that in the course of a year or two he started to return home and died on the voyage.

Dr. Howard Lee, of Sing Sing, practiced there previous to 1838, but made no mark on cotemporary records.

Dr. David Rogers moved from Fairfield, Conn., to Rye, in 1810, where he spent the remainder of his days in retirement. His son, Dr. David Rogers, Jr., settled at Mamaroneck in 1800, and from 1817 to 1820 was president of the Westchester County Medical Society; moving to New York City, in 1820, he died there in 1843 or '44, aged nearly seventy. His sons, Dr. David L. and Dr. James Rogers, followed him in the profession in the city.

Dr. Matson Smith, of New Rochelle, was born in 1767, at Lyme, Conn., where he studied medicine with Dr. Samuel Mather, whose daughter became his first wife. In 1787 he came to New Rochelle, and, notwithstanding his youth, quickly established a remarkably large practice, which in time covered most of the southern towns of the county. A memoir of him, prepared by his son, Dr. Joseph Mather Smith, says: "Devoted to the practice of physic proper, obstetrics and surgery, it may, perhaps, be said, aside from some of the rarer and more delicate operations of surgery, which he referred to special experts, that he was equally skillful in these departments." He adopted vaccination at a very early date after its introduction into this country, and took great pains to remove the doubts of those whose minds wavered in relation to its value. He was a close student of the modifications of disease induced by atmospheric influences, and of rare and new forms of epidemic maladies. His "Account of a Malignant Epidemic which prevailed in the County of Westchester in the Summer of 1812" was a most important contribution to the history of the scourge of typhoid pneumonia, so fatal about that time in the Northern and Eastern States, and a valuable aid to the treatment of it. He was for several years president of the Westchester County Medical

Society, and in 1830 received from the regents of the University of New York the honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine. He was a devout Christian and foremost in educational projects, as well as in advocating the temperance cause. He died March 17, 1845.

Dr. Joseph M. Scribner was born at Bedford, Westchester County, May 11, 1793, and was licensed by the Medical Society of the county in April, 1817, after having studied with Dr. William H. Sackett and attended lectures at the New York City Hospital and the Medical Institution of the State of New York. Opening an office two and a half miles southeast of Sing Sing, he remained there a year and spent the next year at Bedford. For the succeeding fifteen years he had his office within a mile and a half of Tarrytown; then moving, in 1835, into that village, he continued his practice up to his death, on December 27, 1847. He died of ship-fever, contracted while attending at the almshouse upon emigrants, among whom the disease had broken out at sea.

Dr. Joseph Roe, born near Flushing, L. I., in 1811, graduated at the College of Physicians, New York City, having previously been instructed by Dr. John Graham and Drs. Bedford, Pendleton and Bush. Locating at White Plains, he went into partnership with Dr. David Palmer, then the only physician in the place. He contracted ship-fever at the same time and under the same circumstances as Dr. Scribner; in attending upon the latter he sacrificed his own strength, and died January 11, 1848. For many years he availed himself of the practice of the county almshouse as a school of observation, and was exceedingly kind to the forlorn and helpless paupers. He was the inventor of an improvement on Amesbury's splint. His name was coupled with that of Dr. Scribner in resolutions of regret passed by the County Medical Society, June 6, 1848, for "the death of two of our most worthy and esteemed professional brethren."

Dr. Isaac Gilbert Graham, born at Woodbury, Conn., September 10, 1760, was a son of Dr. Andrew Graham, who fitted him for the profession. At a very early age he was appointed assistant surgeon in the American army, and at West Point came under the personal notice of Washington, who is said to have conceived a warm feeling for him, because of his medical knowledge and his sturdy patriotism. He was granted an annual pension of four hundred and forty dollars by the government for his services. In 1784 he settled at Unionville, Westchester County, and practiced for nearly half a century. He was considered very skillful in treating cases of small-pox, or "winter fever," as it was then called, by inoculation, and is alleged to have earned fourteen hundred dollars in one season by this branch of practice, although he devoted much time to the poor, from whom he never looked for any recompense. He died September 1, 1848.

Dr. Stephen Allen Hart, born June 11, 1820, at Shrub Oak, Weschester County, was a student under Dr. John Collett, and in the spring of 1846 obtained his diploma from the University Medical College, in New York City. His career was brief, as he died at Yorktown, where he had practiced, on February 22, 1849.

Dr. Nathaniel Drake, born in Yorktown, August 27, 1763, was a pupil of Dr. Peter Hugeford and Dr. Ebenezer White. He attended medical lectures and dissections in New York City, and was one of the students obliged to seek safety in flight from the mob which attacked the dissecting departments. Subsequently to practicing for a short time in the town of his birth, he changed his location to Peekskill, where he died February 1, 1850. With him perished the name of his family. While in his general practice he always had his fair proportion, it was in the obstetrical branch that he especially bore off the palm.

Dr. George C. Finch was born April 6, 1817, at Croton Falls, Westchester County, and had for his first preceptor in medicine Dr. Seth Shove. Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, granted him his degree as Doctor of Medicine in the spring of 1841. He employed the next term in the Medical Department of the University of the City of New York, and, after being associated with Dr. Shove, went to his native place to practice. So strong was his opposition to the followers of Hahnemann, that when invited to meet a distinguished member of that school in consultation, he replied: "I would be pleased to meet with Dr. J. as an old friend and preceptor, but not as a physician." For six years he was supervisor of North Salem; in 1853 represented his district in the Legislature, and at the time of his death, May 28, 1856, was one of the committee for erecting new public buildings for the county.

Steven Archer was the son of John Archer, of Tarrytown, where he was born September 9, 1803. He married Emeline Ascough, and after her death was married to Deborah Underhill. His children were Sarah, wife of William Macy, of New York; Isaac; and Emma, wife of Dr. Joseph Hasbrouck. He died December 16, 1877.

Dr. Joshua W. Bowron, born at Washington, Dutchess County, in April, 1788, a pupil of Dr. Stephen Fowler, graduated at the Barclay Street College of Medicine, New York City. He began practice near Sing Sing, but soon removed to New Castle to occupy the field vacated by the death of Dr. Fowler, which he, filled for nearly forty years. In 1848 and 1849 he was president of the Westchester County Medical Society. His labors were so enormous that when about sixty-two years old he broke down under an apoplectic stroke, and died February 20, 1857.

Dr. Benjamin Bassett, born at Derby, Conn., December 6, 1784, was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, practiced at Yorktown from 1826 to 1829, and then settled at Peekskill, where he died March 21, 1858. He was president of the Westches-

ter County Medical Society in 1846 and 1847, and in the latter year delivered an address "On the laws of epidemics as exhibited in those that had prevailed in the county the preceding twenty years." In 1831 he wrote a valuable treatise on "Epidemic Dysentery and Intermittent Fever," published in the *New York Medical Journal* for May of that year. About the same time he prepared several articles on the effect of sulphate of quinine, but it is not known when they were published. He honored his profession except in placing too low an estimate on the value of his services; "his charges were so small that he was unable to live in the manner suitable to a man of his ability, skill and position."

Dr. James Fountain was spoken of in the biographical sketch prepared by Dr. James Hart Curry, at the request of the Westchester County Medical Society, as "one of the most remarkable men of his time, in the region round-about him." Born at Bedford, January 30, 1790, he began the study of medicine under Dr. Sackett, and was one of the first, if not the very first, student from Westchester County to matriculate in the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York City, where he graduated March 16, 1812. Beginning practice in his native county, in a year he moved to Staten Island, but, at the solicitation of his father, soon returned to Jefferson Valley. He had become a member of the Westchester County Medical Society a year before his graduation, and when, fifty years afterward, he resigned, he said, in his characteristic letter:—

"I witnessed its (the Society's) gradual rise to distinction until, in the acme of its usefulness and glory it was crippled by an act of our ignorant legislature. To court popularity and to support a mistaken Democracy, they, in their zeal to level all distinctions among men, passed a law declaring the ignorant quack and the most learned physician on a perfect level and equally entitled to protection. Since then our authority to keep down quackery has ceased, so that now a large portion of our best practice is enjoyed by ignorant quacks under the cloak of homœopathy. The consequences to our society are almost ruinous. Shorn of its power, its members have become discouraged, and a few only of the most faithful are found attending its meetings. All our struggles must be laborious so long as ignorance of physiology prevails among the people, and that must continue a long time.

"I am now in my seventieth year. I consider myself professionally dead. It is my last prayer that you may persevere until the rays of knowledge shall illumine the eyes of the people and induce them to value the realities of knowledge over ignorance and regard our profession in its true light."

He was frequently a delegate to the New York State Medical Society, and at the session of 1846 was made a permanent member. His numerous contributions to the medical journals, as full a list of which as can be made is embodied in the foregoing schedule of professional writings by Westchester physicians, bear witness to his profound research as well as to his pugnacious disposition. Having been thrown in his early practice greatly upon his own resources for medical agents, no drug-stores being near him, he became, of necessity, conversant with our indigenous medical botany, and applied it with marked results, and often with great success. He boldly and continually, and without the aid of the chemist, prescribed such potences as lobelia, scutellaria, actia sanguinaria, ergot, juglans, Indian hemp and many of the vegetable acids. But he was by no means restricted to any set of drugs or stereotyped forms of practice. If heroic practice means anything, Dr. Fountain was a hero of the boldest stamp. Arsenic, strychnine, mercury, tartar emetic, the lancet and the blister were the great weapons of his warfare, and he was not afraid to use them. In his treatment there was no half and half—he gave disease no quarter—and it must be confessed that often, in drawing out the enemy, he shook the citadel terribly, but when he had slain the foe, if the patient survived, like a discriminating general, he was quick to take advantage of circumstances, stopping medication when he thought the case would warrant, or modifying it as the symptoms might demand. In his treatment of old diseases, especially those of the lungs, as in asthma of



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the aged, hydrothorax and bronchorrhœa, notwithstanding (or rather by the aid of) blood-letting, antimony, ptyalism and blistering, he was remarkably successful, often holding the disease in abeyance for many years after it had become apparently incurable.

Neither in auscultation or percussion, nor, in fact, in any of the more modern modes of physical explorations, did he ever make much proficiency, and he professed but little faith in them, believing, until his death, that the rational signs of disease would generally lead the rational practitioner to a correct diagnosis.

In surgery he was not a brilliant operator, although his isolated position and immense practice continually forced him to use the knife. It was his boast, and true, that during a practice of fifty years no irregular practitioner had been able to make any head in all his field of practice, and it must be added that during his prime it was a risky matter for any phy-

sician, regular or otherwise, to infringe upon his domain. His cultivated mind and vastly superior medical attainments made him the natural antagonist of empiricism, and his indomitable will, his consciousness of his own superiority, raised the hands of others against his. "In fact," his son, Hosea Fountain, wrote, "he was in hot water the most of the time. Of course such a man had bitter enemies and strong, warm-hearted friends." His field of labor extended from Fishkill to Tarrytown, and from the Hudson River to beyond the Connecticut line. "He kept the best horses and rode constantly in the saddle; he was very active, was up and away before we were up. Would ride all day, and then in hot weather I have known him to strip to the skin and help his man draw hay off by moonlight; then off in the morning again as usual." In 1862 he removed to Waverly, N. Y., to spend the remainder of his days with his son. He died May 19, 1869, during a visit to his old home in Jefferson Valley, and was buried in the Presbyterian grave-yard at Crompond.

Dr. Seth Stephen Lounsbery[1] was born at Bedford, Westchester County, September 11, 1837, and in 1861 received his diploma from the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York City, having previously studied medicine under the direction of his uncle, Dr. William Minos. After a year of city practice he accepted, September 15, 1862, a commission as assistant surgeon of the One Hundred and Seventieth Regiment New York Volunteers, and on December 22, 1864, was promoted to the rank of surgeon of the One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Regiment. In these commands, notwithstanding his feeble constitution, he served in the field almost continuously until the close of the war. At Cold Harbor he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, and he witnessed most of the movements of the army of the Potomac around Richmond and at the Weldon Railroad. In October, 1865, he was associated with Dr. William S. Stanley in his practice at Mamaroneck, where he continued for the remainder of his life. He died, April 25, 1872, at his father's home in Bedford. In 1866 he joined the Westchester County Medical Society, and was usually present at its meetings.

Dr. Caleb W. Haight[2] was born in New York City February 20, 1820; came with his family to Bedford when he was a very young child. In the spring of 1842 he entered the office of Dr. Shove as a student, and in March, 1846, graduated at the University of the City of New York, beginning practice in September at Chappaqua. Eighteen months, subsequently, he removed to Pleasantville, where he died March 5, 1873. In 1848 he became a member of the Westchester Medical Society, in which from time to time, he acceptably filled all its important offices. He was a constant attendant at its meetings, and contributed liberally to its transactions. In 1860 he was elected a member of the American Medical Association, and in 1861 of the New York State Medical Society.

Dr. Peter Moulton,[3] at his death the oldest member of the Westchester County Medical Society, and probably the oldest physician in active practice in the county, was born at Oxford, N. H., October 7, 1794. In May, 1816, he began to study medicine with Dr. Cyril Carpenter, of Saratoga Springs, N. Y., and, as a student was successively under Dr. Daniel Ayers, of Openheim, N. Y., and Dr. Nathaniel Drake, of Peekskill. He completed his studies as the private pupil of Dr. Cyrus Perkins, professor of anatomy and surgery in Dartmouth College, where he attended lectures and fulfilled all requirements necessary for his degree as doctor of medicine, but could not obtain it because two conflicting boards of trustees claimed to control the affairs of the institution. He, however, on November 8, 1819, passed an examination before the censors of the medical society of the county of New York, who granted him a license to practice, which for the greater part of his professional life, was his only diploma. But on March 27, 1860, the regents of the State University, at the instance of the State Medical Society, conferred on him the honorary degree of doctor of medicine, and in 1864 he was elected a permanent member of the State Society. In November, 1819, he established himself in East Chester, and his reputation for learning and skill soon spread throughout that part of Westchester County. His practice extended into the towns of White Plains, Scarsdale, Yonkers, Greenburgh, New Rochelle, Pelham, Mamaroneck and Rye. In 1835 or '36 he transferred his location to New Rochelle, where he practiced for nearly forty years.

About two years before his death, while walking upon the track of the New Haven Railroad, a short distance above New Rochelle, he was struck by an engine and he and his medicine chest thrown thirty feet forward and down an embankment twenty feet deep. Refusing to go into the train, he walked home with his precious chest under his arm. "On my entrance," says Dr. Pryer, "he called out, 'doctor, I have a broken arm.' Proceeding to examine the arm very tenderly, fearful of giving pain, I said, 'are you sure it is broken?' 'Oh, yes,' said he, 'see here,' and he shook the elbow to and fro again and again, until the broken bones grated against one another in a manner that produces a shudder to this day when the sensation comes back to me. The doctor's scientific interest in proving the fracture was so great that it overcame entirely all sense of pain."

As a surgeon Dr. Moulton was bold and skilful, but it was as an obstetrician that he most excelled, and he is said to have assisted at the birth of more children than any other physician in the county. He

[1] Biographical sketch by William S. Stanley, M.D., Mamaroneck.
[2] Biographical sketch by Seth Shove, M.D.
[3] Biographical sketch read before the Westchester County Medical Society, February 17, 1874, by Dr. William C. Pryer.

was an accomplished botanist and drew many of his medicines from native plants gathered in his daily walks. It is not known at what date he became a member of the Westchester Counter County Medical Society, but since 1831 he held the following offices:

Elected in 1831, censor; 1833–34, treasurer; 1838, vice-president; 1836–37, president; 1838, censor; 1841, essayist for fall meeting; 1842, committee to draft rate bill, serving with Drs. Livingstone Roe and Gates; 1851, reported a case of puerperal peritonitis, treated by "opium alone;" 1852, censor; 1853, vice-president and committee to report on "Ship Fever;" 1854, vice-president; 1855, committee on surgery; 1857, essayist, also committee on Indigenous Medical Botany and served on this committee six years; 1858, delegate to American Medical Association; 1863, vice-president and delegate to American Medical Association; 1866, delegate to American Medical Association.

On December 1, 1873, Dr. Moulton rose early, visited various patients, traveled to New York City and back on professional business, and in the evening made visits to the sick in East Chester, Cooper's Corners, Mamaroneck and Scarsdale, in the teeth of an easterly storm. When he reached home he was too feeble to ascend to his bed-room and remained in his office all night in his wet clothing. Pneumonia supervened and he died on December 7th. On the 9th a meeting of the citizens of New Rochelle, at the Town Hall, passed resolutions of respect to his memory, and similar action was taken by the Board of Education and the Huguenot Lyceum, of both of which he had been a member. He had been made an honorary member of the Westchester County Medical Society at its annual meeting in 1869, and at the meeting in 1872, at White Plains, he met his brother members for the last time. On the day of his funeral, business was suspended in New Rochelle, flags hung at half-mast from the public and many private buildings, the church, school and engine-house bells were tolled, the schools were dismissed and the scholars stood bareheaded in the street as the *cortege* passed. No such honors had ever been paid to any private citizen of the town.

Dr. Philander Stewart[1] was born in Danbury, Connecticut, June 20, 1820, and in 1840 began to study for the profession in Brookfield, the adjoining town. At the medical institution of Yale College he attended his first course of lectures and graduated at Jefferson College, Philadelphia, in 1844. After two years of practice in Roxbury, Connecticut, he came to Peekskill, and although in three years he had established remunerative professional connections there, he returned to Philadelphia to avail himself of another course of lectures and clinical observations under Prof. Pancoast. Then he resumed his field of labor at Peekskill and cultivated it for upwards of thirty years. In the year 1857 he made a trip to Europe and pursued his investigations for some time in the hospitals and medical schools of the United Kingdom and the Continent. He early attached himself to the Westchester County Medical Society, in which he held every office, many of them for successive terms, and was frequently its delegate to the State Society. For twenty years he was a member of the latter body, making it a point never to be absent from its meetings. He was also from the beginning a member of the American Medical Association, and made long and expensive journeys to meet its annual sessions. As an operating surgeon, for years he was among the first in all the region about him. His manipulations and operations for strangulated hernia were very frequent and successful, as was his management in all cases of difficult parturition. He performed many amputations. His hand was steady, his instruments many and various, his knives were sharp, his determination almost dogged, his judgment good and he was never taken by surprise. In auscultation and percussion he was far above the average, his touch being delicate and his ear acute. If his diagnosis was sometimes shaped too much by his preconceived notion of things, and hence may have missed the mark, it was no more so than is peculiar to independent minds. His prognosis was remarkably true; he had an almost intuitive knowledge of the end from the beginning.

By being thrown from his carriage on May 26, 1869, Dr. Stewart broke an arm and was stunned by a blow upon the head. Terrible paroxysms of pain in the head attacked him; in October, 1872, he began to lose memory of names and places, his penmanship became entirely changed and he wrote with difficulty. A consultation with Dr. Brown-Sequard on December 3, 1873, resulted in pronouncing his case hopeless. He visited patients the next day, but was at once prostrated mentally and physically, and after ten weeks of darkness of intellect he died February 11, 1874.

Dr. Havilah Mowry Sprague,[2] born at Scotland, Windham County, Conn., July 4, 1835, received his first tuition in medicine in the office of Dr. Hutchins, West Killingly, Conn., and in 1858 became a student under Professor A. C. Post, New York City. He attended the New York University Medical College, and received at the close of the session of 1859–60 the first prize for the best report of clinical cases—a *post-mortem* set of instruments, which were finally used at his own autopsy.

He graduated March 4, 1864, receiving also a "Certificate of Honor" for having pursued a more extended course of study than is required by law. In the competitive examination for the position of "Junior Walker" in the New York Hospital, he passed an examination of superior excellence and was appointed. While here he passed the United States Army Medical Examining Board, standing No. 2 in general merit out of one hundred and twenty-five candidates examined (it is said that No. 1 was the son of the president

[1] Biographical sketch by Dr. James Hart Curry, read before the Westchester County Medical Society at its annual meeting, June 16, 1874.

[2] Biography by Dr. John Parsons, King's Bridge.

of the Examining Board). He was commissioned assistant surgeon United States army May 28, 1861, and ordered to New Mexico, but upon his arrival in Missouri was attached to the army of General Lyon, was present when he was killed at Springfield, and subsequently received the thanks of the commanding general for bravery and skill in attendance upon the wounded.

Dr. Sprague was transferred to Assistant Surgeon General Wood's office, in St. Louis, where he remained until early in 1863, when he was placed in command of the Eliot General Hospital, in St. Louis. That was shortly discontinued, and he took charge of the hospital steamer "City of Memphis," transporting the sick and wounded of Grant's army around Vicksburg to hospitals up the river. During the final days of the siege of Vicksburg he displayed exalted bravery and fidelity in attention to the men torn with shot and shell, sent to his steamer for such aid as the surgeons could render them. In November he was ordered on duty as secretary of the Army Medical Examining Board, in New York City, and then to command of the McDougall General Hospital, at Fort Schuyler, New York Harbor. Thence he was returned to the Examining Board, and in May, 1865, resigned from the army, his name standing high on the list for promotion. He began the practice of medicine at West Farms, and in 1868 moved to Fordham. He was appointed health officer of the town of West Farms, was the first physician to the "Home for Incurables," and first physician to the "House of Rest for Consumptives," at Tremont. He was a member of the Westchester County Medical Society, president of the Yonkers Medical Association, was elected a delegate to the American Medical Association for 1874 from the latter society, and was preparing to attend its meeting at Detroit, Mich., when he was arrested by death; was a corresponding member of the American Microscopic Society, and member of the New York Pathological Society. He was deeply learned in pathology, and marvelously skilled in the use of the microscope and the preparation of specimens. On May 30, 1874, he died at the "House of Rest," where he had been seized with a malarious attack during a visit on the previous day. An autopsy was made, and his brain was found to weigh sixty ounces.

John Foster Jenkins, A.M., M.D., was born at Falmouth, Mass., April 15, 1826. His preliminary course of medical reading was under Dr. Alexander M. Vedder, at Schenectady, N. Y., and in 1848 he received his degree from the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania. The next year he devoted to an extra course of didactic and clinical lectures at the Harvard Medical School, Boston. From May, 1849, to May, 1856, he practiced in the city of New York (except that from November, 1850, to July, 1851, he was in Europe, employing most of that time at the lectures and clinics and in the hospitals of Paris). In May, 1856, he located in Yonkers as a general practitioner of medicine, surgery and obstetrics. In August, 1861, he entered the service of the United States Sanitary Commission as hospital visitor and associate secretary, and in May, 1863, succeeded Frederick Law Olmsted as general secretary, an office which, in May, 1865, he was compelled to resign because of the failure of his health in the performance of its arduous obligations. He renewed his practice in Yonkers, and, in 1869, made a second voyage to Europe. On June 21, 1877, he was elected president of the Medical Society of the State of New York, but declined to accept because of his doubt as to the legality of the meeting at which he was chosen. Other offices which he held were as follows: Physician of the St. John's Riverside Hospital, at Yonkers; surgeon of the Yonkers Board of Police; senior warden of St. Paul's Parish, Yonkers; president of the Yonkers Medical Association (of which he was one of the founders); president of the Westchester County Medical Society; vice-president of the New York Obstetrical Society; permanent member of the American Medical Association; member of the American Public Health Association; corresponding Fellow of the New York Academy of Medicine; member of the American Social Science Association. In 1878 he spent six months at the sanitary resorts along the Mediterranean for the benefit of his health, and for nearly three years after his return kept steadily at his work. He died October 9, 1882, and, as an expression of the esteem in which he was held, the Yonkers Medical Association, at its next meeting, unanimously resolved to change its name to the "Jenkins Medical Association."

Dr. Jenkins was a student and an ardent lover of medical literature, both ancient and modern. He collected a large and valuable medical library. His contributions to the literature will be found in the list at the head of this chapter.

Dr. Henry L. Horton was born at Croton, Westchester County, December 6, 1826, and accumulated by manual labor the money which enabled him to enter the Albany Medical College, from where he graduated in 1858, but continued to serve some time afterward as house surgeon. In 1859 he removed to Morrisania and entered upon a large and successful practice. In 1879, and again in 1881, he visited Europe, but his health, which had greatly failed, was only partially restored, and on September 13, 1884, he again sailed. At Florence, Italy, a cold, which he caught while waiting outside the railway station, developed into p leurisy and ended fatally on February 24, 1885, at Rome. His remains were brought to his home and interred March 3d, at Sing Sing.

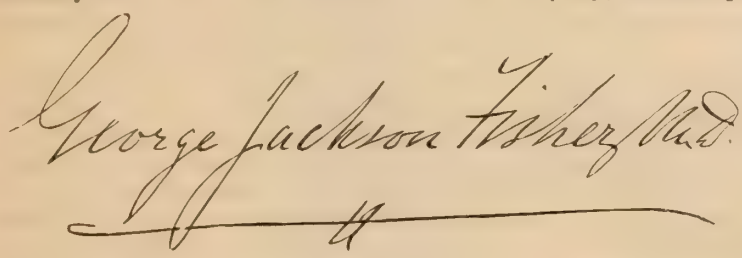
Dr. Platt Rogers Halsted Sawyer, born August 14, 1834, at Westport, N. Y., studied medicine with Dr. Bridges, at Ogdensburgh, N. Y., while engaged as principal of the High School of that town. After a course of lectures at the University of Vermont he



George Jackson Fisher, M.D.

entered the Albany Medical College, from which he graduated. At the opening of the Civil War he was commissioned assistant surgeon of the Forty-second Regiment, New York Volunteers, and was promoted to surgeon of the Ninety-sixth Regiment. After the muster out he practiced at Port Henry, N. Y., then at Gloversville, and in 1868 settled at Bedford, Westchester County, where he died March 31, 1885.

He was for two terms elected justice of the peace, and in 1881 was elected school commissioner and re-elected in 1884. He was a member, from its organization, of Stewart Hart Post, G. A. R., Mount Kisco, and its commander for one year; and an earnest and active member of Kisco Lodge, F. and A. M. Among other offices he had held were those of vice-president of the New York State Medical Society, president of the Westchester County Medical Society and for several years he was a trustee of the Bedford Academy.



BIOGRAPHY.

GEORGE JACKSON FISHER.

George Jackson Fisher, M.D., who has contributed more to the medical literature of Westchester County than any man either living or dead, was born in Westchester County, N. Y., November 27, 1825, and is a descendant of the early Dutch settlers, whose original name was Vischer. His father, who had been a merchant in the city of New York, removed to the central part of the State, and engaged in agricultural pursuits, when his son George was but eleven years of age. To his somewhat solitary life in the country the doctor attributes his fondness for Nature. To him she has always had "a voice of gladness, and a smile and eloquence of beauty," and much of his life has been spent in holding communion with her visible forms. This is the secret of his preference for rural and village life, instead of the allurements of a city practice. The principal portion of his office pupilage was under the direction of Dr. Nelson Nivison, then of Mecklenburgh, Tompkins County, N. Y., now professor of physiology and pathology in the Medical Department of the Syracuse University. Dr. Fisher attended his first courses of medical lectures at the Medical Department of the University of Buffalo, at which time Austin Flint, Sr., Frank Hastings Hamilton, James P. White and other celebrated professors gave character to this excellent school of medicine. He next attended the lectures and demonstrations at the Medical Department of the University of the City of New York, where Mott, Pattison and Draper were the great luminaries of science and practice. Here he graduated in the class of 1849. Immediately thereafter he entered into a copartnership with his preceptor. In 1851 he removed to Sing Sing, where he has continued his practice to the present time. In his time he has performed most of the important operations of surgery, including amputations, trephining, ovariotomy, the Cæsarean section, the removal of uterine fibroids, and, on two occasions, the ligation of the common carotid artery, with successful results. He has been the recipient of many honors, among which was the honorary degree of Master of Arts, in 1859, from Madison University; twice the presidency of the Medical Society of Westchester County; in 1864, vice-president of theMedical Society of the State of New York, and in 1874 president of the same; corresponding member of the Boston Gynæcological Society; Fellow of the New York Academy of Medicine; member of the New York Lyceum of Natural History; corresponding member of the New York Historical Society; permanent member of the Medical Society of the State of New York, and of the American Medical Association; delegate from the Medical Society of the State of New York to the International Medical Congress in Philadelphia, in 1876, etc. He has also held the office of president of the village of Sing Sing, and was for several years physician and surgeon of the State Prisons at Sing Sing, for both males and females. For twenty years he was brigade-surgeon, N. Y. S. M., and, for a like period, United States examining surgeon in the Pension Bureau.

On several occasions he served as a volunteer surgeon for the United States Sanitary Commission, after the great battles of the Rebellion, and also as medical director of a floating hospital.

His professional essays which have been thus far printed amount to not less than one thousand octavo pages. They embrace a variety of interesting topics; among them are the following titles: "Biographical Sketches of Deceased Physicians of Westchester County, N. Y." (1861); "On the Animal Substances employed as Medicines by the Ancients" (1862); "Diploteratology," or an essay on "Double-Monsters" (*Trans. of the Med. Soc. of the State of N. Y.*, 1865–68); "A Brief History of the Discovery of the Circulation of the Blood" (*Pop. Sci. Monthly*, July, 1877); "Teratology" (*Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia*, vol. iv.); "Influence of the Maternal Mind in the Production of Malformations" (*Amer. Journ. of Insanity*, vol. xxvi. January, 1870); "Sketches of the Lives, Times

and Works of some of the Old Masters of Anatomy, Surgery and Medicine" (consisting of twenty *sketches*, in *Annals of Anatomy and Surgery*, vols. ii.–viii., 1880–83); "History of Surgery" (*International Encyclopædia of Surgery*," vol. vi., N. Y., 1886). Several minor articles could be added to the above list.

Dr. Fisher has shown a profound interest in the literature of his profession, both ancient and modern. His library, which is quite well known to the medical scholars of the country, contains about four thousand volumes, including many of the rarest books now existing, in most of the departments of the healing art. There is, perhaps, no collection of the medical classics equal to his to be found in private hands in the United States. It includes large series of works illustrating the development of anatomy, surgery, materia medica and medicine, from the earliest periods to the present time. His collections of works pertaining to the history of medicine, and the biography of physicians and surgeons, are quite extensive.

The doctor has also been to great pains and cost in collecting the bibliography of teratology, a subject to which he has bestowed special attention. Mention should also be made of his collection of medals relating to the medical profession; and, also, of his collection of more than one thousand engraved portraits of celebrated physicians, surgeons, anatomists and medical authors. His library is enriched by a well-selected collection of medical essays, embracing about three thousand pamphlets, all carefully catalogued and indexed. His private museum contains collections of typical objects in conchology, palæontology, mineralogy and archæology. The latter department is quite rich in specimens of the stone implements of the American aborigines.

It is to Dr. Fisher that we are indebted for the history of the town of Ossining, which forms one of the chapters of this work.

THE JAY FAMILY.

The Jay family,[1] so well-known throughout Westchester County, and indeed throughout the whole country, trace their ancestry to Pierre Jay, who left France on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

He was an active and opulant merchant, extensively and profitably engaged in commerce. He married Judith, a daughter of Mr. Francois, a merchant in Rochelle. One of her sisters married M. Mouchard, whose son was a director of the French East India Company. Pierre Jay had three sons and one daughter. The sons were Francis, who was the eldest; Augustus, born March 23, 1665 and Isaac. The daughter's name was Frances. Mr. Jay seems to have been solicitous to have one of his sons educated in England. He first sent his eldest, but he unfortunately died of sea-sickness on the passage. Notwithstanding this distressing event, he immediately sent over Augustus, who was then only twelve years old. In 1683, he recalled Augustus and sent him to Africa, but to what part or for what purpose is now unknown.

During the absence of Augustus, the persecution of the Protestants in France became severe; and Pierre Jay became one of its objects. Dragoons were quartered in his house, and his family were subjected to serious annoyance. He was imprisoned in the castle of Rochelle, but was released through the influence of some Roman Catholic connections. Having at the time several vessels out at sea which were expected soon in port, he desired a Protestant pilot in his employ to take the first of these vessels that should arrive to a place agreed upon the Island of Rhé. The ship that arrived first was one from Spain, of which he was the sole owner. The pilot was faithful to his trust, and in due time Mr. Jay reached England and rejoined his family, whom he had sent to England some time before, at Plymouth.

Augustus Jay returned to France from Africa, ignorant of these family changes. As it was unsafe to appear in Rochelle openly, he was secreted for some time by his aunt, Madame Mouchard, a Protestant, but whose husband was a Roman Catholic. With the help of his friends he escaped to the West Indies, and thence to Charleston, S. C. The climate proving unfavorable, he removed to Philadelphia and afterwards to Esopus on the Hudson River, where he entered into business; but ultimately settled in New York. He re-visited France and England in 1692, and saw his father and sister; his mother had lately died.

In 1697 he married, in New York Anna Maria, daughter of Balthazar Bayard, the descendant of a Protestant professor of theology at Paris in the reign of Louis XIII., who had been compelled to leave Paris and take refuge with his wife and children in Holland; whence several members of the family came to America. Mrs. Jay was a woman of eminent piety. It is mentioned that she died while on her knees in prayer.

Augustus Jay lived to the good old age of eighty-six, respected and esteemed by his fellow citizens, and died in New York where he had pursued his calling as a merchant with credit and success, March 10, 1751.

Peter Jay, only son of Augustus, married Mary, daughter of Jacobus VanCortlandt, January 20, 1728. Like his father, he was a merchant in the city of New York. Having earned a fortune which added to the property he had acquired by inheritance and marriage, he thought sufficient, he resolved when little more than forty years old, to retire into the country, and for this purpose purchased a farm at Rye, where he died April 17, 1782.

James Jay, third son of Peter, born October 16, 1732, became Sir James Jay, Kt.; he resided for some years in England, and returned after the Revolution

[1] The Jay family and John Clarkson Jay, M.D., (compiled from a sketch of the Jay family in "Baird's History of Rye.")



John C. Gray

to New York, where he lived until his death, October 20, 1815. On his return from England in 1784 or 1785, he brought propositions from the Countess of Huntington to some of the States of the Union, for establishing settlements of emigrants among the Indians, with a view to civilizing them, and converting them to Christianity. General Washington in a letter to him dated January 25, 1785, expresses his entire approval of the plan, and suggests that it should be brought before Congress.[1]

Peter, fourth son of Peter Jay, and brother of the former, was born December 19, 1734, and married in 1789, Mary Duyckinck. Though he had the misfortune of losing his eyesight in early life through an attack of small-pox, many interesting stories are related of his ingenuity and sagacity and he is said to have possessed a fine mind and an excellent character.

John Jay, sixth son of Peter, was born December 12, 1745. His boyhood was spent at Rye and New Rochelle. He was admitted to the bar in 1768. On April 28, 1774, he married Sarah, daughter of William Livingston, afterwards governor of New Jersey. He soon took a foremost position in the politics of the country, and was prominent in the debates of the first and the second Continental Congress. In 1777 he was appointed chief justice of the State of New York. In 1778 he was elected president of Congress. In 1779 he was sent as Minister to Spain, and from thence, in 1780, went to Paris as Commissioner to assist in the negotiation of a treaty of peace with Great Britain. He returned to New York in 1784, after an absence of five years, and was received with tokens of esteem and admiration. December 21, 1784, he was appointed by Congress, secretary for foreign affairs, and held the office for five years. He was one of the contributors to *The Federalist*. In 1789 he was appointed chief justice of the United States,—an office which he was the first to fill. In 1794 he was sent as special Minister to London, upon a delicate and most important mission, relating to difficulties growing out of unsettled boundaries and certain commercial complications. He discharged this duty with great ability, and upon his return to America, in 1795, was elected by a large majority Governor of the State of New York. At the end of three years he was re-elected, and at the expiration of a second term was solicited to become a candidate for election a third time. But he had determined to renounce public life, and though nominated again in 1800, to the office of chief justice of the United States, declined the honor, and retired to his paternal estate, at Bedford; a property—part of the Van Cortlandt estate—which his father had acquired by marriage with Mary, a daughter of Jacobus Van Cortlandt. There he lived for twenty-eight years a peaceful and honored life. In 1827 he was seized with severe illness, and after two years of weakness and suffering, was struck with palsy, May 14, 1829, and died three days after. He was buried in the family cemetery at Rye. His public reputation as a patriot and statesman of the Revolution was second only to that of Washington, and his private character as a man and a Christian is singularly free from stain or blemish.[2]

Peter Augustus, eldest son of John Jay, was born January 24, 1776. He graduated from Columbia College in 1794 and studied law under Peter J. Monroe. He married Mary Rutherford, daughter of General Matthew Clarkson, and became prominent in the legal profession and public affairs. He was a member of the State Assembly in 1816; recorder of New York in 1818; a member of the convention which framed the constitution of the State in 1821, and for many years president of the New York Historical Society, trustee of Columbia College, etc. He received the degree of LL.D. in 1831, from Harvard, and in 1835 from Columbia. He died February 20, 1843.

John Clarkson Jay, M.D., eldest son of Peter Augustus, was born September 11, 1808, and married Laura, daughter of Nathaniel Prime. He is the proprietor of the estate at Rye, and the present well-known representative of the family in Westchester County. After a thorough preparation in private schools, among which were those of the blind teacher, Mr. Nelson, and the McCulloch school at Morristown, N. Y., he entered Columbia College, from which he graduated, together, with the late Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, and many other distinguished men in the class of 1827.[3] In 1831 he took his degree as M.D. He has been a deep student of natural history, especially of conchology, and the valuable collection of shells, formerly in his possession, and which is now in the New York Museum of Natural History, having been purchased by Miss Wolf and presented to that institution by her, in memory of her father, has the reputation of being the finest in the country. On this branch Dr. Jay has written several pamphlets, among which are the following: "Catalogue of Recent Shells, etc.," New York, 1835, 8vo, pp. 56; "Description of New and Rare Shells, with four plates," New York, 1836, 2d ed., pp. 78; "A Catalogue, &c., together with a description of new and Rare Species," New York, pp. 125, 4to., ten plates. The article on shells in the narrative of Commodore Perry's expedition to Japan, is also by him. He has been connected with many prominent literary and social organizations, both in Westchester County and in the city of New York, where he spends much of his time. He has been for many years a trustee of Columbia College, and has, at two different periods, served as trustee of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the City of New York. He was one of the founders and at one time recording secretary of the New York Yacht Club, the annals of which will show the lively interest which he took in its management and general

[1] "Writings of Washington," by Jared Sparks. Vol. IX., pp. 86–89.

[2] "The Life of John Jay," in 2 vols. By his son, William Jay.

[3] See "Continued Catalogue of Columbia College."

affairs. The records of the New York Lyceum of Natural History, now known as the New York Academy of Natural Sciences, will exhibit the interest manifested by him in that most useful organization.

Dr. Jay is an Episcopalian and has been connected for many years with Christ Church, Rye, of which he is warden. He is well known throughout Westchester County, where he has long been greatly appreciated for his social and literary qualities.

These and many other illustrious names have adorned the history of the Jay family in America, the members of which have ever been faithful to their country, faithful to their religion and faithful to themselves. Their residence there has added lustre to Westchester County, and their noble influence will be remembered while American history continues to be read.

WILLIAM ANDERSON VARIAN.

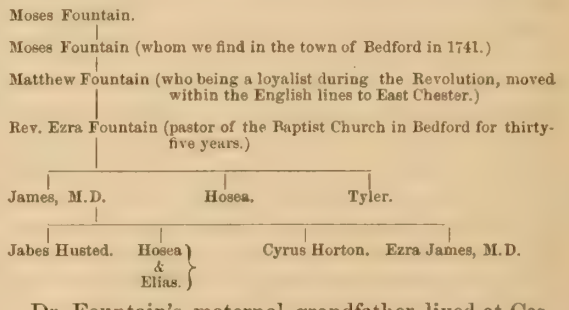
William Anderson Varian, M.D., is descended from an old French family, who came to this country at an early date, the regular line of descent being as follows: First, Isaac, who was living in New York in 1720 and died about 1800; second, James, born January 10, 1734, died December 11, 1800; third, James, born November 22, 1765, died December 26, 1841; fourth, Dr. William A. Varian, who was born at Scarsdale January 23, 1820. His mother was Elizabeth, daughter of John Cornell, a member of the Society of Friends and of a family noted for patriotism and virtue. He attended school in his native place up to the age of sixteen, and then went to White Plains, where he was a student at the academy for three years. He then entered the office of Livingston Roe, M.D., and continued with him for the same period. The death of his father, which occurred about that time, rendered it necessary for him to labor for his own support, and for a while he was employed as a teacher in East Chester. He afterwards entered the office of Dr. James R. Wood, a prominent physician of New York, and remained under his instruction for three years, at the same time attending the lectures at the medical department of the University of the City of New York, where he graduated, with the degree of M.D., March 4, 1846. After practicing for one year in New York he removed to King's Bridge, which has ever since been his home, and has been constantly employed in the practice of his profession. In 1849 he purchased a portion of the old Macomb estate and erected his present residence. He married Frances Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Losee, September 11, 1845. Their children were Sarah (deceased), Pamelia (wife of Maynard L. Granger), James (of Neola, Iowa), George Dibble (deceased), Sarah and Alice (both deceased).

Dr. Varian is one of the oldest residents of King's Bridge and thoroughly acquainted with the history of the locality and its early families. When he commenced practice, the country round was thinly settled, and his rides to visit his patients extended from One Hundred and Tenth Street on one hand to Greenburgh on the other. He was also frequently called to the villages on the western bank of the Hudson, and on one occasion, while crossing during a cold winter night, his boat became fast in the floes of floating ice and drifted below Fort Washington; he and his two companions narrowly escaping a watery grave. He was present when ground was broken for the Hudson River Railroad and was surgeon for the company of contractors, they paying him at the rate of twenty-five cents a month for each man on the work.

In 1850 he made the acquaintance of Dr. Edwin N. Bibby, a prominent physician of New York, and this acquaintance ripened into a deep friendship, which lasted till the death of Dr. Bibby, in 1882. He was for many years his family physician, Dr. Bibby having retired from practice and spent the last years of his life on the Van Cortlandt Manor. During the late war Dr. Varian was a strong friend of the Union and plainly outspoken in his sentiments. During the riots in 1863 his life was repeatedly threatened, and for a while he made his professional visits armed with a double-barreled gun and a revolver, which he would have unhesitatingly used had occasion required. In politics and religion he maintains independent and liberal views, and the evening of his life is passed in the enjoyment of friends and home. He had for many years been one of the police surgeons of New York and commands the respect of his professional brethren.

HOSEA FOUNTAIN, M.D.

Hosea Fountain, M.D., the second son of James Fountain, M.D., was born at Jefferson Valley, a hamlet in the northern portion of Yorktown, July 24, 1817. His ancestry, both paternal and maternal, were English. The Fountain family, probably, were of Norman origin, and are supposed to be descended from Sir John Fountain, a monument to whom is found in a village church-yard in Devonshire, England. Moses Fountain emigrated from Bedfordshire, England, in 1650. The genealogy is as follows,—



Dr. Fountain's maternal grandfather lived at Coscob, Conn., prior to the Revolution, but being a loyalist his property was confiscated and he was obliged to accept a settlement at the hands of the British government at St. John, New Brunswick. Charlotte Husted was born there, but at the age of twelve or thirteen years, came to New York to reside



William A Varian MD

with her aunt, who was a Van Guilder. Here, doubtless, Dr. James Fountain made her acquaintance.

Hosea Fountain received his English education in the district school of his native village, and at a school kept by a Rev. Mr. Patterson, in Patterson, Putnam County, N. Y. His professional studies were pursued at several schools. He attended the medical department of Fairfield College, Fairfield, N. Y., 1835–36; Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, Pa., 1836–37; College of Physicians and Surgeons New York, 1837–38, and would have graduated at the latter in March, 1838, if he had reached his majority. For this reason we find him in 1838–39 at the Medical Institution of Yale College, New Haven, Ct. He received his degree of M.D. March 26, 1839, from the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York, and spent six months in the New York Hospital. He practiced medicine with his father at Jefferson Valley for a time, and after his marriage with Mary Horton, daughter of Joel and Harriet Montrous Horton, in February 19, 1840, he settled at Peekskill. In 1843 he removed to Somers, and later in 1854 or 1855 he purchased the property on which he resided, until his death, August 28, 1885. Yorktown and the adjoining town of Somers were the field of his professional labors, until April, 1884, more than forty years. He was laid to rest September 1, 1885. The funeral took place in the Presbyterian Church, which was filled with those who, themselves or in their families, had had the benefit at one time or another of his professional services. June 20, 1872, he married, as his second wife, Mary Brett, daughter of James and Helen Ann Brett, of Fishkill and grand-daughter of Ebenezer White, M.D., of Somers. She survives him. The issue of the first marriage are Harriet Louise, Elias, Charlotte (now Mrs. Erskine Westervelt, of Hackensack, N. J.), and Mary Emma (now Mrs. Theodore F. Tompkins, of Yorktown.) Of the second, Grace, Elias Fountain (who was second lieutenant of the Sixth New York Heavy Artillery, and died from the effects of a wound received at Cedar Creek, Va., October 19, 1864), and his sister, Harriet Louise, who died ten days later from a gangrenous sore-throat, contracted from him while caring for him in his last illness.



Rosa Fountain

THE HASBROUCK FAMILY.

The Hasbrouck family is of French Huguenot origin, and descended from Abraham Hasbroucq, who was a native of Calais. His father moved to the Palatinate, in Germany, with his two sons, Jean and Abraham, and a daughter. Here they lived for several years, and in 1675 Abraham Hasbroucq came to America "with several of his acquaintances, the descendants or followers of Peter Waldus." He landed at Boston, and in July, 1675, found his way to Esopus, Ulster County, N. Y., where he found his brother Jean, "who had come two years before." The next year he married Marie, daughter of Christian Duyou (Deyo), with whom he was acquainted in the Palatinate. She died March 27, 1741, at the age of eighty-eight. In 1677 he, with twelve others, obtained a patent from Governor Andross, for a large tract of land at New Paltz, in Ulster County, where he and his brother settled and "lived and died there." Abraham Hasbroucq was one of the founders of the Walloon Protestant Church, at New Paltz. He was a very prominent citizen, and for many years a member of the Provincial Assembly. On Sunday, March 17, 1717, he was struck with apoplexy, "whereof he died very suddenly at a very good old age, and rests in the Lord till his coming to judge both the quick and the dead." He left five children,—Joseph, Solomon (who died April 3, 1753), Daniel (died January 25th, 1759, aged sixty-seven), Benjamin and Rachel, (wife of Louis Dubois).

Joseph, the eldest son, married, in 1706, Elsie, daughter of Captain Joachim Schoonmaker, whose father, Hendrick Joakimse Schoonmaker, "was a native of Hanse Town, in Germany." Joseph Hasbrouck died January 28, 1723–24, age forty years and three months. His wife, Elsie, died July 27, 1764, aged seventy-eight years, eight months, three days, "and was buried at New Paltz by the side of her husband. She brought up all her children in honor and credit." They left "six sons and four daughters,"—Abraham; Isaac D.; Rachel, born 1715, died 1756, wife of Jan Eltinge; Mary, wife of Abraham Hardenberg, born

January 10, 1714, died 1774; Sarah, wife of William Osterhoudt, born February 21, 1709, died 1780; Benjamin; Jacob, who married Mary Hoornbeck; and Colonel Jonathan.[1] The names of one son and one daughter do not appear. Abraham, the eldest son, was born on the old family homestead at Guilford, Ulster County, August 21, 1707. He married his first cousin, Catharine Bruyn, January 5, 1788–89. She was born June 24, 1720, and died August 10, 1793. She was a daughter of Jacobus Bruyn, and his wife, Tryntie, who was a daughter of Captain Joakim Schoonmaker, and died August 27, 1763, aged seventy-eight. The father of Jacobus Bruyn "was a native of Norway, and came here in the Dutch time, and married Gertruy Esselstein." Jacobus Bruyn lived at Bruynswyck, in Ulster County, and died November 21, 1744, aged sixty-four. He had a sister Esther, who married Zachariah Hoffman. Abraham Hasbrouck was one of the most prominent men of Ulster County, and was for thirty years a member of the Legislature. He settled in Kingston in 1735, and died there November 10, 1791, and "was buried the next day with the honors of war." He left eight children,—Elsie, wife of Abraham Salisbury; Catharine, wife of Abram Houghtaling; Mary, wife of David Bevier; Jonathan, who married Catharine, daughter of Cornelius and Catharine Wynkoop; Joseph, who married Elizabeth Bevier; Jacobus, who married Maria, daughter of Charles De Witt; and Daniel, who married Rachel, daughter of Colonel Jonathan Hasbrouck (his uncle), of Newburgh.

Isaac Hasbrouck, the second son of Joseph, was born March 12, 1712 (o.s.). In 1766 he married Antie Low, widow of John Van Gaasbeck. They had three children—Joseph, Elsie and Jane, wife of John Crispell. Isaac died April 6, 1778, "and was buried at the Shawangunk church-yard, near the burying-place of Jacobus Bruyn's family." His widow, Antie, died October 2, 1784.

Joseph Hasbrouck, the son of Isaac and Antie, married Cornelia, daughter of Edmond Schoonmaker, and they were the parents of nine children—Stephen; Sarah, wife of David Tuttle; Maria, wife of Thomas Ostrander; Jane, wife of Cornelius De Witt; Katy, wife of Samuel Johnson; Levi, George, Abel and Augustus.

Augustus Hasbrouck married Jane Eltinge, and left children—Dr. Stephen, of Yonkers; Dr. Joseph, of Dobbs Ferry; Wilhelmus, Cornelius, Richard, Augustus, Cornelia, wife of William Simpson, Abraham, James H., Aaron, David, Herman and Edward.

[1] Col. Jonathan Hasbrouck was the youngest child, and was born April 12, 1722. He married Tryntie, daughter of Cornelius Dubois, and settled in Newburgh. He died July 31, 1780, and "was buried on his own land by two of his sons, between his house and the North River." His homestead is the famous "Washington's Headquarters," at Newburgh, now owned by the State of New York. He left children—Cornelius, Isaac, Jonathan, Rachel and Mary. He was a very tall man, being six feet four inches in height.

Stephen Hasbrouck, M.D., son of Augustus Hasbrouck and Jane Elting, was born in Bergen County, N. J., January 29, 1842. His maternal grandfather was pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church at Paramus for thirty years. At the age of fourteen young Hasbrouck went to Great Falls, Mass., where he engaged as a clerk. He stayed three years, then returned home, and attended the Normal School at Trenton, and afterwards entered business as a commission merchant in New York. In 1862 he entered the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and afterwards studied in the New York Homœopathic Medical College. At the close of the late war a colony from New Orleans, composed of persons who had been disloyal to the Union, resolved to seek a new home in Brazil. They numbered about three hundred souls, and engaged the services of Dr. Hasbrouck as surgeon to the expedition. The experience of a few years convinced most of them that they had not bettered their condition by leaving their native country, and, through the influence of Dr. Hasbrouck, the captains of some of the United States war vessels were induced to bring back the relics of the colony, who returned much better reconciled to the government and the starry flag than when they went away. While in Brazil he wrote a history of the practice of homœopathy in that country, which was published by the *New England Medical Gazette*. He was on the island of St. Thomas during the hurricane and earthquake which devastated it, and published the first description of the fearful scene of destruction. On his return he graduated from the New York Homœopathic Medical College, and settled at Dobbs Ferry, where he remained three years in the practice of his profession. In 1874 he removed to New York, where he stayed till 1881, when he made a very extensive tour in Europe and the East, visiting Egypt and Palestine and most of the countries of the Old World. Returning from his travels in 1883, he settled in Yonkers, which has since been his home.

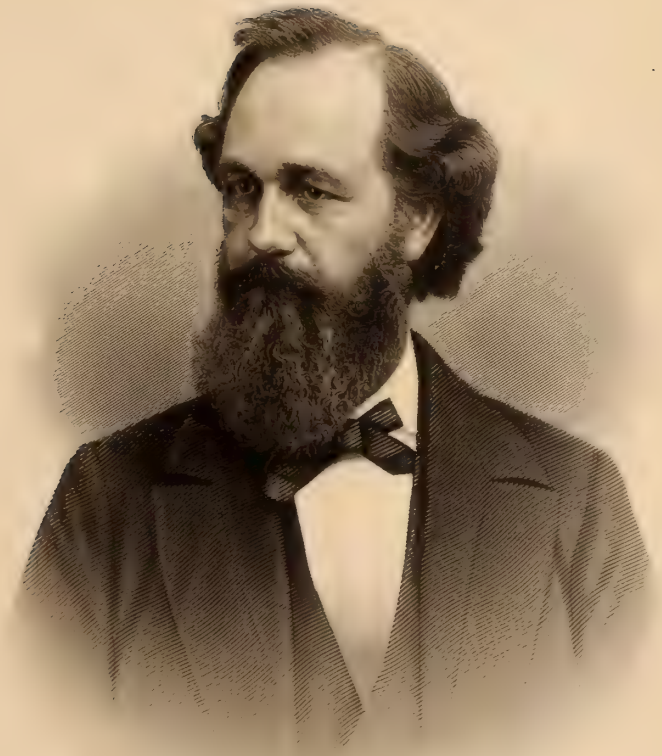
He married Anna M., daughter of Captain John Stillwell, of New York, and has two children—Augustus and Mabel. He holds a good position among the members of the homœopathic medical profession, and is esteemed as a useful and worthy citizen.

Dr. Hasbrouck's maternal grandfather, Wilhelmus Elting, was of Huguenot origin, and his ancestry could be traced back to Henry IV. of France. Dr. Hasbrouck was a surgeon in the Brazilian army during the war with Paraguay, and, while in South America, passed through several epidemics of small-pox and cholera. He was in St. Thomas during a violent epidemic of yellow fever, and the good results that followed his methods of treatment proved their efficacy.

Joseph Hasbrouck, M.D., was born in Bergen County, New Jersey, March 20, 1839, and remained in his native village till the age of fifteen, when he



Stephen Harbaugh M.D.



Joseph Hasbrouck



Levi W. Hagg

commenced teaching school, in which he was engaged for two years.

At the establishment of the New Jersey Normal School he entered that institution, and graduated in due time. He then engaged in teaching until he reached the age of twenty-nine. During the latter part of this period he pursued the study of medicine, and in 1869 graduated from the Medical Department of the University of the City of New York. He immediately investigated the system of homœopathy, and has since practiced it. His first year of practice was at Goshen, Orange County, N. Y. From thence he removed to Newton, Sussex County, N. J., and was the first to practice homœopathy in that county. In 1875 he removed to Dobbs Ferry, which has since been his place of residence. He is a member of the Westchester County Homœopathic Medical Society, and was its president for two years. He has been four times married. His wives were Sarah and Anna D., both daughters of Elias Dayton, of New Jersey, and cousins of Hon. Wm. L. Dayton; Emma, daughter of Steven Archer; and Ellen M., daughter of Rev. D. L. Marks, of the New York Conference. Of the children of Dr. Hasbrouck, his eldest son, Dayton, who died January 13, 1885, at the age of twenty four, was at the time of his death a member of the senior class of the New York Homœopathic College. His surviving children are Edith S. and Mabel E., twin daughters, and an infant son, David Marks.

Although not a professional politician, he has always taken a deep interest in political affairs, and is especially interested in all that pertains to the welfare of the locality in which he lives. He has been for several years a member of the Board of Education of Dobbs Ferry, and is its present president. He is also health officer of the village, and president of the savings bank. He has been connected with the Republican party since its organization, and has always taken a deep interest in its success.

His residence is one of the historical land marks of Westchester County. It is the old Livingston mansion, formerly the residence of Van Brugh Livingston. It was at this house that General Washington, Governor Clinton and General Sir Guy Tarleton met on the suspension of hostilities, May 3, 1783, to arrange for the evacuation of New York. The mansion, which is a well-preserved relic of olden times, stands on the east side of the old Albany post road, a short distance below Livingston Avenue. The place was sold by Van Brugh Livingston to Steven Archer in 1836, and was his residence till the time of his death, which occurred in 1877, and was purchased from his heirs by Dr. Hasbrouck in 1882.

Dr. Levi Wells Flagg was born in West Hartford, Conn., February 14, 1817. After receiving a thorough primary education, he became a student of Yale College, where he graduated in 1839. Among his classmates were Charles Astor Bristed and John Sherwood, of New York, Rev. Francis Wharton, joint author of "Wharton and Stille's Medical Jurisprudence," and Hon. H. L. Dawes, of Massachusetts, ex-Governor Hall of Missouri, Prof. J. D. Whitney, of California, the eminent chemist and geologist, and others who have become distinguished.

After graduating he went south and spent three years in teaching in St. Francisville, Louisiana. Returning to his native place in 1842, he studied medicine for a year with Dr. Pinckney W. Ellsworth. At the expiration of that time removing to New York City, he entered the office of Prof. Willard Parker, with whom he remained two years. In 1847 he graduated at the College of Physicians and Surgeons (old Crosby Street school), and in the following year established himself in Yonkers as an allopathic physician. Shortly afterward he was induced to investigate homœopathy, the result being a conviction as he said of its superiority over the old system of practice. He at once became its strong advocate and the pioneer practitioner in the county. His success in introducing the new system was most marked; he grew rapidly in favor with the community, acquiring wealth and a pre-eminent position among the physicians of the locality.

Notwithstanding his change of faith, the relations between himself and his old teacher, Professor Parker, greatly to the honor of the latter ever continued of the most friendly character.

Dr. Flagg avoided politics entirely, and never held any public office of a political character. He always devoted himself wholly to his profession, in which he was a zealous and untiring worker; a portion of a year spent in Europe and a short time in Mexico, being almost the only relaxation he allowed himself between the commencement of his practice and his death on May 15, 1884.

When, in 1865, the Westchester County Homœopathic Medical Society was organized, he was elected its president and held that office for three years. He was also a member of the American Institute of Homœopathy.

He married on May 17, 1848, Charlotte Whitman, of Hartford, Conn., and had eight children, five of whom are still living. Their names are Howard W., Marietta W., Lucy W., George A. and Robert N. Flagg, M. D., who succeeds to the practice of his father.[1]

It is with pleasure that we present our readers with the above brief outline sketch of one of the most popular and successful physicians as well as most useful and upright citizens that it has ever been the good fortune of Westchester County to possess. Dr. Flagg came to Yonkers when the village was in its infancy and for thirty-six years watched its development and growth. No one was or could be better known than he. By his steadfast integrity, his pro-

[1] The above with slight modification is from the "Biographical cyclopedia of homœopathic physicians and surgeons." (S. A. George & Co. 1873.)

fessional ability and his genial and winning manner he won for himself the respect of the business community, an extensive and lucrative practice and a high social standing. His death not only creates a vacancy beside the family hearth, but is also a loss to the city and county in which he lived, which is irreparable.

ADRIAN K. HOFFMAN.

Dr. Adrian K. Hoffman, who is remembered as one of the most distinguished physicians of Westchester County, was born at the Manor of Livingston, in Columbia County, March 26, 1797. Entering the profession of medicine at an early age, his first experience was on a three years' cruise as surgeon's mate on board the United States man-of-war "Franklin," commanded by Commodore (afterwards Admiral) Charles Stewart. After his return Dr. Hoffman settled at Sing Sing, and for nearly half a century practiced his profession with great success. His reputation was widely extended, and he was justly esteemed by his fellow-citizens as a wise and skillful physician and a prudent and able man of business. He was chosen several times as president of the village of Sing Sing by unanimous elections.

He married Jane, daughter of Dr. John Thompson, of Saratoga County, with whom he had studied medicine. The issue of this marriage were Cornelia, who married Alfred Buckhout, and died in January, 1866; John Thompson, who became in succession twice recorder, twice mayor of the city of New York and twice Governor of the State, and who married Ella, daughter of Henry Starkweather, of New York; Mary E., wife of Colonel Charles O. Joline; Emma Kissam, who married Rev. M. M. Wells, and occupies the homestead at Sing Sing; and Katharine, who first married Captain Charles C. Hyatt, United States Army, and, after his decease, married General William H. Morris.

After a long life of active usefulness Dr. Hoffman died May 6, 1871, universally beloved and mourned by all his neighbors. On the day of his funeral the houses and places of business were draped in mourning and all business was suspended. He is spoken of with loving respect by those who knew him and yet survive, and by the children of others, with whom his name is a household word.

HENRY ERNEST SCHMID, M.D.

Henry Ernest Schmid, M.D., who is a well-known member of the medical profession, was born in Saxony, Prussia, May 1, 1824. His father, who was a publisher and connected with the famous family of Tauchnitz, intended him to follow his profession. After receiving his early education at the great Latin school at Halle, Dr. Schmid commenced a higher literary course for that purpose. His father, unfortunately, incurred the censure of the government, and this changed the whole tenor of the son's life. The latter emigrated to this country in 1853, and soon after his arrival went to Virginia, and having an early predilection for the study of medicine, pursued that branch of science at Winchester and at the University of Virginia. For a while he was connected with a newspaper in Richmond, and in 1859 was sent, under the auspices of the Episcopal Board of Foreign Missions, as medical missionary to Japan. While in that country he organized a hospital and his practice increased to an enormous extent among the natives, who were quick to learn the superiority of foreign practitioners. Owing to the failure of his health he obtained a position on board the flag-ship of an English surveying fleet as interpreter. In this capacity he visited Corea and northern China, Borneo, Java and Sumatra. The ship, having narrowly escaped destruction in a typhoon, went to Cape Town for repairs, and Dr. Schmid embraced the opportunity to make an extensive tour in southern Africa. He afterwards went to St. Helena and the Azores, and thence to England, returning to this country in 1862.

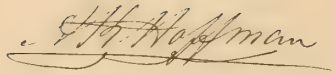
He came to White Plains, Westchester County, in 1859, when he made a short visit. Upon his return from England he settled in this place, and has been engaged in the practice of his profession to the present time. With a devoted love of science, Dr. Schmid, while in Japan, made many valuable collections for the Smithsonian Institution, which led to his being made a member of the Oriental Society, and of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

In his profession he has enjoyed a very extensive practice, and is justly considered one of the leading physicians of the county. He is a member of the American Medical Association, the State Medical Society and the Westchester County Medical Society. As a prominent citizen of the village he is president of the Board of Health, and of the Board of Education, and is a member of the vestry of Grace Episcopal Church. He is also the physician in charge of St. Vincent Retreat for the Insane. He married Eugenia, daughter of Eugene T. Prudhomme, of White Plains, and they have three children—Theodora, Gertrude and Permetta.

CHARLES J. NORDQUIST.

The father of Charles J. Nordquist, M.D., the well-known physician, was Lars Peter Nordquist, who was born at Sounerly, in Sweden, March 29, 1781. He was a surgeon in the Swedish army, which he entered April 22, 1802, remaining in the employ of the government till his decease, in 1824. He was an eminent physician and was the recipient of many high appointments both in military and civil life. On the 16th and 17th of March, 1809, he accompanied the Royal Mounted Life Guards in their retreat upon the ice over the Gulf of Bothnia, and afterward became surgeon to Bernadoth, King of Sweden. On January 3, 1812, he married Sophia Christina Weu-



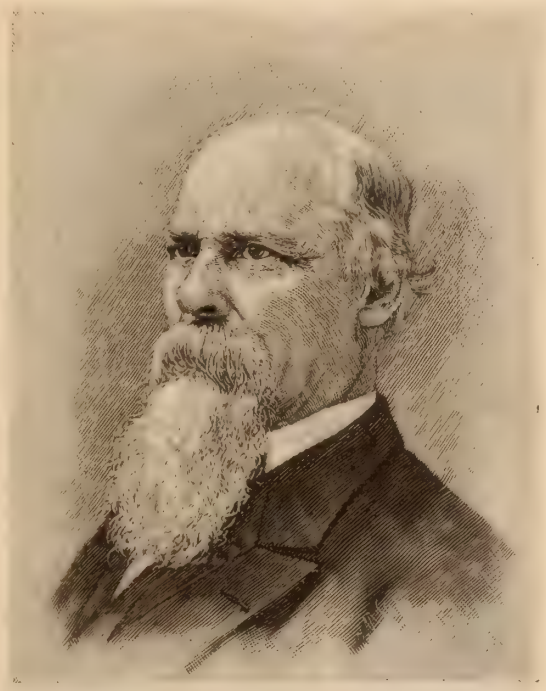




Homestead Journal.

gren (daughter of Ivan Weugren and Sophia Christina Habicht) who was born December 18, 1782, and died June 10, 1830.

Charles J., their son, was born at Jousered, near Gottenberg, Sweden, on the 16th of July, 1821. He was left at three years of age in the care of his father's cousin, Lars Peter Afzelius, dean of Alingsas, who sent him at the age of nine to the high school in that place. Here he remained for eight years, when he removed to Stockholm for the purpose of acquainting himself with the drug trade. After three years of practical experience as a pharmacist, he entered the Carlingasta Institute, where he studied medicine, graduating in 1842. A year spent in traveling through Europe followed his graduation, after which he sailed for the United States, arriving at New York in 1843. He engaged first as a drug clerk, but in 1848, having meanwhile mastered the English language, he established a store of his own on the corner of Broome and Mulberry Streets, New York.



Chs F. Nordquist M.D.

Disposing of this at a profit to himself, he engaged until 1854 in the fitting out and selling of drug-stores. He then entered the University Medical College of the city of New York, from which he graduated in 1856. After practicing two years in New York City, he removed to Tuckahoe, N.Y. In 1861 he joined the Ninth Regiment as surgeon, and like his father's, his army life was an eventful one. From the time he was commissioned, he rose rapidly in favor with his superiors and received one mark of respect after another with enviable rapidity. He was appointed chief surgeon of the Third Brigade, medical director of the Second Division, and finally medical inspector of the First Army Corps.

On February 1, 1864, he received a note of thanks from the commanding general for the efficient manner in which he had performed his duties; and two years after the departure of the Ninth Regiment from New York, he was presented by its non-commissioned officers and privates with a handsome gold watch and chain as a token of their respect and esteem.

Unlike some of the officers of the late war, Dr. Nordquist did not make use of his official power to shirk his duty in the hour of danger, but was present and actively engaged at every battle, in which his division participated. On the fields of Harper's Ferry, Cedar Mountain, Rappahannock Station, Thoroughfare Gap, Second Bull Run, Chantilly, South Mountain, Antietam, First Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, The Wilderness, Laurel Hill, Spottsylvania and Coal Harbor he was present in person, administering the comforts of his profession to the sick and dying soldiery. As a surgeon, he was most successful, and several of his cases are mentioned in the surgical history of the war of the Rebellion.

At the battle of Gettysburg, on the 1st of July, 1863, he was taken prisoner by the Confederates and was held for three days and nights upon one pint of flour without the means of preparing it for food. Being placed by his captors in one of the churches of the town, he escaped by crawling into the steeple and remaining concealed till the advance of the Union troops. On June 23, 1864, he closed his career in the army and sought again the quiet of his home in Tuckahoe. Here he has since remained, honored and respected among his associates in the profession and looked up to with pleasure by the many friends who surround the home of his adoption.

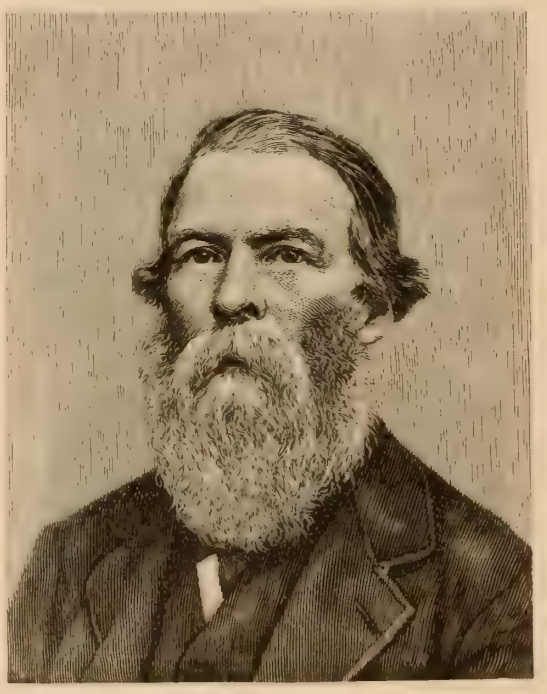
He is a Republican in politics, and held the office of coroner for four years. He is a member of the Lutheran Church, and is well-known for his liberality. He married on April 28, 1846, Harriet Louise Goodwin, and has had three children, all daughters, of whom one died in early youth and two still survive and are married.

D. JEROME SANDS.

To chronicle within the limits of this work, all that is either important or interesting in the record of a family prominent in English and American history for a period of more than eight hundred years would be impossible, and but a brief outline of it can be given here.

The first trace of the family is found in the reign of

Edward the Confessor (son of Ethelred and Emma) before the conquest, 1042 to 1066, when Ulnod dwelt in the Isle of Wight, in the County of Hampshire, at a place called Sandes. From this the surname (at the time of the Holy Wars) of Sandes, Sandis, Sandys, Sands is derived. Sir John Sandys of Hampshire was a knight-baronet, in the reign of Richard II., 1377–1399. John Sands, born in 1485 at Horborm, Straffordshire, died in 1625 at the age of one hundred and forty. His wife lived to be one hundred and twenty years old. Sir William Sandys was the first baron of the name. By his eminent services to the Kings Henry VII. and VIII., he advanced his family to wealth and honor. He was prominent in the suppression of the Cornish Rebellion, and was created Lord Sandys in 1524 by Henry VIII., who appointed him Lord Chamberlain in 1526. The same king made him a Knight of the Garter and employed him in the wars with France, after which he was created Baron.



Sir William, Lord Sandys, his grandson, was a member of Parliament, and one of the commissioners appointed by Queen Elizabeth for the trial of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, January 16, 1571; also for that of Mary Queen of Scots, October 12, 1586, and Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, April 18, 1589. He was imprisoned for a short time in 1600 for joining with Robert, Earl of Sussex, in an insurrection in London. His princely mansion at Basingstoke, called the Vine, was famous as the reception place of the State embassy sent by King Henry IV. of France to Queen Elizabeth in 1601.

Edwin Sandys, D. D., was an eminent Prelate of England. He was born in 1519, became Master of St. Catherine College in 1547, Prebendary of Peterboro in 1549 and of Carlisle in 1552. He was Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University in 1553, and a strong advocate of the reformation. He preached a sermon in favor of the royal claims of Lady Jane Grey, and refused to proclaim Mary Queen of Scots, for which he was deprived of his honors, sent to the Tower and afterward to Marshalsea, where he was imprisoned for seven months.

Pursued by the persecution of his enemies, he escaped from England in May 1554. In 1558, after the coronation of Elizabeth, he returned to England. Under her, he held many important positions. He was one of the nine Protestants sent to dispute with nine Catholics before Parliament, and in 1559 became Bishop of Worcester. He was appointed by Queen Elizabeth one of a commission under Bishop Parker to prepare a new translation of the Bible, known as the Bishops' Bible. In 1570 he became Bishop of London, and in 1576 Archbishop of York. He died at the Archiepiscopal palace of Southwell, July 10, 1588, and his alabaster tomb and effigy are looked upon by visitors to this day with peculiar interest.

[1] Sir Edwin Sandys, son of the preceding, born in Worcester, 1561, was an English statesman of great ability. He traveled extensively on the continent, after which he published "Europæ Speculum, or a Survey of the State of Religion in the Western part of the World." He was knighted by James I. in 1603, and became an influential member of the Second London Company for Virginia, into which he introduced the vote by ballot. He was the treasurer or chief officer of the company, and was indefatigable in promoting public prosperity and security. In 1620, Spanish influence having been exerted against him, King James, in violation of the charter, forbade his re-election. [2] George, a brother of Sir Edwin, was a famous English poet. He was educated at Oxford, and published "A Relation of a Journey Begun A.D. 1610, in Four Books, Containing a Description of the Turkish Empire, of Egypt, of the Holy Land and of the Remote Parts of Italy and Adjoining Islands;" also a "Translation of Ovid's 'Metamorphoses.'" In 1621 he became colonial treasurer of Virginia, where he distinguished himself by his public zeal. He executed all orders concerning staple commodities; to him is due the building of the first water mill; he promoted the establishment of iron works in 1621, and in the following

[1] From Appleton's "Encyclopædia."
[2] Also from Appleton.



Norman R. Freeman M.D.

year introduced ship building. While in Virginia he translated the last ten books of the "Metamorphoses," and, after returning to England, in 1626, he published the translation of the whole. He also wrote poetical versions of the Psalms, of the Book of Job, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, etc., and of the Song of Solomon. His life, by the Rev. J. H. Todd, is prefixed to "Selections from Sandy's Metrical Paraphrases." (London, 1839.) Samuel Sandys, who, in 1741, accused Sir Robert Walpole of fraud and corruption, was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, in 1742; created Lord Sandys by George II., 1743; was First Commissioner of the Board of Trade, 1761; and died 1770. These and many other gentlemen whose names are conspicuous in English history, were members of the family in the direct line. Though many of their descendants have also been prominent in this country, the family is still influential in England. Its present representative there is Baron Augustus Frederick Arthur Sandys, born March 1, 1840; married, August 3, 1872, Augustus Ann, second daughter of the late Charles Des Voeux, Bart. His seat is at Ombersley Court, Droitwich. The first known member of the American family was Henry Sandy, who came to Boston, Mass., and established himself as a merchant. He was prominent as a religious worker, and upon one occasion, when he, with others, was in the act of starting a new church at Rowley, a clerk called him Sands, which was the origin of the present spelling.

D. Jerome Sands, M.D., president of the village of Port Chester, and one of the first physicians in Westchester County, is one of his direct descendants. In his qualities of perseverance and persistency in support of principle, Dr. Sands strongly resembles his illustrious ancestry. He was born November 26, 1814, and was the second child of David Sands and Elizabeth Brady, of New Castle, N. Y. His father, who was a farmer and civil engineer, early sent him to the school at his native place, after which he also attended a higher academy at Sing Sing, N. Y. After leaving Sing Sing he spent a year or two in farming and study together. At the close of this time he entered the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the city of New York, graduating in 1840. Shortly after this he began the long and successful professional career, in Port Chester, which has ended not only in the possession of an extended and lucrative practice, but in winning a host of warm and steadfast friends.

Dr. Sands has given much of his time to outside work. He is at present a director of the First National Bank of Port Chester. For over ten years he was trustee of the village, and is now its president. He is also health officer of the town and a member of the County Medical Society. He married, on the 27th of April, 1842, Miss Ann Maria Green, of Port Chester, and has had three children,—one daughter, who died in childhood, and two sons, who are still living. Morton J. Sands, M.D., the oldest, practices with his father, and Purdy G., the youngest, who holds the position of town clerk, is a civil engineer at Port Chester. Dr. Sands has also a grandchild,—Benjamin J., a son of Morton J.

NORMAN K. FREEMAN.

Norman K. Freeman, M.D., who is the oldest physician in the southern portion of Westchester County, was born in Warren, Herkimer County, N. Y., May 3, 1814. The ancestors of the family were three brothers who came from the north of England, where the home is still found, in the latter part of the seventeenth century. They landed in Philadelphia, but one of them went to Massachusetts, and has many descendants in that portion of the country and in the northern part of this State. Another of the brothers was drowned in the Delaware River, and his widow, with the surviving brother, made their home at Woodbridge, N. J., where four generations of their descendants are interred in the old burying-ground.

Thomas Freeman, one of the descendants, was a soldier of the Revolution and a prisoner in the Sugar-House in New York, and on board a prison ship, from which he escaped by swimming. He married Sallie Moore, of Scotch descent. Their children were John, Smith, Ariel, Thomas, Linus, Moores, Rachel (wife of Moses Freeman, her cousin), Polly (wife of Thomas Edgar) and Henry. Of these children, Henry Freeman was born June 21, 1789. In his early manhood he learned the trade of a carpenter and subsequently went to Warren, where his uncle Isaac resided, and was the builder of the first mill in that place. He remained there till 1822, when he removed to Richfield, Otsego County, and purchased a farm on the west side of Canaderago Lake, which he made his home until his death, in 1869. He married, in 1813, Mercy, daughter of Holden and Rhoda Sweet, of Berlin, Rensselaer County, N. Y. Their children were Norman K.; George S., born August 25, 1815, and died unmarried Jan. 30, 1840; Emily, born Oct. 21, 1816 (wife of Borelli Ingalls); and Delos, born April 22, 1819. He died August 8, 1843, without descendants.

Dr. Norman K. Freeman remained on his father's farm, attended the district school, then taught school and worked by the month for the neighboring farmers, giving half his wages to his father and educating himself with the remainder. At the age of twenty-one he went to New York and served, until 1837, as a clerk in a store on Maiden Lane. In 1838 he returned to Richfield, and studied medicine with Dr. Alonzo Churchill. Two years later he went to Geneva and continued his studies under the instruction of Dr. Thomas Spencer, who was then president of the Geneva Medical College. He graduated February 8, 1842, and his diligence and skill were so well known to Dr. Spencer that he was received by him as a partner. In the fall of that year he was compelled, by the failing health of his brother Delos, to accompany him on a trip to the South, and after his death oc-

curred, in 1843, he came to Westchester and began practice with Dr. Wm. Bayard, a physician of great local prominence. He remained with Dr. Bayard till June, 1845, and then established a practice on his own account, which he has continued with unabated zeal to the present. He was the physician of St. John's College, at Fordham, from 1845 till 1850, when the failure of his health compelled him to retire to his farm in Richfield. He remained there till 1852, and then returned and resumed his practice, and purchased a homestead of William Simpson, on the west bank of Bronx River, which he has since made his residence. Under the administration of President Fillmore, he was for three years postmaster at West Farms, and was assistant inspector of the Metropolitan Board of Health while it continued to have an existence. Dr. Freeman was married, October 17, 1837, to Ann Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel W. Lowerre, of New York City, by whom he had four sons. Only two are now living,—Norman, who is a broker in New York, and Wm. Francis, who is in business in the city of Albany. Both are married and have children.

It is safe to say that there is no man to whom West Farms is more indebted for its present efficient Union schools than to Doctor Freeman. His exertions in this respect were crowned with well-merited success, though his efforts met with the most determined opposition from many who might have been expected to show better judgment.

The Union school established by his active zeal and determination was the first organized in the State under the act of 1853. For twenty-one years he was a member of the Board of Education, and for twenty years of that time clerk of the board. He was one of the first to anticipate the time when the sparsely settled districts of Morrisania and West Farms would become thickly populated portions of New York City, and he was among the foremost in promoting the cause of annexation.

In all his views he has ever been greatly in advance of his times, and has had the satisfaction of seeing them in course of time adopted by the community, which at first opposed them. A strong advocate of temperance, his practical devotion to the cause has been a prominent feature of his life, and the reward of his temperance is found in the fact, that at the age of seventy-two, and after a life of constant and severe labor, he is to-day as hale and hardy as a man of fifty. During his professional career his practice embraced a very large portion of the county, and there is no one who is a better representative of its local practitioners.

DR. JAMES BATHGATE.

The parents of Dr. James Bathgate, who is well known as the oldest resident physician in Morrisania, were Charles and Margaret Bathgate, who came from Scotland, and settled at West Farms. Their children were Charles and John (both deceased), Dr. James Alexander (now living in Morrisania), Jane, the wife of William J. Beck (deceased), of West Farms, and Margaret Ann. The father of this family was a skillful agriculturist, and noted for his superior horses and cattle, which he raised on his farm. He removed from West Farms to Morrisania, where the younger children were born. James first attended school at Harlem, from whence he went to Mount Pleasant Academy, at Sing Sing. He was subsequently a student in the University of the City of New York, and studied medicine with Professor Joseph M. Smith, one of the professors of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and graduated from that institution in 1847. He was for three years assistant and resident physician in the Medical Department of the New York Hospital, and subsequently physician in the New York Dispensary, but his health failing, he removed from New York and settled at Morrisania upon a farm which was purchased from Gouverneur Morris. From that time to the present Dr. Bathgate has devoted his time and attention to the practice of his profession. He is a member of the State Medical Association, and takes an active interest in all that tends to advance its interests, and he enjoys a very extensive practice in Morrisania and the surrounding country. During his long practice at Morrisania he has never failed to command the confidence and respect of the community, in which his professional services have been uniformly successful. In political affairs he is a strong supporter of the principles of the Republican party, but without being a politician in the common acceptation of the term. The Bathgate estate, in Morrisania, which is now rendered extremely valuable by the advancement of New York City, is a farm purchased from Gouverneur Morris. The estate is bounded on the east by the old Patent Line, which separates Morrisania from the patent of West Farms. It is bounded on the west by the Mill Brook, and extends south to the tract which was bought by Jordan L. Mott and others, who founded the new village of Morrisania, the south line being near One Hundred and Seventieth Street, and the north line a short distance south of One Hundred and Seventy-fifth Street.

The residence of Dr. Bathgate is very pleasantly situated on the west side of Third Avenue, and still retains much of the rural beauty that once distinguished it, and here he enjoys a quiet home in the company of his brother and sister, who are, like himself, unmarried. St. Paul's Church, of Morrisania, is on the south side of the estate, and the church lot was presented to the congregation by this family.

JAMES W. SCRIBNER.

Dr. James W. Scribner was born at Tarrytown, January 17, 1820. His grandfather, Enoch Scribner, was a resident of Bedford, Westchester County, to which place he is supposed to have moved from Connecticut, and died July 18, 1848, at the age of eighty. He married Mary Miller, and they were the parents



James Bathgate, M.D.



James N. Scribner

of two sons, Joseph M. and James W. The former was born May 11, 1793, and was a prominent physician. He married Rebecca, daughter of Thomas Ward, of Sing Sing, of a family long known in this county, and died December 28, 1847, leaving four children,—Dr. James W., John C., Mary (wife of Robert Jameson) and Philip W. His son, James W., attended the public schools until he was fifteen years old, when he was transferred to the collegiate school of Bedford, of which Samuel Holmes was principal. Having acquired a good classical education, he commenced the study of medicine with his father, who was then, and had been for many years, one of the physicians in charge of the Westchester County almshouse, where the son had ample opportunity of seeing much practice while yet a student. After attending three courses of lectures at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York, he graduated as "M.D." in 1847.

The next year he began practice in his native town, and continued it until the close of his life, being invariably favored with a large, remunerative and responsible practice. He became his father's successor in the profession, and was appointed to fill his place at the Almshouse.

During his entire life Dr. Scribner held a high position among his professional brethren in the county. So acute were his perceptions, so widely read was he in his profession, and so skillful in applying his acquirements to practical use, that if he had made a specialty of any one department of medicine, he would have become renowned as a leader in it. But he devoted himself to general practice, and was satisfied to gain a local reputation as a skillful physician, surgeon and obstetrician. It is seldom that any one becomes as accomplished in all these divisions of practical medicine as was Dr. Scribner. His counsel was frequently sought by physicians at a distance, and in his own neighborhood he was the one always sent for when consultation was required in cases of prolonged illness or in emergencies. He was devoted to his profession and to the friends he had acquired in following it, and could seldom be induced to withdraw himself from his work for relaxation or amusement. During the last year of his life, while suffering from the acute pains of a malignant disease and from the depression naturally arising from it, he attended regularly to business day and night, without murmur or complaint, ministering unto hundreds who were far less in need of help than he was himself, until his force was all expended, and he laid down his labor and his life together. In all his professional relations he was pre-eminently a silent man, never gossiping about his cases in the sick room, and seldom indulging in conversation, even upon topics of general interest. Though dignified and courteously reserved in his intercourse with the world, among his friends he was always cheerful and fully enjoyed light amusements and harmless jokes.

Dr. Scribner's professional silence grew out of his hatred for shams of all kinds. His profession was to cure, not to amuse, and he never sought to win success by any means outside of his skillful treatment of cases. Operations of a complicated nature and requiring the highest skill were performed by him; but his modesty kept him from reporting the cases, and they remain unknown to all except the ones who were directly benefited by his art.

It is needless to say that his moral and professional worth were alike appreciated by the entire community. For several years he was elected president of the village, held the highest offices in the Westchester County Medical Society, and was a delegate to the National Medical Association in 1871. He was also a member of the New York State Medical Society and of the American Medical Association, and an honorary member of the California State Medical Society. For several terms he was chosen president and director of the Westchester County Agricultural Society, and was an able and efficient member of the Board of Education of Tarrytown.

He married Margaret E. Miller, and left two daughters,—Josie and Ella. By his death, which occurred January 28, 1880, the community suffered an irreparable loss; all classes mourned him as a friend, and it was with feelings of no common veneration that his friends and neighbors bore to their final home the remains of one who had been in all the relations of life a useful and honored man.

SAMUEL SWIFT.

Samuel Swift, M.D., is descended from an old English family who came to New England at an early date. His immediate ancestors were residents of Dorchester, Mass. He was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., August 5, 1849, his father, Samuel Swift, being then a prosperous merchant in New York. His mother was Mary, daughter of Samuel Phelps, of West Hampton, Mass., of a family well known in the history of that portion of the country. Dr. Swift resided in Brooklyn till 1858, when he went to Massachusetts and entered Williston Seminary. In 1865 he entered Yale College, and graduated in 1868 with the degree of Ph.B. In the fall of 1869 he joined the Medical Department of Cambridge University, where he remained one year. He then entered the Medical Department of Columbia College, and was also a private pupil of Dr. T. M. Markoe. In 1872 he graduated and received the diploma of M.D., and was the valedictorian of his class. After completing his studies he made a short tour to Europe, where he spent six months, principally in Germany. Previous to his trip he had been appointed resident physician at the "Nursery and Child's Hospital," in New York, obtaining this position by a successful competitive examination; after completing his services there he was for a time connected with the Northeastern Dispensary.

In the fall of 1873 he came to Yonkers, where he has since resided. Here he entered into a business partnership with Dr. J. Foster Jenkins, a physician of great skill and reputation, and this connection continued till the death of Dr. Jenkins, in 1882. In his profession Dr. Swift has attained an enviable and well-merited reputation. He is a member of the Medical Society of the State of New York, of the New York Academy of Medicine, of the Westchester Medical Society, the Jenkins Medical Society of Yonkers and the Boylston Medical Society of Boston, Mass. He has always been identified with the Democratic party, and in 1882 was elected mayor of the city of Yonkers. He has also been president of the Board of Education, and is justly recognized as a prominent and useful citizen and a skillful medical practitioner.

He married Lucy, daughter of Hon. Henry E. Davis, late judge of the Court of Appeals of New York, and has one child, Martha. He is a member of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, where he has served as vestryman since 1877, and is at present junior warden of the church.

AUGUSTUS VAN CORTLANDT.

Dr. Augustus Van Cortlandt was born August 31, 1826, and died December 24, 1884. He was the son of Frederick Augustus Van Cortlandt and Harriet, daughter of Peter Jay Munro, of Mamaroneck. His paternal grandfather was James Morris, of Morrisania, and his grandmother Helen Van Cortlandt. His father took the name of Van Cortlandt to inherit an estate at Lower Yonkers, now called King's Bridge. The house in which Dr. Van Cortlandt was born was afterwards purchased, with a small portion of the property, by Hon. Waldo Hutchings.

Dr. Van Cortlandt was sent at an early age to a school at White Plains. He had a wonderful memory and learned very rapidly. When the California fever broke out he went to California, and upon his return to New York began the study of medicine. When the war opened he joined the Ninth New York Regiment and went to Washington. With a number of others, he shortly left the Ninth and joined the Twelfth. On the return of his regiment he went out with the Seventh. On returning home he was sent to David's Island as physician. Subsequently he commenced the practice of medicine in New Rochelle, which he continued until his death.

His practice was never very remunerative, being principally among the poor, by whom he seemed to be much beloved.

PIERRE CORTLANDT VAN WYCK.

Pierre Cortlandt Van Wyck, M.D., was born at the old Van Cortlandt Manor-house, on the banks of the Croton River, September 24, 1824.

His father, Philip Gilbert Van Wyck, was the nephew and adopted son of General Philip Van Cortlandt, who died a bachlor and left his large estate, including the Van Cortlandt Manor, to be divided between his two nephews, Pierre Van Cortlandt and Philip G. Van Wyck.

Dr. Van Wyck's mother was Mary Smith Gardiner, daughter of Colonel Abraham Gardiner, who was one of the lineal descendants of Lion Gardiner, of Gardiner's Island.

Coming of a race of those who had from the earliest history of the country been foremost in patriotism, generosity and the development of all the nobler traits of human nature, descended from the Van Cortlandts, Van Rensselaers, Gardiners and Van Wycks, whose names are so intimately interwoven with the early history of our own country, he never forgot the traditions of his ancestry, but was always the genial, high-toned, honorable gentleman.

Beginning life under these favorable auspices, he entered Princeton College and graduated with the class of 1845.

He began the study of medicine under the care of Dr. Adrian K. Hoffman. He was afterwards a student at the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York, where he enjoyed the benefit of the instructions of the celebrated Dr. Willard Parker.

He graduated in 1849, and was afterwards appointed by President Taylor, United States inspector of drugs, at the port of New York.

While holding this position he became interested in the firm of Radway & Co., in which he still held an interest at the time of his death.

In 1862 he was appointed by President Lincoln assessor of internal revenue for the Fourth District of New York.

He organized the district and continued to administer it ably and efficiently until it was consolidated in 1871. In January, 1882, President Arthur appointed him superintendent of the United States Assay Office in New York, to succeed Mr. Thomas C. Acton, who was made Assistant Treasurer of the United States.

In politics he was a Whig until 1856, when he joined the Republican party during the Fremont campaign. He had always been prominent in the councils of his party and was many times sent as a delegate to State and National Conventions, and was one of the famous three hundred and six who voted so persistently for General Grant at Chicago in 1880.

When the nomination of General Garfield was announced, Governor Dennison of Ohio, came to the New York delegation and said that any candidate they named for Vice-President would be nominated. Dr. Van Wyck proposed the name of Chester A. Arthur, which was unanimously indorsed.

Dr. Van Wyck had been the personal friend of President Arthur for twenty years, and was with him on that memorable night of September 19, 1881,



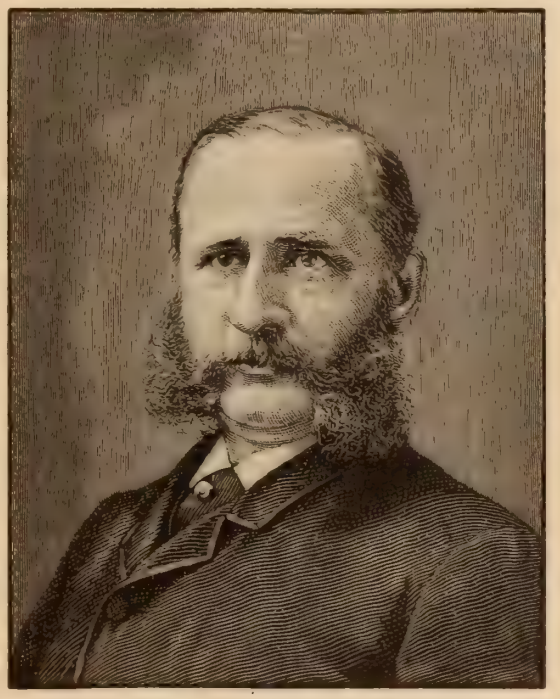
Samuel Swift Jr.



Pierre C. Van Wyck

when the sad news came that President Garfield had passed away, and he was one of the nine persons present when the oath of office was administered by Judge Brady to the new President during the silence and solemnity of the midnight hour.

Dr. Van Wyck had a brilliant mind, cultivated by deep study and extensive foreign travel, combined with refined and artistic tastes. He lived and died a bachelor. He was a man of domestic habits, and devoted himself to the care and comfort of his sisters, Miss Joanna L. Van Wyck and Mrs. Annie V. R. Wells, who resided with him at the Van Wyck mansion, Grove Hill, in the village of Sing Sing. This had always been the seat of generous and refined hospitality, and it was at this home that he died suddenly, of pneumonia, on the 23d day of April, 1883.



The funeral was largely attended, not only by his associates and friends in his own circle of life, but by all his numerous tenantry and the poor of the surrounding country, who found him always a friend and brother to each and all, irrespective of race or creed.

Of him it may well be said: "Write me as one that loves his fellowmen."

The interment took place in the family burial ground at Croton, where repose the remains of those sterling Revolutionary patriots, Lieutenant Governor Pierre Van Cortlandt and his sons, General Philip and General Pierre, and of his grandsons, General Philip G. Van Wyck and Recorder Pierre C. Van Wyck and numerous other members of the Van Cortlandt and Van Wyck families.

Of the ancestry of Dr. Van Wyck a few words may be added.

Cornelius Barentse Van Wyck came to America in 1660, from Wyck, a town on the river Teck in Holland. He married Anna Polhemus; their son Theodorus who was born September 17, 1668, and died December 4, 1753, married Margaretta Brinckehoff, February 3, 1685. They were the parents of eight children, one of whom, Abraham, who was born November 7, 1695, married Catherine Provost in 1717. Of their nine children, the eldest, Theodorus, born November 30, 1718, married Helena Sanford, August 2, 1740, and they were the parents of twelve children; one of their sons, Abraham, was born in 1748, and married Catherine, daughter of Lieut. Gov. Pierre Van Cortlandt, January 7, 1776. Their children were Theodorus, Pierre Cortlandt, Van Wyck (who was for many years Recorder for the City of New York) and Philip Gilbert Van Wyck, who was born June 4, 1786, and married Mary Smith, daughter of Col Abraham Gardiner, and granddaughter of David Gardiner, fourth proprietor of Gardiner's Island. Their children were Joanna Livingston Van Wyck, now residing at Sing Sing; Catherine, wife of Stephen H. Battin; Philip Van Cortlandt, who died unmarried, January 12, 1842; Eliza, wife of William Van Ness Livingston, who died December 9, 1865; Gardiner, who died unmarried, April 7, 1860; Annie Van Rensselaer, who married the late Hon. Alexander Wells, of the Supreme Bench of California, and whose only child, Gertrude Van Cortlandt, married Schuyler Hamilton, Jr., great-grandson of Alexander Hamilton; David Gardiner, who died unmarried, December 16, 1848, and Dr. Pierre Cortlandt Van Wyck, the subject of this article.

The Van Wycks of Holland, are an aristocratic and wealthy family, and continue to bear the same coat of arms as those brought by the Van Wycks to this country upwards of two centuries ago.

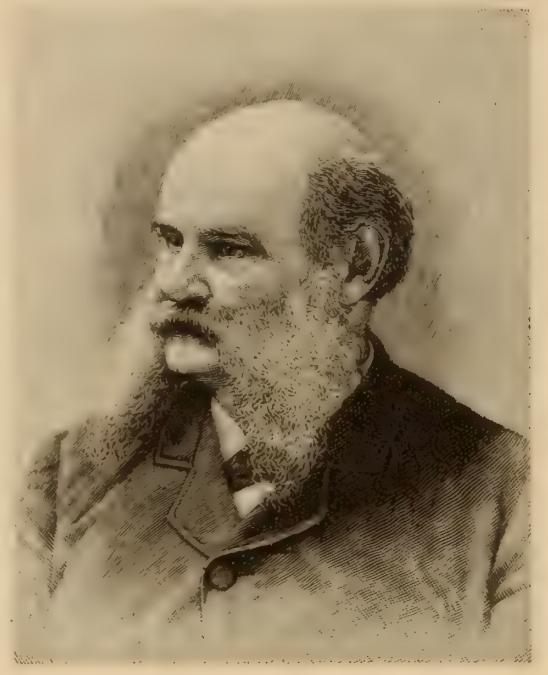
H. K. Huntington M.D.

HENRY K. HUNTINGTON.

The first known ancestor of Henry K. Huntington, M. D., in America, was one to whom tradition has assigned the name of Simon. He was an Englishman, and in 1633 started with his wife and family for this country. His death occurred during the voyage, and his son Christopher, who succeeded to the paternal cares, brought the family first to Norwich, Conn., and finally to Windham, in the same State, where a permanent settlement was effected. The branch of the family from which Dr. Huntington is descended has apparently remained within a short distance of the original homestead, for we find by an examina-

tion of the records that Samuel Howard Huntington, his father, who was born December 14, 1793, was married in Hartford October 19, 1835, the lady being his second wife. Her name was Sarah Blair Watkinson, and she was a daughter of Robert Watkinson, a merchant residing in Hartford.

Henry K., their son, was born at Hartford March 27, 1845. He remained in his native town till 1862, in which year, having meanwhile graduated from the Hartford public school, he entered Trinity College. In 1867, after graduating there, he made a first attempt at self-support. Proceeding as far west as Racine, Wis., he engaged as a tutor in the college there. A year's experience as an instructor, however, convinced him that teaching was not his forte, and at the end of the first term he resigned his position at Racine, with the intention of studying medicine.



Maximilian J. Reinfelder

Retracing his steps, he came eastward, and in 1868 entered the University (medical college) of the city of New York, from which he graduated in 1871. The success which has attended him as a physician, has convinced him, as well as his many friends, that he made no mistake in his second choice of a profession. Immediately following his graduation, he devoted sixteen months to service in the Charity Hospital on Blackwell's Island. As a reward for the proficiency with which he had performed his duties there, he was commissioned in 1872 with the re-organization of the Convalescent Hospital on Hart's Island, and to him is due the credit of originating what is now known as the Hart's Island Hospital.

On the 23d of September, 1873, he removed to New Rochelle, where he still resides. By careful attention to the needs of his patients and faithfulness in the performance of his professional duties, he has won for himself not only a large and extended practice, but also the esteem of his fellow-townsmen

He is a member of Trinity Episcopal Church, was formerly a trustee of the public schools and is connected with the County and State Medical Associations. He is at present physician to the Board of Health of the town of New Rochelle.

Dr. Huntington married Sept. 23, 1873, Miss Moruca Frances De Figaniere, and has no children. He is one of the most successful physicians in the county.

MAXIMILIAN JOSEPH REINFELDER.

Maximilian Joseph Reinfelder, M.D., was born in Munich, Kingdom of Bavaria, March 4, 1821. His father, Ferdinand Reinfelder, was a surgeon in the military academy of that capital, where he was in active service thirty-three years. From his fourteenth year Dr. Reinfelder paid great attention to the study of the natural sciences, especially chemistry, in which he graduated from the University of Munich in 1844. From 1847 to 1850 he pursued his medical studies there.

Attracted by the large field of usefulness which America affords to scientific men as medical practitioners, as well as by his natural and unconquerable predilection for this country almost from his childhood, he came to the United States in 1854.

Notwithstanding the thoroughness of his European medical education, he matriculated at the University Medical College, in New York City. His object in doing this was to familiarize himself with American medical authorities, and identify himself with American interests; also to observe and study the great changes which took place during twenty years in all branches of medical science. Having finished the courses prescribed in the school of medicine, he was graduated in 1869, receiving, beside his regular diploma, a certificate of honor, as an evidence of having pursued a fuller course of medical instruction than that usually followed by students. He continued the practice of medicine in Yonkers, where he has been located for the last thirty-one years. He is a man of acknowledged reputation in the profession, and is at present consulting physician to St. John's Riverside Hospital. He is a Fellow of the New York Academy of Medicine, and also a member of the Westchester Medical Society.

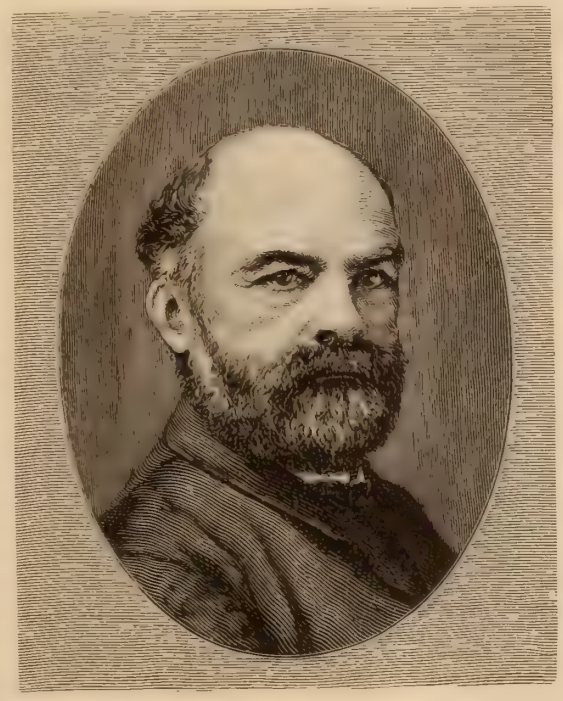
He was married, in 1854, to Miss A. Merz, of Lindau, Lake Constance, Bavaria, and has one daughter, Armina J., who resides with him at the present time.

He is now a gentleman of advanced years. By

careful attention to the wants of his patients, and strict economy in the management of his private affairs, he has accumulated for himself an extensive practice and a moderate fortune. He is greatly respected in the city of his adoption both as a private citizen and an influential physician.

RALPH BARNARD GRISWOLD.

The family of Ralph Barnard Griswold, M.D., was originally English. The first ancestor in this country was Roger Griswold, who came to New London, Conn., before the Revolution, and it is supposed that Fort Griswold, near that city, was named after some of the members of the family.



Ralph Barnard Griswold, M.D., son of Lucius and Julia Elizabeth (Barnard) Griswold, was born at Colebrook, Litchfield County, Conn., January 18, 1835. His parents moved to the thriving village of Winsted in 1848, where he attended the district school, after which he became a pupil of St. James' School, taught by Revs. Jonathan and James R. Coe. He taught school in the academy at Winchester Centre and also nine months at Stroudsburg, Pa. His success was so great there that he was urged to tarry longer. For years, however, it had been his desire to become a physician, and while yet engaged as a teacher in Stroudsburg, he fully decided to execute this purpose. He read medicine with H. B. Steele, M.D., of Winsted, Conn., and attended his first course of lectures at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York, and a full course at the Eclectic Medical Institute of Cincinnati, O., where he graduated in Feb 1857.

Ralph B. Griswold M.D.

It had been his father's wish that he should spend some time in Europe to further advance his medical education, but being of an ambitious turn of mind, and having confidence in his own ability, he decided not to accept the kind offer thus made. In April, 1857, he came to North Castle, where he immediately began the practice of medicine and has succeeded in building up a business second to none in this part of the county. He is now called to Stanwich, Round Hill, Armonk, Bedford, New Castle and Long Ridge, and is the leading physician in North Castle, his post-office address being Banksville, Fairfield County, Conn. He is town physician and is also health officer of the Board of Health.

He joined the Methodist Episcopal Church at Winsted, Conn., in his seventeenth year, and in 1857 brought his letter from this church to the Middle Patent Methodist Church, where he has been an acceptable member for twenty-eight years, holding the offices of trustee, steward and chorister from the time of his arrival to the present. He has been since his earliest recollection connected with Sabbath-schools, either as a pupil, superintendent or teacher. For fifteen years Dr. Griswold has managed the financial matters of the church of which he is a member, and has rendered valuable service in the collection of funds necessary for its support.

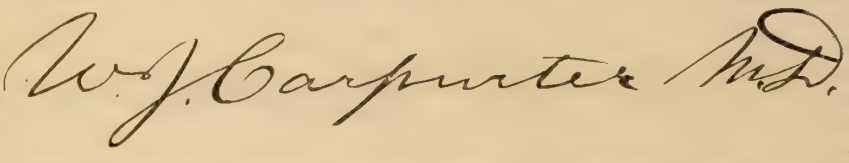
May 1, 1858, he married Mary Jane Early. Four children were born to them, of whom William L. Griswold, Ph.B., M.D., now practicing medicine in Greenwich, Conn., and Julia Alice Griswold are still living. He has held the office of commissioner of highways of his town for five consecutive terms of three years each, and still holds the position. He has also been tendered the nomination for supervisor, but owing to pressure of professional business, has been obliged to decline the honor. He has always been a temperance man, and became especially active in that work in 1870, when he assisted in organizing the Middle Patent Division of the Sons of Temperance. He was made its first Worthy Patriarch, and some three years afterward was elected Grand Worthy Patriarch of the Grand Division "Sons of Temperance" of Eastern New York, embracing in its jurisdiction some thirteen counties of the State. He is also an ex-officio member of the National Division of the same association. He has always been a consistent Republican, not having missed either a town or State election in over twenty-eight years. He has identified himself, irrespective of party, church or state, with any and every cause which he thought was for the

benefit of the community, being always ready to lend a helping hand. He has often, after a day of toil or a thirty or forty-mile ride, driven away again some five miles to drill or take charge of a company of singers in giving a concert or entertainment for some weak society. His liberal tendencies, together with his cordial disposition and the valuable services which he has in times past and still contines to render the community in which he lives, have endeared him to its people and made his name an honor to the county of his adoption.

WALTON JAY CARPENTER.

Walton Jay Carpenter, M.D., is descended from an English family who came to New England during the seventeenth century. From thence a branch removed to the town of Purchase, in Westchester County, where they took up land and engaged in farming. Charles B. Carpenter, father of Walton Jay, was of this line. He married Rachel White, and of their five children, Dr. Carpenter was the oldest. He was born in Duanesburgh, Schenectady County, N. Y., September 11, 1852, and removed with his family when but four years of age to Illinois. After a stay of two years in the West the family returned to Duanesburgh where the youth attended the public school, leaving at the age of fifteen for the Delaware Literary Institute, where he passed two winters. A period of three years, divided between teaching and study followed; then a two years' course of select studies at Union College and a term of medical preparation under the celebrated professor, Dr. Alfred Loomis, of New York. In the fall of 1875 he entered the medical department of the University of the City of New York, and finally finished his course in the spring of 1877, when he graduated.





He first settled at Round Hill, Connecticut, where he practiced for a few months, in connection with his uncle, J. C. White, M.D.; but this town not offering the advantages which he craved, he returned to New York City and entered upon a post-graduate course at the University, after completing which in 1878 he removed to Katonah, where he still resides.

He has by care and industry succeeded in building up for himself an extensive practice, and has during his residence in Katonah effected many cures which will render his reputation permanent and his presence in the place a continual agency for good. He is a member of the Methodist Church of Katonah, and also a member of the following Masonic organizations: Kisco Lodge, No. 708; Croton Chapter, No. 202; and Crusade Commandery, No. 56.

He married April 30, 1884, Miss Anna L. Green, daughter of Alsoph Green, of Katonah.

Dr. Carpenter is connected with the Westchester Medical Society, among the members of which he is widely known and as widely respected.

CHAPTER XIII.

LITERATURE AND LITERARY MEN, OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY.

BY

J. THOS. SCHARF, A.M., LL.D

WESTCHESTER COUNTY has good reason to pride herself on her contributions to the literature of the country. Few, if any, counties in the Union, can show an equally brilliant record. She has given birth to many noted writers and has nurtured many more. The greatest literary genius, probably, that our country has produced, the weird, uncanny Poe, found inspiration within her borders, on the banks of the lordly Hudson, and that sunny, facile intellect which dwelt in the pure and lofty brow of Washington Irving found equal delight in exploring the mystic nooks and windings of its "Sleepy Hollows." Fenimore Cooper, the great pioneer of American fiction, roamed over its rugged hills and through its pleasant meadows, and treading close upon his heels came James Kirke Paulding, Irving's friend and collaborateur, whose strong Americanism was quite as pure and unadulterated as was that of the patriotic Cooper. Among political writers, Westchester presents the great names of Hamilton, Tom Paine, Seabury, Wilkins, the Jays, Gouverneur Morris, Daniel

D. Tompkins, John Bigelow, Horace Greeley, James Watson Webb, besides a host of lesser celebrities.

George Washington, though not, properly speaking, a literary character, deserves to be included among those who have transmitted noble thoughts as well as noble deeds to his countrymen. His association with the people of Westchester County during the Revolutionary era is fully set forth elsewhere in this work. Among his writings are to be found vivid bits of description of Westchester localities, with which he became familiarized in passing through the county. The Sparks collection of Washington's writings fills twelve large octavo volumes. His first appearance as an author was in the publication, in 1754, at Williamsburg, Va., and in London, of his journal of his proceedings "To and from the French of the Ohio," a brief tract written hastily from the rough notes taken on his expedition. His State papers, correspondence and "Farewell Address" are too well known to need description here. Major John Andre, whose mournful fate is indissolubly linked with the glorious deeds of Washington, spent the closing days of his career in Westchester. He was a poet as well as a soldier and an accomplished man of letters.

Daniel D. Tompkins, Vice-President of the United States, belongs to the political, rather than to the literary history of Westchester County, although his talents as a speaker and writer, entitle him to recognition as a man of letters. He was a native of Scarsdale.

Samuel J. Tilden may be included in the same category, and can be claimed as one of the celebrities of Westchester County, where, at his beautiful estate "Greystone," he spends much of his time in elegant and scholarly retirement.

General John C. Fremont, the soldier, explorer, author and politician, resided at one time at Mount Pleasant, in the house built by General James Watson Webb. His wife, who is the daughter of Senator Benton, of Missouri, is a woman of great accomplishments and decided literary tastes. General Fremont, who was born at Savannah, Ga., January 21, 1813, is known to literature by his graphic reports, which were published by the federal government, of his Western explorations. Devoting himself in early life to civil engineering, he obtained an appointment in the government expedition for the survey of the headwaters of the Mississippi, and was afterwards employed at Washington preparing maps of the country explored. In 1842, at the head of a small force, he crossed the Rocky Mountains and opened to commerce and emigration the Great South Pass. His report of his adventures was so interesting that it was reprinted by publishers in this country and in England and was translated into various foreign languages. He next accomplished an expedition to Oregon, and, striking southward and westward, after incredible hardships, succeeded in exploring the region of Alta California, including the Sierra Nevada, the valleys of San Joaquin and Sacramento and the gold region. Returning to Washington in 1844, he published another report, and upon its completion set out on another expedition to the Pacific, the result of which was the acquisition of California by the United States. He was sent to Washington in 1850 as the first United States Senator from California. In 1856 he was the Republican candidate for President of the United States and during the Civil War held a commission as major-general in the Union army. A superb edition of his reports, entitled "Fremont's Explorations," was published in 1859.

Among other names associated with the history of Westchester County which have attained to distinction in literature are those of J. Rodman Drake, John Savage, William Leggett, Robert Rogers, David Humphreys, Gulian C. Verplanck, Ann Eliza Bleecker, Mrs. Haven, James Parton, Rev. Thomas Allen, a chaplain of the Revolutionary army at White Plains, who took an active part in the political discussions of the time; Charles Tafin Armand, the Marquis de la Rouarie, an eloquent and persuasive speaker and writer, who, in 1778, was actively engaged in Westchester County in opposing Simcoe, Emmerick and Baremore, the Loyalist, whom he captured near King's Bridge November 8, 1779; Aaron Burr, who was stationed in Westchester County in the winter of 1778-79, and whose duel with Hamilton took place at Weehawken; Nathaniel Chipman, LL.D., the Vermont jurist, who participated in the battle of White Plains; Joel Barlow, the author of the "Columbiad," and Rev. William Crosswell, D.D., clergyman and scholar, born at Hudson, November 7, 1804, and died at Boston November 9, 1851; James De Lancey, the jurist, born in 1703 and died in 1760; General Oliver De Lancey, of the British army, who fought at White Plains; Horace Green, M.D., LL.D., the distinguished physician and medical writer, who died at Greenmount, Sing Sing, N. Y., December 24, 1802; Rev. Freeborn Garretson Hibbard, D.D., at one time editor of the *Northern Christian Advocate* and author of several books, born at New Rochelle, February 22, 1811; James Macdonald, M.D., author of valuable papers on the treatment of insanity, born at White Plains, July 18, 1803, died at Flushing, Long Island, May 5, 1849; Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, the noted naval officer and author of the lives of Paul Jones, O. H. Perry, Stephen Decatur and many other works, born in New York, April 6, 1803, lived in Mount Pleasant, on the Sing Sing road, and died at Tarrytown, September 13, 1848; Benjamin Moore Norman, the author of interesting books of travel, born at Hudson, December 22, 1809, died near Summit, Miss., February 1, 1860; Rear Admiral Hiram Paulding, son of John Paulding, one of Andre's captors, and a distinguished naval officer and author of a "Journal of a Cruise Among the Islands of the Pacific," born in Westchester County, December 11, 1797; Calvin W. Philleo, the novelist, born at Vernon, July 14, 1822, died at Suf-

field, Conn., June 30, 1858; Winthrop Sargent, the soldier, statesman and writer, who fought at White Plains; Joseph Mather Smith, M.D., the eminent physician and medical writer, who was a native of New Rochelle; John Savage, the editor and poet, who lives at Fordham; John Canfield Spencer, LL.D., lawyer and politician, a native of Hudson, who is known to the literary world for having edited the first American edition of De Tocqueville's "Democracy in America," with an original preface and notes; William Leete Stone, the noted journalist, who, in 1813, edited the *Herkimer American* and afterwards a political paper at Hudson, becoming finally one of the proprietors of the *New York Commercial Advertiser;* Peter Van Schaack, LL.D., jurist, loyalist in the Revolutionary War and author, born at Kinderhook, where he died, September 27, 1832; Aaron Ward, lawyer, politician and author, born at Sing Sing, July 5, 1790; Robert Watts, M.D., physician and medical writer, born at Fordham in 1812; and Thurlow Weed, the journalist and politician, born at Cairo, N. Y., November 15, 1797, and whose early life was passed as a cabin boy on the Hudson.

Of contemporary writers, the following have been more or less identified with Westchester County:

General Adam Badeau, author of the "History of General U. S. Grant," etc., who lived in North Tarrytown, Mount Pleasant, from boyhood until about 1856; Clarence Cook, the art critic, who attended school at Irving Institute, Tarrytown, and lived at Irvington; A. C. Wheeler ("Nym Crinkle"), poet and critic, who also attended school at Irving Institute and lived at North Tarrytown; Charles A. Brace, author and philanthropist, who lived at Hastings; Frank Vincent, Jr., author and traveler, who wrote "The Land of the White Elephant," "Through and Through the Tropics" and "Norsk, Lapp and Finn," and whose home is in Tarrytown; Rev. William C. Wilkinson, D.D., formerly professor in Rochester Theological Seminary, who has written a critique on Arnold's "Light of Asia," etc., and who resides at Tarrytown; Stephen H. Thayer, the poet, who wrote "Songs of Sleepy Hollow," and lives in North Tarrytown; Latham C. Strong, poet and journalist, who wrote "Castle Windows," "Poke O'Moonshine," etc., and was a resident of North Tarrytown until his death; Hamilton Mabie, editor of *The Christian Union*, who lived in North Tarrytown; Marshall H. Bright, editor of *The Christian at Work*, who lives in Tarrytown; Rev. Pharcellus Church, D.D., the author of a number of books, reviews, etc., and a resident of Tarrytown; Rev. Jacob Dutcher, author of "The Old Home by the River," who was born in Greenburgh; Minna Irving, poetess, a contributor to *The Century*, whose full name is Minna Irving Odell, and who lives in Greenburgh; Henry Drisler, scholar, author and professor, who lived in Greenburgh; Rev. John A. Paine, professor in Robert College, Constantinople, archæologist to the Palestine Exploring Expedition, and author of a work on that subject, whose home is in Tarrytown; Colonel Church, editor of *The Army and Navy Journal;* E. Z. C. Judson ("Ned Buntline"), who lived at Chappaqua; Dr. Edward Bright, editor of *The Examiner*, who lives at Yonkers; and Robert B. Coffin ("Barry Gray"), who lives at Katonah.

In music and the fine arts Westchester is also not without distinction. Among composers may be mentioned George F. Bristow and Francis H. Nash, both residents of Morrisania; and among painters, Albert Bierstadt, the famous landscape painter, who lived within the corporate limits of Tarrytown, and whose residence was destroyed by fire; Francis W. Edmonds, Edward W. Nichols, Tait, Gustave M. Arnolt, the young German painter of animals, and Samuel Fanshaw and Robert Hite, both of them eminent painters on ivory. Robert Walter Weir, the distinguished painter, who succeeded C. R. Leslie as instructor in drawing at West Point, was born at New Rochelle on June 18, 1803.

The earliest of the Westchester County *literati* was Adrian Van der Donck, a graduate of the University of Leyden, who was appointed by the patroon of Rensselaerwick sheriff of his colony, and came to New Netherland in 1642. In 1648 he was granted a tract of land at Yonkers. In the deed he was spoken of as Yonker Van der Donck, Yonker being the usual title of gentleman. His name appears among the signers of a tract, published at the Hague in 1650, describing the New Netherland. It has been translated by Mr. Henry C. Murphy for the New York Historical Society, and published by them, and also by James Lenox, of New York. Owing to its attacks on the government of Kieft and Stuyvesant, Van der Donck was denied access to the colonial records during the preparation of his "Description of New Netherland," which has been translated and occupies one hundred and six pages of the "New York Historical Society's Collections," 1841. It describes the rural products, animals and inhabitants of the colony. The date of the first edition is unknown. The second was published at Amsterdam, in 1656, by Ebert Nieuwenhof, who introduced the work with a poetical preface.

Right Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D., first bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, may be classed among the literary men of Westchester, from the fact that, while in charge of St. Peter's Church, Westchester, he wrote and published, anonymously, during the Revolutionary period, a series of pamphlets in defense of the crown, under the signature, it is said, of "A. W. Farmer." He was the son of Rev. Samuel Seabury, missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, at New London, Conn., and was born at Croton, November 30, 1729, and graduated at Yale in 1748. He then went to Scotland to study medicine, but while in that country also devoted his attention to theology, and was ordained by

the Bishop of London in 1753, and, on his return, settled at New Brunswick, N. J., as a missionary of the Propagation Society. In 1757 he removed to Jamaica, and from thence, in 1766, to Westchester, where, in addition to his church, he had charge of a school. The authorship of the "Farmer" pamphlets, which were commonly attributed to him, caused him to be seized by the Whigs, in 1775, and carried to New Haven, where he was imprisoned. As the fact of the authorship could not be established by legal proof, he was suffered to return to Westches er, where he renewed his efforts in behalf of the Loyalist cause. Upon the Declaration of American Independence he removed to New York City. Here he remained until the close of the war, officiating part of the time as chaplain to the King's American Regiment, and practicing medicine. In 1783, having been elected bishop of the diocese of Connecticut, he sailed for England and applied for consecration to the Archbishop of York, the See of Canterbury being vacant. His application was refused, in consequence of the inability of the English bishops to dispense with the oath of allegiance to the crown. In August, 1784, he made a similar application to the bishops of the Scottish Church, by whom he was consecrated, at Aberdeen, November 14, 1784. In the spring of the following year he returned to America and began the discharge of his duties as bishop. He displayed considerable ability and force as a writer on a variety of topics, and rendered important services to his church in the arrangement of the Liturgy and other matters. He died February 25, 1796, at New London, Conn., where he had filled his father's place as rector of the church, besides discharging his episcopal duties. The "Farmer" pamphlets have been attributed to Isaac Wilkins, and also to Dr. Chandler, Dr. Inglis and Dr. Myles Cooper, but it is believed they were written by Seabury. The strongest evidence is found in the draft of a document in Seabury's own writing, in which he states that he was the author of a pamplet, entitled "Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Congress at Philadelphia," which was published shortly after the first Congress broke up, and other publications which followed, all of them signed "A. W. Farmer." He also states that on the 19th of November, 1775, an armed force of one hundred horsemen came from Connecticut to his house, and, not finding him at home, beat his children to compel them to tell where their father was, "which, not succeeding, they searched the neighborhood and took him from his school, and, with much abusive language, carried him in great triumph to New Haven, seventy miles distant, where he was paraded through most of the streets, and their success celebrated by firing cannon, &c." At this time, according to his own statement, Dr. Seabury "lived at Westchester, in the then province of New York, and was, though not wealthy, yet in easy circumstances, and supported a large family—viz., a wife and six children—comfortably and decently; that his income was at least £200 Sterl. p^{r} a^{nn}, arising from his Parish, Glebe & from a grammar School, in which he had more than 20 young Gentlemen, when the Rebellion began." The "Free Thoughts" of Seabury, we are told, excited the bitterest feeling. It was reprinted in London, in 1775, "for Richardson & Urquhart, at the Royal Exchange." Mr. Trumbull says that "when copies of these pamphlets fell into the hands of the Whigs, they were disposed of in such a manner as most emphatically to express detestation of the anonymous authors and their sentiments. Sometimes they were publicly burned, with imposing formality; sometimes decorated with tar and feathers [from the Turkey-buzzard, as 'the fittest emblem of the author's odiousness'], and nailed to the whipping-post." Rev. Jonathan Boucher, writing of Seabury's authorship of the pamphlets, states that, "being attributed to another gentleman, he alone derived any advantage from them, for to him the British government granted a handsome pension, whilst the real author [Seabury] never received a farthing." Who the spurious pensioner was, Mr. Boucher does not state. Bishop Seabury received the degree of A.M. from Columbia (then King's) College, N. Y., in 1761, and that of D.D. from the University of Oxford, England. His son Charles, a distinguished clergyman and father of Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D., of New York, was born at Westchester, May 20, 1770.



REV. ISAAC WILKINS, D.D.

Isaac Wilkins, D.D., was born at Withywood in the Island of Jamaica, December 17, 1742, and was the son of Martin Wilkins, an eminent lawyer and judge, who came to New York in order to educate his son. His parents died when he was a child and his care and education devolved on his aunt, Mrs. Mary Macey, his mother's sister. He graduated at King's College in 1760, and was married, November 7, 1762, to Isabella, daughter of Hon. Lewis Morris. They resided at Morrisania for a year or two, when Mr. Wilkins purchased an estate known as Castle

Hill Neck, in Westchester County. In 1772 he was sent to the Colonial Legislature from the borough of Westchester and took an active part in its proceedings until April, 1775, on the side of the Loyalists. As the reputed author of the "Westchester Farmer" pamphlets, he became obnoxious to the Whigs and was forced to leave for England, where he remained about a year, making every effort to reconcile the dispute between the colonies and the mother country. He then returned to his family, whom he removed from Castle Hill, which had been laid waste and made desolate, to Long Island, where, at Newtown and Flatbush, he resided until the peace. He sold his farm in 1784 and took his family to Nova Scotia, where he purchased a farm and returned to his agricultural pursuits. He was sent to the Assembly of the province, and soon after placed at the head of a committee for the distribution of lands to the American refugee Loyalists. In 1798 he returned to New York, and while preparing for the ministry was called to the partial rectorship of St. Peter's, Westchester. As soon as he was ordained deacon he entered upon the discharge of his duties. He was ordained a priest by Bishop Provoost, January 14, 1801. He was now in the enjoyment of a pension from the British government of one hundred and twenty pounds per annum. In 1811 the degree of D.D. was conferred upon him by King's College. He died at the rectory in Westchester February 5, 1830, in his eighty-ninth year.

Right Rev. William Heathcote De Lancey, D.D., D.C.L., Protestant Episcopal bishop of Western New York, was one of Westchester's most distinguished sons. He was born at Mamaroneck October 8, 1797, and died at Geneva, N. Y., April 5, 1865. He graduated at Yale in 1817, studied theology under Bishop Hobart, was ordained deacon in 1819 and priest in 1822, and soon after became assistant to Bishop White in Philadelphia. He was annually chosen secretary of the Diocesan Convention of Pennsylvania from 1825 to 1830, and was secretary of the House of Bishops from 1823 to 1829. He was provost of the University of Pennsylvania from 1828 to 1833; traveled in Europe in 1835 and on his return, after the death of Bishop White, succeeded to the rectorship of St. Peter's, Philadelphia. In 1838 he was chosen first bishop of the diocese of Western New York, and was consecrated May 9, 1839. The Hobart Free College at Geneva was chiefly indebted to his efforts for its maintenance. In 1852 he was a delegate to England from the Episcopal bishops of the United States, and was one of the recognized leaders of the High Church party. He received the degree of D.C.L. from the Oxford University in 1852; D.D. from Yale in 1828 and LL.D. from Union College in 1847.

Thomas Paine, the noted political and atheistic writer, is identified with Westchester County by the fact that for his Revolutionary services the State of New York granted him five hundred acres of land in New Rochelle, where he resided part of the time after his return to the United States, in 1802. Paine was a native of Thetford, Norfolk, England, born January 29, 1737; died in New York City, June 8, 1809. His parentage was humble and his educational opportunities limited. For a time he preached occasionally as a dissenting minister, and in 1774, at the suggestion of Franklin, came to America. He soon became known as a writer of uncommon force and logic and an opponent of slavery. His celebrated pamphlet, "Common Sense," in which he advocated the independence of the colonies, was published in January, 1776, and had an extraordinary influence in disseminating republican ideas. His subsequent publications were of inestimable benefit to the patriotic cause. He was outlawed in England for his celebrated "Rights of Man," which appeared in 1791, in answer to Burke's "Reflections on the French Revolution," and in September, 1792, was elected a member of the French National Convention. In consequence of his outspoken opposition to the execution of Louis XVI., he narrowly escaped being put to death during the Reign of Ter-



THOMAS PAINE.

ror. His remains were taken to England in 1819 by William Cobbett. A monument was erected to his memory in 1839, near his original burial-place in New Rochelle.

The literary reputation of John Jay is chiefly that which attaches to his political character, but he is pre-eminently worthy of being ranked among the literary men whom old Westchester has either produced or nurtured. Of Huguenot descent and a native of New York City, born December 12, 1745, he graduated at Columbia College and was a delegate to the First Revolutionary Congress at the age of twenty-eight, three years later chief justice of his State, and subsequently minister to Spain and negotiator of the peace with Great Britain, Secretary of State, Chief Justice of the United States and Governor of New York. Notwithstanding these various trusts, he was enabled to spend nearly thirty years of retirement in pleasant country life at Bedford, Westchester County, where he died on the 17th of May,

1829, at the age of eighty-four. His life has been written by his son, William Jay. His national state papers, written when a member of the Continental Congress, and his contributions to the *Federalist*, were powerful aids to the patriot cause. His "Address to the People of Great Britain," in 1774, called forth expressions of admiration from Jefferson. He was also the author of a number of other political treatises of great clearness and vigor.

William Jay, second son of Chief Justice Jay, was also a person of decided literary talent. He was born June 16, 1789, graduated at Yale, and studied law at Albany under John B. Henry, until, compelled to abandon study by an affection of the eyes, he retired to his father's country-seat at Bedford. In 1812 he married the daughter of John McVickar, a New York merchant. He was appointed first judge of the county of Westchester by Governor Tompkins and was successively reappointed by Clinton, Marcy and Van Buren. Throughout his life he was a prominent opponent of slavery and in this connection published many addresses and pamphlets, which were collected by him in his "Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery," published at Boston in 1854. In 1832 he published "The Life and Writings of John Jay." He died at his residence in Bedford, October 14, 1858.

John Jay, son of William Jay, born June 23, 1817, and a graduate of Columbia College in 1836, is also the author of several pamphlets on the slavery question, together with many other papers on topics of public interest. He studied law in the city of New York and was admitted to the bar in 1839. His residence of late years has been the old homestead at Bedford. In April, 1869, he was appointed minister to Austria and represented this country with distinction at the Court of Vienna.

Gouverneur Morris, the noted statesman and writer, was a native of Morrisania. The first of his ancestors who emigrated to America was Richard Morris, who is said to have been an officer in Cromwell's army. He came to New York after a short residence in the West Indies and purchased an estate at Harlem, which was invested by the Governor with manorial rights. His son Lewis succeeded to the estate and during the last eight years of his life was Governor of New Jersey. His eldest son, Lewis, became a member of the New York Legislature. The second Lewis had four sons, of whom the youngest was Gouverneur, who was born January 31, 1752. At an early age he was placed in the family of M. Tetar, at New Rochelle, where he acquired a thorough knowledge of the French language. At the age of sixteen he graduated at King's College, distinguishing himself by a florid address on "Wit and Beauty." He then studied law in the office of William Smith, colonial historian of New York, and at the age of eighteen began the publication of a series of anonymous newspaper articles against a proposition in the Assembly for raising money by emitting bills of credit. In 1775 he was elected a member of the Provincial Congress, in which he soon attracted attention by a speech on the mode of issuing a paper currency by the Continental Congress. Its chief suggestions were afterwards adopted by that body. In 1777 he was elected a member of the Continental Congress and the following winter was one of the committee appointed to inquire into the state of the army, then stationed at Valley Forge. He was also chairman of the committee appointed in 1779 to consider the dispatches from the American commissioners in Europe, which were the basis of the subsequent treaty of peace. In the discussion of the question as to the jurisdiction of the State of New York over the New Hampshire grants, now the State of Vermont, Morris was supposed to be in favor of the independence of that region and consequently lost his election by the Legislature to Congress. He continued to reside in Philadelphia and engaged in the practice of his profession. In the early part of 1780 he commenced the publication of a series of essays on the state of the national finances, which were then in a desperate condition. He attacked with great ability the laws making the receipt of paper money at a fixed value compulsory, and also those regulating the prices of commodities. In May, 1780, Morris was seriously hurt by being thrown from his carriage and it was necessary to amputate one of his legs. In 1781 he was appointed by Robert Morris, who had been placed at the head of the national finances, his assistant. He performed the duties of this position for three years and a half. In 1786 his mother died. Her life interest in the estate at Morrisania thus terminated, and the property passed into the possession of the second son, Staats Long Morris, a general in the British army, the eldest son, Lewis, having received his portion during his father's life-time. Gouverneur purchased the estate from his brother. In 1787 he took his seat as delegate from Pennsylvania in the convention



GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

which framed the Constitution of the United States. President Madison bears testimony to his exertions for the promotion of harmony, and states that the draft of the Constitution was placed in his hands to receive its finished form. In 1788 he sailed for France and in January, 1791, visited London by appointment of President Washington as a private agent to the British government to settle unfulfilled articles of the treaty of peace. During his stay in London he received his appointment as minister to France. During the troubled times of the Directory in Paris he conducted the affairs of his office with great tact and prudence. In August, 1794, he was succeeded by Monroe, his recall having been asked by the French government after the recall of Citizen Genet at the request of the United States. He next made a tour of Europe, and while in Vienna endeavored to secure the release of Lafayette from Olmütz. In October, 1798, he returned home. In 1799 he was chosen United States Senator from New York. He sided in the Senate and for the remainder of his life with the Federalists. His term closed in March, 1803, after which he resided at Morrisania. On Christmas day, 1809, he married Miss Anne Carey Randolph, of Virginia. Mr. Morris delivered funeral orations on Washington, Hamilton and Governor George Clinton and an inaugural discourse before the New York Historical Society on his election as president, and contributed frequently in the later years of his life to the *New York Evening Post*, the *Examiner* and the *United States Gazette*. He was an early advocate of the Erie Canal and chairman of the canal commissioners from their first appointment, in March, 1810, to the time of his death, which occurred November 6, 1816. His life, with selections from his correspondence and papers, by Jared Sparks, was published in 1822. In person he so closely resembled Washington that he stood as a model of his figure for Houdon, the sculptor.

The association of Alexander Hamilton with the history of Westchester County is of a tragic character, for it was at Weehawken that he lost his life in the duel with Burr, July 12, 1804. One of his best known productions—his description of the fate of Major Andre—also links him with the literary chronicles of the county, and one of his strongest, political papers was his reply to Dr. Seabury's supposed "Westchester Farmer" pamphlets. Of Andre he wrote, "Never, perhaps, did any man suffer death with more justice or deserve it less." Of the famous *Federalist*, papers, Hamilton wrote fifty-one out of eighty-five numbers. His life and public services are too well known to require consideration here. His fame will chiefly rest upon his able adminstration of the Treasury Department. In the eloquent language of Webster, "he smote the rock of the national resources and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth. He touched the dead corpse of the public credit and it sprung upon its feet."

James A. Hamilton, son of Alexander Hamilton, lived in Greenburgh, north of Dobbs Ferry, from 1835 until his death. He was the author of an interesting volume entitled "Reminiscences of Men and Events at Home and Abroad During Three-Quarters of a Century," published by Charles Scribner & Co., New York, 1869.

General Alexander Hamilton, grandson of Alexander Hamilton, lives in Tarrytown, Greenburgh. He has written tragedies, poems, prose, etc., and is a highly cultivated and accomplished *litterateur*.

David Humphreys, the soldier poet of the Revolution, composed his "Address to the Armies of the United States of America" in 1782, while encamped at Peekskill, the foe being in possession of New York and Charleston. He was the son of a Congregational clergyman, Rev. Daniel Humphreys, and was born in Derby, Connecticut, in 1753. He was educated at Yale, where he formed a personal and literary friendship with Dwight and Trumbull. He entered the Revolutionary army, and became a member of Washington's military family, with the rank of colonel. He wrote a life of General Putnam, and a number of poems and plays. After the war he resided with Washington at Mount Vernon, and when he became President, traveled with him to New York. Among his poetical productions is "Washington's Farewell to the Army," in verse. He held the diplomatic post of ambassador to Lisbon, 1794–1797, and minister to Spain, 1797–1802. He died at New Haven, February 21, 1818.

Robert Rogers, the noted ranger and writer, narrowly escaped being captured by Lord Stirling's troops at Mamaroneck, so that his associations connected with Westchester County were not, perhaps, of the pleasantest character. He was then a colonel in the British service, commanding the Queen's Rangers. After the incident at Mamaroneck he went to England, and was succeeded in his command by Colonel Simcoe. He was a native of Dunbarton, New Hampshire, and early achieved reputation as commander of a company of Rangers during the French War. His name is perpetuated by "Rogers' Slide" on Lake George, so-called from the daring act of Rogers in escaping from the Indians by sliding down the steep face of the mountain to the shore of the lake. After many romantic adventures in this country and in Europe, he figured in 1775 as an ardent patriot. Washington, however, suspected him, and in June 1776, ordered his arrest. He professed to be on his way to offer his services to Congress, which body ordered his return to New Hampshire. He soon after openly espoused the cause of the King. He was proscribed and banished by his native State, and his subsequent history is unknown. Rogers published in 1765, his "Journals," a spirited account of his early adventures as a ranger, and in the same year, "A Concise Account of North America." In the following year, he published a tragedy, "Ponteach," founded on scenes of frontier life.

Rev. Nathaniel Scudder Prime, D.D., author of a "Treatise on Baptism" and the "History of Long Island," died at Mamaroneck, March 27, 1856. He was born at Huntington, L. I., April 21, 1785; graduated in 1804 at Princeton College, from which, in 1848, he received the degree of D.D., and was ordained a Presbyterian minister October 24, 1809.

In the spring of 1830 the Rev. Dr. Prime came to Sing Sing with his family from Cambridge, Washington County, N. Y. He had been invited by the trustees of the Mount Pleasant Academy, in Sing Sing, to be its principal and had accepted the appointment. Having been the principal of the academy in Cambridge, he brought several pupils with him, and a high reputation as a scholar and teacher.

Dr. Prime was a very remarkable man. His father and grandfather were men of learning, and he himself had made great attainments in the ancient languages, philosophy and mathematics. There was probably no superior to him as a teacher in this country at that time. His two eldest sons, Alanson Jermain and Samuel Irenæus, were associated with him in the work of instruction.

The Female Seminary in Sing Sing, then under the care of Miss Dawson, was soon purchased by Dr. Prime, and his daughters, Miss Maria M. Prime and Miss Cornelia Prime, conducted the school with great success.

The academy flourished and attracted students from distant parts of the country.

The Presbyterian congregation of the village invited Dr. Prime to take charge of the pulpit, and he preached in it as stated supply about three years. He identified himself with the improvement of the place, taking an active part in all public movements of a philanthropic and moral character. In addition to the sons and daughters already named, two sons more were trained in the academy, Edward D. G. Prime and William C. Prime, the first-named graduating at Union College and the other at Princeton. The oldest son, A. J. Prime, pursued the study of medicine with Dr. A. K. Hoffman, and was for many years a successful physician at White Plains, where he died April 3, 1864, aged fifty-three years.

During the time of Dr. Prime's principalship of the academy, and almost entirely through his perseverance and enterprise, the large and handsome stone building now occupied by the institution was built, and it stands as a monument to his memory.

In the year 1835 Dr. Prime and his family removed to Newburgh, N. Y., where they conducted a female seminary and also the Newburgh Academy.

His son, Rev. Samuel Irenæus Prime, D.D., who died in 1885, was for many years the editor of the *New York Observer*, and known throughout the country as a graceful writer of travels and religious works, as well as for his able editorial management of the *Observer*. He was born at Ballston, N. Y., November 4, 1812, graduated at Williams College in 1829, was ordained a Presbyterian minister and received the degree of D.D. from Hampden-Sidney College, Virginia. His brother, E. D. Prime, also of the *Observer*, and W. C. Prime, formerly of the New York *Journal of Commerce*, were also residents of Sing Sing in early life.

John Swinburne, A.M., the distinguished scholar and teacher, was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., August 11, 1803. His father was a native of England, and came to this country when a young man. His mother was a native of Ireland, and was brought to the United States by her parents in early childhood. After their marriage his parents settled in Brooklyn, where they had three children,—two sons and one daughter. John was the eldest of the three. When twelve years of age he lost his father by death. His education, from its earliest stages until he entered on the duties of active life, was directed by an English gentleman of rare attainments as a scholar and eminent skill as a teacher, and the successful results of his training were finely illustrated in the subsequent career of his gifted pupil. After leaving school he turned his attention for a short time to mercantile pursuits, and was engaged as book-keeper by a large commercial house in North Carolina. Not finding this sphere of effort congenial to his taste, he returned, after a year and a half, to Brooklyn, where he established, and successfully conducted for ten years, a select school. On October 5, 1825, he was married to Mary W., daughter of Isaac Searles, of Brooklyn. A few years afterward he accepted an invitation to the position of principal of White Plains Academy, an incorporated literary institution under the care of the regents of the State. This position he filled with the highest credit to his ability as an educator of youth. While principal of this academy he received, as an entirely voluntary tribute to his learning and skill, the honorary degree of Master of Arts from the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Conn. The president, Rev. Wilbur Fiske, D.D., LL.D., in presenting this degree, said, in his letter to Professor Swinburne: "This honor is regarded by our Faculty and Board of Trustees as justly due to your superior scholarship, as proved by the fact that your scholars, who enter our Institution, are the best fitted of any we receive."

In 1841, Professor Swinburne, who desired a school which should be subject to his sole authority, and in which he might carry out practically and fully his views of the proper education of boys, established "The White Plains Institute," a boarding-school for boys. The reputation of its proprietor and principal, as an accomplished instructor and as a Christian gentleman of the highest qualities, was so extensively known and fully established, that from its opening applicants for admission to the institute were more numerous than could be received. He now found himself in just the sphere of educational effort which he had long wished. His school was his own, was admirably located, liberally furnished in every depart-

ment, and would rise or fall as his long-cherished ideal of such a school should find practical realization from his efforts. To say that his success was pre-eminent is only to state a fact testified to by all who know the history of the school. The prominent characteristic of its instruction throughout was *thoroughness*. *Mastery* of the study pursued, at every step of progress made, was the end aimed at and required; and in this feature it strikingly resembled the celebrated Rugby School of Dr. Arnold in England. His scholars who left the school to enter upon a collegiate course uniformly took a high rank, and often the highest rank, in scholarship in the institutions they joined; and those who pursued a course preparatory to a business life have almost invariably been found among the most successful and honored in the circles of mercantile and commercial enterprise. The advanced years of the professor are often gladdened now by visits from his former pupils,—generally gray-headed men and distinguished in their several spheres of life, who approach their venerable teacher and friend with strong and often touching expressions of respect, gratitude and affection. The lapse of years and the changes of more than a generation seem only to have strengthened and made more tender the ties which were created by the relation that once existed. From his early youth the professor evinced a remarkable genius for mathematics. While yet a young man he was a contributor to some of the ablest mathematical periodicals of the country. Even now, when more than eighty years of age, he is often found engaged in mathematical investigations, as a mere pastime. This natural capacity for and pleasure in this science, connected with a peculiar facility in simplifying to young minds its rules and processes, enabled the professor to awaken in his school that fondness for mathematical studies, and secure that unusual advancement in them, which was one of the marked results of his teaching.

With the literature of ancient Greece and Rome he has rare familiarity. Many of the most elegant of the classic authors of antiquity in their original languages are to him as hand-books, and his translations of a number of them into our vernacular tongue are among the permanent and most valuable fruits of his scholarly labors. He is now just finishing a translation of the works of Horace, which, in fidelity to the original text, and in perspicuity and elegance of expression, will, in the opinion of classical scholars who have had the privilege of examining his work, be superior to any we now have. It is earnestly desired that he will give these translations to the world through the press, and that his health and strength will be continued, that he may personally superintend their publication.

Among the sciences to which he has successfully given his attention is mineralogy, and through more than half a century he has been engaged in collecting specimens from different parts of the world, till he has now a choice and valuable cabinet.

In 1853 Professor Swinburne met with an irreparable loss in the death of his wife. This most estimable lady, naturally active and energetic, possessed of superior practical wisdom and endowed with great tenderness of affection, had rendered invaluable aid in the administration of a school whose government was peculiarly parental. Even after the lapse of more than thirty years, the testimony borne to her watchful care and maternal kindness, by those once pupils of the school, is a most touching tribute to her memory, and furnishes pathetic proof of the great loss sustained by the school in her decease. The uninterrupted prosperity of the institute had secured to its proprietor a handsome competency; and having no longer the important aid of his wife, he decided to retire from the school to whose interests he had given the best years of his life. In the sphere of a teacher of youth for thirty years, Professor Swinburne had earned and received its highest honors, and he could now lay aside its labors in the gratifying consciousness that to the advancement of the cause of education, second in importance to none that can employ the human mind, he had given his best powers and most devoted efforts.

Since his retirement from teaching, he has continued his residence in White Plains, and has often been honored by his fellow-citizens with positions of responsibility and trust. On the organization of the fire department of the town, he was made its first president, and continued such for a number of years. When the village was incorporated, he was elected its first president, and re-elected for several successive terms. He was made the first president of the White Plains Savings Bank, and president and treasurer of the Board of Commissioners of Westchester Avenue. At the opening of the War of the Rebellion, and through its whole progress, his influence was powerfully felt in support of the cause of the Union. In his eloquent appeals at public gatherings to the patriotism of those who could take the field, as well as by his liberal contributions of money to aid in the raising and equipment of military organizations and to meet the wants of the families of soldiers who were absent at the seat of war, he rendered most valuable aid and inspired hearts in many an anxious home with gladness and hope. Professor Swinburne is a firm believer in the Christian faith. For more than forty years he has been in communion with the Protestant Episcopal Church and a liberal supporter of its worship at home and of its benevolent efforts through the land. Although eighty-three years of age and laboring under the physical infirmities incident to his years, his mental faculties continue unimpaired, and he enjoys his literary labors as highly, and enters into the current affairs of the day as earnestly and welcomes the society of his friends as cor-





dially, as when in the prime of life. The circle of his friends is almost unlimited, and rarely has a man lived who could boast of those more devoted.

Robert Havell, an eminent English engraver and publisher, resided for many years in Sing Sing. Mr. Havell distinguished himself as the publisher, as well as the chief engraver, of that world-renowned and supremely sumptuous work, Audubon's "Birds of America." This work appeared in ten magnificent volumes, so large as to occasion the invention of the term *elephant folio*. They contained over five hundred plates, colored to the life, each bird being shown in life size, even to the extent of a large specimen of the wild turkey. The subscription price was one thousand dollars per copy. Mr. Havell spent fourteen long years in engraving, with his own hands, the most difficult portions of this work. He also employed a full force of assistants. Besides this work, Mr. Havell also published the grand work of Lord Kingsborough on the "Antiquities of Mexico," in nine quarto volumes, richly illustrated. The subscription price of this work was one hundred and seventy-five pounds per copy. To the above must be added Donnovan's "Insects of India" and "Insects of China," two exceedingly beautiful illustrated works in quarto, and a superb folio on "Lilies and Amaryllas." After the completion of "The Birds of America," Audubon induced Mr. Havell to accompany him to this country. He came to Sing Sing, one day, to enjoy the scenery, and while there made a bid on a parcel of land then being sold at auction, and had it struck off to him. This surprised him, as he had made his bid more in jest than in earnest. However, he accepted the bargain, and subsequently built a house on the grounds and occupied it as his residence for many years. He eventually removed to Tarrytown, where he died a few years since. The Havell mansion was situated on the high grounds nearly opposite the grand gateway of Dale Cemetery. The little avenue leading to these places still bears his name.

That distinguished English writer on mental disorders, the late Dr. Forbes Winslow, resided in Sing Sing for several years during his boyhood. His mother, who was then a widow, and her two sons, Forbes and Octavius, both of whom subsequently became celebrated, one as a physician, the other as a divine, resided for several years in a house that then stood where the present mansion of Mr. Frank Larkin now stands.

Rev. Robert Bolton, author of Bolton's "History of Westchester County," was born in the city of Bath, England, April 17, 1814. He was the eldest of the fourteen children of the Rev. Robert Bolton and Anne, daughter of the distinguished Rev. William Jay, of Bath.

The Bolton family is of ancient British stock, their genealogy being traced up to the time of the Conquest; resident, anciently, at Bolton and Blackburn, in Lancashire, and Wales, in Yorkshire. In the long line of the Bolton ancestry the name of Robert is rarely without a bearer. A number of these were distinguished for their learning and piety. A Robert, born in 1572, was noted at Lincoln and Brazen Nose Colleges, Oxford, for his varied accomplishments, and afterward as a divine. A Robert, born in England in 1688, became a prominent merchant in Philadelphia. His son Robert, born in 1722, was a merchant in Savannah, Georgia. His son Robert, born in 1757, became a very prominent merchant of Savannah, and the owner of much valuable real estate. His son Robert, born in 1788, in Savannah, became a merchant in Liverpool, England, afterward the rector of Christ Church, Pelham, Westchester County, and subsequently chaplain to the Earl of Ducie, at Tortworth, in Gloucestershire. His son Robert is the subject of this sketch.

Mr. Bolton and his four brothers became clergymen in the Protestant Episcopal Church. He was ordained a deacon in October, 1868, and a presbyter in June, 1869. He was rector of St. John's Church, South Salem, at the time of his death.

His brother, William Jay, at the time of his death, was rector of St. James', Bath, England, and an author of note; John is rector of Trinity Church, Westchester, Pa.; Cornelius Winter is rector of the Church of the Redeemer, Pelhamville, Westchester County; and James was the incumbent of St. Paul's Chapel, Kilburn, London. All of Mr. Bolton's sisters who survived youth achieved distinction in teaching, in literature or in art.

Robert Bolton was educated in England, and studied medicine there, but never practiced it as a profession. He came to this country in 1836, and settled at Bronxville, in East Chester, becoming a farmer. From there he removed to New Rochelle and published his first book, "The Guide to New Rochelle." He then removed to Tarrytown and engaged in teaching, an occupation to which he gave attention for the remainder of his life. He there became principal of the Irving Institute, and enjoyed intimate relations with Washington Irving, who had long been a close friend of his father. He next removed to Bedford, taking charge of the Female Institute there, and afterward founded a school in Lewisboro.

While preparing the "Guide to New Rochelle" he became interested in Westchester County history, and at once began the collection of the materials which he published in two volumes in 1848. The labor involved in this work, in the searching of collections of documents, the examination of papers and the personal visitation of every spot of interest and nearly every person of advanced age, was very great. His knowledge of the history of county localities was remarkable. He was actively engaged in the revision of his history at the time of his death. He was also the author of the "History of the Protestant

Episcopal Church in Westchester County," and of the "Memoirs of the Bolton Family."

In 1838 he married Elizabeth Rebecca, daughter of James Brenton, of Newport, R. I.; she died in 1852. In 1854 he married Josephine, daughter of Brewster Woodhull, of Patchogue, L. I., by whom he had eleven children.

Mr. Bolton's father founded the celebrated Bolton Priory, at Pelham, with which the family name has been so prominently connected. He purchased this estate, charmingly situated upon the shore of Long Island Sound, in 1837, and erected thereon a handsome stone edifice for a residence, and laid out the grounds with surpassing taste. This was afterward used for a young ladies' school, and under the management of Miss Nanetta Bolton, became justly famous. Here Robert Bolton, the historian, died October 11, 1877.

Beside being a laborious, painstaking historian, a diligent teacher and an earnest minister, Mr. Bolton was accomplished in many ways. He was dexterous in wood-carving, apt with his pencil and skillful in painting. He had a passion for the antique, and was a man of peculiarly fine and cultivated tastes.

Rev. Cornelius Winter Bolton, brother of Robert Bolton, the historian, was born in Bath, England, June 3, 1819. He came to this country and studied divinity at the Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary at Alexandria, Va.; was admitted to deacon's orders in 1847, and was ordained priest in 1848. In 1850 he became assistant minister of Christ Church, Baltimore, and in 1855 rector of Christ Church, Pelham. In 1858 he was rector of South Yonkers Church, and he then became minister of St. George's Chapel, in New York City. He became rector of St. Mark's Church, New Castle, in 1867, and then of St. Stephen's, North Castle,and at present is rector of the Church of the Redeemer, Pelhamville.

In 1856 he married Cornelia, daughter of Cornelius Glen Van Rensselaer, Esq., of Greenbush, Rensselaer County, N. Y.

Mr. C. W. Bolton is the author of "The Shepherd's Call," the "Sunday-school Prayer-Book" and other publications. In 1854 he edited Jay's "Female Scripture Characters" and Jay's "Autobiography and Reminiscences." In 1881 he edited and published his brother Robert's "History of Westchester County."

Edmund March Blunt, the nautical writer, was for many years a resident of Sing Sing. He was born at Portsmouth, N. H., June 20, 1770, and died at Sing Sing, January 5, 1862, in the ninety-third year of his age. He was the publisher of the *Newburyport Herald*, and in 1796 he published his first "Coast Pilot," which is still in use, and which has been translated into most of the languages of Europe. He also published "Strangers' Guide to New York City" in 1817, and numerous nautical books and charts. He lived about forty years in the house in State Street, Sing Sing, now owned and occupied by Dr. Wm. H. Helm.

Mrs. Ann Eliza Bleecker, the poetess, was at one time a resident of Westchester County, having lived at Poughkeepsie a year or two just after her marriage. Mrs. Bleecker was the youngest daughter of Brandt Schuyler, and was born in the city of New York in October, 1752. In 1769 she married Mr. John J. Bleecker, of New Rochelle, and removed with him to Poughkeepsie. After leaving Poughkeepsie, Mr. and Mrs. Bleecker settled at Tomhanick, a beautiful little village about eighteen miles above Albany. She died there November 23, 1783. Her poems were written without a view to publication, but several of them were printed in the earlier numbers of the *New York Magazine*. A collection of her poems and stories was published in 1793, under the supervision of her daughter, Margaretta, who added a number of verses and essays from her own pen.

Gulian C. Verplanck belongs to the literary characters of Westchester County by right of residence, for many years dividing his time between the city of New York and the Verplanck homestead at Fishkill Landing, on the Hudson, a well-preserved old mansion, in which the Society of the Cincinnati was founded. A graduate of Columbia College, he studied law, was admitted to the bar and after spending several years in Europe returned to New York, and was elected a member of the Legislature. In 1818 he delivered the first of the series of public addresses on which his literary reputation mainly rests. About 1820 he was appointed professor of the Evidences of Christianity in the General Protestant Episcopal Seminary, and in 1824 published a volume of essays on this subject. In 1825 he was elected a member of Congress from New York City and remained in the House eight years. He was especially prominent in advocacy of the bill extending the term of copyright from twenty-eight to forty-two years. For several years he was a member of the New York Senate. In 1827 Verplanck, Sands and Bryant united in the production of an annual called *The Talisman*. Mr. Verplanck also wrote a number of essays on a variety of subjects and published an edition of Shakespeare's plays, with notes from various sources, including some from his own pen. Mr. Verplanck, who was born in New York City August 6, 1786, died there March 18, 1870. His private life, says Bryant, "was as beautiful as his public life was useful and beneficent."

James Fenimore Cooper is another distinguished name which may be included among the *literati* of Westchester County, for his first novel was written while he resided at Mamaroneck. Cooper was born at Burlington, N. J., September 15, 1789. His father, Judge William Cooper, removed the following year to the neighborhood of Otsego Lake, N. Y., where he had purchased a large tract of land on which he

established a settlement, to which he gave the name of Cooperstown. In this frontier home, in the midst of a population of settlers, trappers and Indians, young Cooper imbibed that knowledge of backwoods life and of the habits of the aborigines which afterwards served him so well in the construction of his romances. At the age of thirteen he entered Yale College, and after remaining there three years received an appointment as midshipman in the United States Navy. In the latter he obtained, during the six years of his service, a familiarity with nautical life which he utilized with splendid results in his famous sea-stories.

In 1811 Cooper resigned his commission in the navy and married Miss De Lancey, a member of the well-known New York family of that name and sister of the bishop of Western New York. They settled in the village of Mamaroneck, in Westchester County, and not long after Cooper's mind was accidentally turned to the field of fiction. One day, after reading an English novel, he remarked to his wife that he believed he could write a better story himself. To test the matter he wrote "Precaution." He had not intended to publish the novel, but was induced to do so by his wife and his friend, Charles Wilkes. The descriptions of English life and scenery gave it great popularity in England where it was re-published. The "Spy," which followed, was as thoroughly American, and obtained great success, not only in this country, but abroad. It was almost immediately re-published in all parts of Europe. "The Pioneers" was the first of the series of frontier and Indian stories, on which



the novelist's reputation chiefly rests. It was followed by "The Pilot," the first of his sea-stories. Other novels followed in quick succession, and Cooper's reputation grew apace. He was also sharply criticised and became involved in various controversies, which culminated finally in a series of libel suits against his detractors in the newspapers. In 1826 he visited Europe, and upon his return to this country made his home at Cooperstown, N. Y. During his residence abroad (1826–33) he was everywhere received with marked attention. His literary activity was unchecked by his wanderings, and during his stay in Europe he wrote a number of novels. After his return to this country he wrote the "Naval History of the United States," which excited an acrimonious discussion as to the correctness of his account of the battle of Lake Erie. In one of his libel suits Cooper defended, in person, the accuracy of his version of the battle. A lawyer, who was an auditor of the closing sentences of his argument, remarked, "I have heard nothing like it since the days of Emmet." Cooper continued to write with amazing fertility and vigor almost to the close of his life, which was terminated by dropsy, September 14, 1851. Notwithstanding his defects of style, his romances are conceded to be among the most vivid and original of all American works of fiction. He was the first of his countrymen who obtained a wide recognition in other portions of the world. His works were translated into many languages, and the Indian tales especially were universal favorites in Europe. The great French novelist, Balzac, said of him, "With, what amazing power has he painted nature! How all his pages glow with creative fire! Who is there writing English among our contemporaries, if not of him, of whom it can be said that he has a genius of the first order?" "The empire of the sea," says the *Edinburgh Review*, "has been conceded to him by acclamation;" and the same journal adds, "In the lonely desert or untrodden prairie, among the savage Indians, or scarcely less savage settlers, all equally acknowledge his dominion."

Of all the writers who have in any way been associated with the history of Westchester County, Washington Irving is perhaps the most illustrious. Born in New York City, his whole life, with brief intervals, was spent within the borders of the county, and some of his very best work bears the impress of local influences. On the "lordly Hudson" Irving "chose and built the home where he lived for many years, and in which he did much of his life's best work, and here he died."[1]

"Westchester," said another eulogist of Irving, "has a claim peculiarly her own, for, while we are joint-heirs with others of his fame, Irving was here honored during his life for other qualities besides those of the gifted author, as he was here also known as the good citizen, the genial neighbor and the Christian gentleman."[2]

Irving first came to know Tarrytown and Sleepy Hollow when a lad of fourteen or fifteen. He spent some of his holidays here, and formed an attachment for the spot which never left him. Irving was born on the 3d of April, 1783, in a house which stood on William Street, New York City, next to the corner of Fulton. He was the youngest son of William Irving, a merchant and native of Scotland, who had married an English lady. He had an ordinary school education, but early developed a taste for literature. At the age of sixteen he began the study of law. His brother, Dr. Peter Irving, edited the *Morning Chronicle*, and for this paper Washington Irving wrote a series of essays on the theatres, manners of the town and kindred topics, with the signature of Jonathan Oldstyle. In 1804 for the benefit of his health he visited the south of Europe, returning by way of Switzerland to France and proceeding thence after a sojourn of a few months in Paris to England *via* Flanders and Holland. While at Rome he formed the acquaintance of Washington Allston, the artist, with whom he studied painting for a time with the idea of himself becoming a painter. After an absence of two years, however, he returned to New York, in March, 1806, and again took up the study of law. He was admitted to the bar, but never practiced. About this time he wrote and published his portion of the "Salmagundi" papers, which appeared as a serial. Paulding wrote a portion of the work, William Irving the poetry and Washington Irving the remainder. In December, 1809, he published "Knickerbocker's History of New York," an extravagant burlesque, which excited general laughter, although it was gravely held up to reprehension in an address before the Historical Society of New York. Its grotesque descriptions of Dutch manners and customs in the colony of New Netherlands are full of humor. After the publication of this work Irving engaged as silent partner with two of his brothers in mercantile business. The second war with Great Britain breaking out, he joined the military staff of Governor Tompkins, with the rank of colonel. After the war he paid a visit to the British Islands, and intended to make a tour of the Continent, but business reverses involving the ruin of his firm compelled him to abandon his purpose. Irving now turned to literature for support, and through the friendly aid of Sir Walter Scott, secured the publication of the "Sketch Book" by Murray, the great English publisher, who bought the copyright for two hundred pounds, which he subsequently increased to four hundred pounds.

In 1820 Irving took up his residence in Paris, where he formed the acquaintance of Tom Moore. While in

[1] Address of Chief Justice Noah Davis at the Irving anniversary, at Tarrytown, N. Y., April 3, 1883.

[2] Address of James Wood, Tarrytown celebration, 1883.



Paris he wrote "Bracebridge Hall." The winter of 1822 was spent in Dresden. Returning to Paris in 1823 he published, in December of the following year, his "Tales of a Traveller," for which he received from Murray the sum of £1500. In 1826, after spending a winter in the south of France, he went to Madrid, where he wrote his "Life of Columbus," the English edition of which brought him 3000 guineas. His "Conquest of Granada" and "Alhambra" followed. In July, 1829, having been appointed Secretary of Legation, at London, he left Spain for England. In 1831 he received, from the University of Oxford the degree of LL.D. After an absence of seventeen years he returned to America, in May, 1832. His arrival was commemorated by a public dinner in New York City, at which Chancellor Kent presided. A few months later he made a journey west of the Mississippi, which he described in his "Tour of the Prairies." In 1836 he published "Astoria" and subsequently the "Adventures of Captain Bonnevill." From 1839 for two years he contributed a series of papers to the *Knickerbocker Magazine*. A number of these papers, together with others, were published in 1855, in a volume which received the title "Woolfert's Roost."

In 1842 Irving was appointed Minister to Spain, an office which he retained for the next four years. He then returned home and for the rest of his life resided at his cottage residence "Sunnyside," near Tarrytown, the spot which he had described years before in the "Legend of Sleepy Hollow" as the castle of the Herr Van Tassel, and of which he wrote—"If ever I should wish for a retreat whither I might steal from the world and its distractions, and dream quietly away the remainder of a troubled life, I know of none more promising than this little valley." Here in this retreat he lived in the midst of a family circle composed of his brother and his nieces, hospitably entertaining his friends and engaged in writing his biographies of Goldsmith and Mahomet and his "Life of Washington."

His life at "Sunnyside" was simple, kindly and affectionate. He was a good friend and neighbor and a devout communicant at Christ Episcopal Church in Tarrytown. For many years he was a vestryman and warden, and it was his practice during the greater part of this time to take up the collection at the Sunday services. He never married, having lost by death his betrothed wife, Matilda Hoffman, a beautiful young girl. His death occurred at Tarrytown, November 28, 1859, and he was buried in the beautiful cemetery of Sleepy Hollow. The ivy upon the tower of Christ Church was taken from "Sunnyside" and planted by Irving himself. It was originally brought from Melrose Abbey. His pew in the church is marked with his name and was set apart years ago by the vestry for the use of any members of the Irving family who might wish to worship there. As near the pew as it could be placed is a mural tablet erected by the vestry to his memory. In the centre is the Irving coat of arms and on the stone the following inscription:

Washington Irving,

Born in the City of New York, April 3, 1783.

For many years a communicant and warden of this church,

And

Repeatedly one of its delegates to the Convention

Of the Diocese.

Loved, Honored, Revered.

He fell asleep in Jesus,

November 28th, 1859.

Irving died at "Sunnyside," having just taken leave of the family-circle. Three days later he was buried in the old Dutch Church cemetery, where he had some time before selected the spot for his grave, and where the remains of the brothers and sisters who had died before him were buried. An account of the funeral says: "It was a remarkable assemblage from the city, of men of worth and eminence, the friends of his youth and middle-life, and universally of the population of the town and adjacent country, where he was beloved by all. The area of Christ Church, Tarrytown, where the funeral services of the Episcopal Church, of which he had been a member, were performed, was much too limited to contain the numbers which thronged to the simple ceremony. The neighboring hillside was covered, and the road to the cemetery lined with spectators, villagers and others, clad in their Sunday attire. The shops of Tarrytown were all closed. Thus was borne to the grave with simple but heartfelt honors all that was mortal of Washington Irving. Eulogies, resolutions and addresses from civic, religious, literary and other societies followed his death. The city government of New York, the Athenæum Club, the New York Historical Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society, heaped these honors on his tomb, while personal tributes in sermons, editorial articles and various reminiscences were called forth in great number."

"By his will, says the same account, "which made ample provision to continue the home at 'Sunnyside' to the brother and nieces by whom Mr. Irving had been surrounded, he left his manuscripts to his nephew, Pierre M. Irving, who had been his assistant in some of his more important labors of research, as his literary executor." Mr. Irving afterwards published a memoir of his distinguished uncle. Mr. George P. Putnam, the New York publisher, issued a uniform edition of Washington Irving's works, in 1847, which yielded Mr. Irving and his representatives more than $150,000.

On the 3d of April, 1883, the centennial anniversary of Irving's birth was commemorated at Tarrytown by "The Washington Irving Association," which had been formed on the 19th of March for the purpose of appropriately observing the anniversary. The ex-

ercises took place on the evening of April 3d, at the Second Reformed Church. Judge Noah Davis presided, and from New York, Brooklyn and many adjacent points many came to swell the assemblage. The church was beautifully decorated with flowers and evergreens. As a prelude to the addresses, Miss Hawes played the overture from the opera of "Rip Van Winkle" on the organ. Addresses were delivered by Judge Davis, Mr. James Wood, president of the Westchester County Historical Society; Rev. James Selden Spencer, Donald G. Mitchell, Charles Dudley Warner and Professor William C. Wilkinson. A poem by Mr. Stephen H. Thayer, of Tarrytown, was read by Rev. Washington Choate. Letters of regret from a number of invited guests were also read, among them being responses from Governor Cleveland, John G. Whittier, George William Curtis, John Jay and President Porter, of Yale. Miss Sears sang "The Lost Chord," and Professor T. S. Doolittle, D.D., pronounced the benediction. At the request of the committee of arrangements the Misses Irving opened "Sunnyside" to the public, and for several days persons from all parts of the country availed themselves of the opportunity to visit "Woolfert's Roost," which remained as it was at Mr. Irving's death. A memorial volume containing an account of the commemoration, with the addresses and poem, was afterwards published by the Irving Association. It is embellished by fine steel portraits of Irving and Matilda Hoffman and by views of "Sunnyside," Christ Church, the old mill in Sleepy Hollow and "Woolfert's Roost."

Among the *literati* of Westchester County the name of Henry B. Dawson suggests itself, at once, as among the most prominent of those identified with the work of historical research in America. Although not a native of the county, he has been so completely a part of its social and literary life for more than a generation, that he may justly be regarded as one of its representative men.

Henry Barton Dawson was born at Gosberton, in Lincolnshire, about ten miles southwest of Boston, England, on Friday, June 8, 1821. His father, Abraham Dawson, was born in July, 1795, at Wisbeach, in the neighboring county of Cambridge, where his grandfather, originally of Lincolnshire, was then residing. His father's mother, a Miss Culy, belonged to a family of French Huguenots, who lived on a farm called Guyhirn, near Wisbeach. His mother was Mary Barton, second daughter of John Barton, of the parish of Bicker, five miles north of Gosberton. Mr. Barton was a respectable farmer. His daughter, Mary, married Abraham Dawson, May 15, 1820.

Henry Barton Dawson was their only son and the eldest of six children. He received his first instruction from a school-mistress, who found him an apt and ready pupil. At nine years of age, having in the meantime had the care of the village school-master, he attended, for a year, the noted school of Mr. Moses of Donnington. The last school in his native county, at which he was taught, was kept by Mr. Greenfield, a pupil of Mr. Moses, who carried him through a course of practical surveying.

In the spring of 1834 his parents, with their family, removed from England to the United States. They landed at New York on the 9th of June in the same year. His father's chief reason for emigrating was his dissatisfaction with the British government. At Manhattanville, eight miles from New York, he established himself as a gardener, an occupation which he continued to pursue until a short time before his death, in January, 1872. Henry attended the public schools in West Seventeenth Street, New York, and at Manhattanville until the spring of 1836, except during the summer of 1835, when he was at work with his father. In March, 1836, he left school in order to assist his father, who was then gardener at the Bloomingdale Lunatic Asylum. Before he left the trustees of the Public School Society tendered him a free scholarship in college, but the limited means of his father would not admit of his acceptance. He continued to work in the garden of the asylum with his father until the fall of 1837, when the family removed to Ithaca, N. Y., with the intention of settling on a farm. His father, however, resumed his occupation of gardener, and Henry continued to assist him for a short time. He then became an apprentice to a wheel-wright, Mr. Ira Bower, and soon after a clerk in the book-selling and publishing house of Messrs. Mack, Andrus & Woodruff, at Ithaca. In the winter of 1838–39 he left the latter to take the position of confidential clerk for Judge Gere, a wealthy resident of the town, and in April, 1839, returned to New York, where his employer had established a large lumber-yard. His salary at this time was one hundred and twenty-five dollars a year. Mr. Dawson continued in this business, under successive employers, until May, 1844, when he was engaged by Messrs. Comstock & Co., of Cortlandt Street, large dealers in patent medicines, as book-keeper. He also performed the duties of their cashier and corresponding clerk. In June, 1846, he became book-keeper for Messrs. Cumming, Main & Co., druggists, with whom he remained one year.

Although Mr. Dawson had contributed articles for the daily press, generally on political topics, as early as the winter of 1840, his first pecuniary venture in literature was brought about in a rather singular way. Having, in 1845, while still employed by Comstock & Co., advanced some money to the proprietor of *The Crystal Fount*, a weekly temperance and literary newspaper, he was obliged to take the printing-office and paper in repayment of his loan. For more than a year he edited and published the paper besides discharging his duties as book-keeper, and finding the work too burdensome, he finally, in 1846, gave up his position with Cumming, Main & Co., and devoted all his time to the newspaper. In November of the same year he was obliged to discontinue its publication with the loss, not only of the original loan, but



Henry B. Dawson

also of all his savings. The paper was the organ of the Order of the Rechabites, and Mr. Dawson's uncompromising spirit having involved him in difficulties with the principal officers of the order, the paper suffered from the enmities thus aroused.

Mr. Dawson next accepted the agency of the International Art Union, and in the following year, that of the American Art Union, which latter he retained until the concern was closed by the Supreme Court. After this he was an officer of the Wall Street Ferry to Brooklyn, and was successively connected with three different insurance companies in New York. In 1856, owing to the failure of the company of which he was secretary, he was again left without employment, and accepted an offer from Messrs. Johnson, Fry & Co., Publishers, to write a work for them on the military and naval history of this country. This was his first book, although he had already become known among historical writers, by "The Park and its Vicinity," written for and published in the "Manual of the Common Council of the City of New York" for 1855; the "Life and Times of Anne Hutchinson," written for the Baptist Historical Society; and "The Retreats through Westchester County, in 1776," written for the New York Historical Society.

"The Battles of the United States by Sea and Land," which is the title of the military and naval work, written for Messrs. Johnson, Fry & Co., was published, as a serial, in forty numbers, the first number appearing in the autumn of 1858. Besides its merits as a popular work, it is of recognized value as an historical authority, the events of each battle being given in detail with copious references, the principal documents relating to the engagement, and, occasionally, biographical sketches of the prominent actors. The success of the work was so decided that he undertook to write a complete military history of the United States, but the Civil War stopped the work as it also did the progress of the "Life and Times of Governor Daniel D. Tompkins," which he had undertaken at the request of the family.

While writing the "Battles," he became involved in a controversy concerning the merits of Major General Israel Putnam, with Messrs. Griswold and Deming, of Hartford, Conn., in the *Daily Post* of that city. The correspondence attracted the attention of scholars throughout the entire country, the Legislature of Connecticut being led by it to take special action on the subject; and the letters were subsequently collected and published in a handsome volume, copies of which have commanded prices as high as fifty dollars each.

In 1862 Mr. Dawson was enabled to make a complete transcript of the receipts and disbursements of moneys for the municipal purposes of the city of New York, during the entire occupation of that city by the Royal Army, 1776 to 1783, together with all the military orders on which those receipts and disbursements rested, and all the vouchers of the auditors appointed by the successive Commanders-in-chief through whom those accounts were settled.

As none of these were previously known and as the Finance Department of the city needed only these to make the financial records of the city complete from a very early period, this work of Mr. Dawson was welcomed by the city authorities as few such works have ever been welcomed. The mayor honored it by sending it to the common council with a special message; and the latter spread not only the message, but the entire financial and historical statement made by Mr. Dawson on its Minutes, made a liberal appropriation for his compensation; gave to him an official vote of thanks, a copy of which elegantly engrossed and framed ornaments his dining-room; and gave to him, also, the unusual privilege of copying and publishing any of its ancient records and files which he should, at any time, desire to employ.

Mr. Dawson's edition of the "Fœderalist" was the first of a projected series of historical works upon the Constitution of the United States, to be completed in seven octavo volumes, namely, "the Fœderalist," two volumes; "the Anti-Fœderalist, two volumes, which were to consist of contemporary articles written against the adoption of the Constitution; and a "History of the Constitution," an original work, written by Mr. Dawson, three volumes. Other engagements, however, prevented him from completing a work which would doubtless have proved a most important contribution to the political literature of the United States.

In 1863 the first volume of Mr. Dawson's edition of "The Fœderalist" appeared. The distinguishing feature of this edition was the restoration of the original text and the rejection of unauthorized mutilations. Prefixed was an historical and bibliographical introduction, giving a careful review of the political condition of the State of New York in 1787; an account of the causes which led its authors to write the series of articles of which the work is composed; the names of the writers of the several articles; a list of the different editions which Mr. Dawson had found; and a very elaborate analysis of "The Fœderalist" itself. The peculiar merit of that edition of this celebrated work was recognized by Harvard University, Williams College and several others, as well as by the Board of Education in the city of New York, all of whom added it to their respective lists of text-books; by the leading scholars of that period, led by the venerable Joshua Quincy, and by the Attorney General and the Secretary of State of the United States, each of whom adopted it as the edition of "The Fœderalist," which should, thenceforth, be used in their respective offices.

The publication of "The Fœderalist" called forth an attack on the volume and its editor by the Hon. John Jay, grandson of one of the authors of the original work and more recently United States minister to Austria-Hungary. It was also assailed by the

venerable James A. Hamilton, son of Alexander Hamilton, another of its authors. These articles were printed in the *New York Evening Post*, and created much excitement among the politicians and historians. Mr. Dawson replied to each and the controversy proved highly interesting. The intercourse between Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Dawson was afterwards resumed and their personal relations were perfectly friendly until the death of the former.

In 1863 Mr. Dawson also published his work on "The Assault of Stoney Point by General Anthony Wayne." It was an elegant volume, illustrated by maps and fac-similes. The germ of the work was a paper read April 1, 1862, before the New York and Pennsylvania Historical Societies. In preparing it he had the use of the correspondence and other family papers of General Wayne himself.

In 1864 Mr. Dawson reprinted the "Fœderalist Correspondence" with John Jay and James A. Hamilton as the first number of a protracted series entitled, "Current Fictions Tested by Uncurrent Facts." In the following year he published "The Diary of David Dow," a soldier of the Revolution, which, like all of Mr. Dawson's publications, was exhaustively annotated, and an edition of Dring's "Recollections of the Jersey Prison-Ship," which was published originally at Providence, R. I., in 1829, being compiled from Mr. Dring's manuscripts by Albert Gorton Greene, the well-known scholar and poet. The value of the work was greatly enhanced by the addition of an elaborate appendix prepared by Mr. Dawson.

A new edition of "The Park and its Vicinity" has been printed as No. I. of his "Gleanings in the Harvest Field of American History," but has not been published. Several of his works already mentioned had been issued as numbers in this series—namely, the "Diary of David How" as No. IV.; "Putnam Correspondence" as No. V., and "Stoney Point" as No. XI. The series is elegantly printed, in uniform style, royal octavo, and the editions are all limited. Besides these various works Mr. Dawson has written a paper on "The Sons of Liberty in New York;" one on "The Battle of Harlem Heights," and one on "The City of New York on Sunday Morning, April 23, 1775," all of them for the New York Historical Society; one on the "Battle of Bennington" for the Vermont Historical Society; and one on the "Battle of Long Island" for the Long Island Historical Society, together with several minor tracts, and numerous articles for periodicals with which he has had no editorial connection; and he edited, in 1861, for the Mercantile Library Association of New York City a volume of original papers, generally of the Revolutionary War, to which he added voluminous notes. The introduction to the last-named volume, which bore the title of "New York City During the American Revolution," attracted much attention, since it contained a carefully prepared and minute description of the city as it was at that early period, as if written at the time and by one who was personally acquainted with every part of it, and with the principal persons who lived there. Like the greater number of Mr. Dawson's works this volume was printed in elegant form for private circulation, and commands very high prices when copies are thrown on the market. In 1866 he edited the official "Record of the Trial of Joshua Hett Smith, Esq.,, for Alleged Complicity in the Treason of Benedict Arnold," of which only fifty copies were printed; and five large octavo volumes of selections from the *Historical Magazine*, bearing the general title of "The Magazine Miscellany," and elegantly printed in an edition of only twenty-five copies, have also appeared under his editorial supervision.

In the spring of 1865, Mr. Dawson was invited to take the editorial charge of *The Gazette*, a Democratic newspaper, published weekly at Yonkers, N. Y., which invitation he accepted. During the eleven months of his connection with the *Gazette*, he gave a new character to the publication, and proved himself an able controversialist and critic. His last number appeared on the 31st of March, 1866. The historical and bibliographical material with which he occupied the first page of the *Gazette*, at once commanded attention from the leading men of the country. Judge Nelson, of the Supreme Court of the United States, ordered a great case to be re-argued, in order that articles bearing on it, which had appeared in the *Gazette* after the case had been argued, could be judicially admitted as authorities before the decision of the court was given; and it is said that the authoritative character of those articles, which were from Mr. Dawson's pen, were seen in the decision of the court given by that distinguished jurist. In Brodhead's "History of the State of New York," and in other works of equally high character, the historical articles which Mr. Dawson prepared for *The Gazette*, were repeatedly referred to as standard authorities. Odd numbers of the *Gazette* of that period are eagerly sought, and command high prices; files of it are bound and carefully preserved in the state and historical society's libraries; and it is known that, during the past year, fifteen dollars were paid for an unbound file of it for the twelve months during which Mr. Dawson was its editor.

Four volumes of selections from the more important articles in the *Gazette* have been printed under the general title of the "Gazette Series." The titles of the several volumes are: vol. i. "Papers concerning the capture and detention of Major John Andre," collected by Henry B. Dawson, Yonkers, N. Y., 1866; vol. ii., "Papers concerning the boundary between the States of New York and New Jersey," written by several hands, Yonkers, 1866; vol. iii., "Papers concerning the town and village of Yonkers, Westchester County," a fragment, by Henry

B. Dawson, Yonkers, 1866; vol. iv., "Rambles in Westchester County," a fragment, by Henry B. Dawson, Yonkers, 1866. The authors of the articles in vol. ii. were General John Cochrane, Attorney-General of New York; Hon. J. Romeyn Brodhead, (two articles); William A. Whitehead, of Newark, in reply to the last; Mr. Dawson himself, who endeavored to act as umpire between the two; Mr. Whitehead, in reply to Mr. Dawson; Mr. Dawson, in reply to Mr. Whitehead; and the Attorney-General of New York in closing the argument. The correspondence closes with a postscript by Mr. Dawson. The volume was subsequently printed for the use of the United States Court in one of the boundary suits; and the arguments and evidence which Mr. Dawson presented in his articles, are said to have influenced Judge Nelson in determining the case for New York. The Andre volume is probably the most perfect "Andreana" in print. The series of volumes has been sold at one hundred dollars for the set, the edition being very small, only twenty-six copies having been printed.

A month or two after dissolving his relations with the *Gazette*, Mr. Dawson purchased *The Historical Magazine*, of which he became the editor and publisher. His first number was that for July, 1866. Ten volumes having been completed at the end of the year, he began in January, 1867, a new and enlarged series of the work giving double the number of pages and making two volumes in a year. As editor of this publication Mr. Dawson has achieved wide reputation among literary people, and especially among the students of every branch of American history. The magazine became a mine of historical information, and continues to be regarded as one of the standard references of American literature.

In 1868 the "Manual of the New York Common Council" passed into the editorial care of the new clerk, Joseph Shannon, and his deputy, F. J. Twomey. It now began to be issued in an enlarged and improved form. Mr. Dawson, on invitation, furnished the historical material and added some new features to the work. The Charter of the city was collated by him, critically, with the ancient parchments, and was first printed accurately in the manual. Mr. Dawson also furnished an elaborate paper on the battle of Harlem Heights and the death of Colonel Knowlton. The State authorities of New York subsequently employed him to examine and report on the boundaries of that state on the lines of New Jersey, Massachusetts and Connecticut; and the vestry of Trinity Church, New York, invited him to become the historian of that ancient and noted parish. Mr. Dawson did nothing under either of these requests, but his selection indicates the estimation in which he is held as an authority on historical questions relating to New York.

Mr. Dawson has long conducted an extensive correspondence with literary people and conspicuous actors in public events. He has been elected a resident member of the New York Historical Society, the American Institute, and the American Geographical and Statistical Society; an honorary member by the Minnesota and the New England Methodist Historical Societies, and a corresponding member by the Massachusetts, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Wisconsin, Chicago, and New England Historic-Genealogical, the Long Island, the Oneida and the Cayuga County Historical Societies; and also by the Worcester (Massachusetts) Society of Antiquity, the American Statistical Association and the Albany Institute.

Mr. Dawson possesses a fine library on American history—the result of many years of historical inquiry, and undoubtedly one of the most valuable collections, for practical purposes, in the country. Not only on the special subjects of which he has written, but in the general field of American history, Mr. Dawson's searching and retentive intellect has stored up a mass of most valuable information, in the use of which he is skilled by long practice to such an extent as to make him one of the most formidable of controversialists.

In religious opinion he is a resolute and uncompromising Calvinistic Baptist; and in politics an old-fashioned "States-rights Democrat." He voted for Polk for President in 1844, and attached himself to that wing of the Democratic party known as the "Barnburners," which, in 1848, assisted in forming the Free Soil party. During the Presidential canvass of that year, he was a member of the New York City committee of that party, and in 1849 was on the "general committee" of the city—what was known as "the old men's committee"—of which S. J. Tilden, B. F. Butler, ex-Attorney-General of the United States, Wilson G. Hunt, George H. Purser, Mark Spencer, Anthony J. Bleecker, John Van Buren, David Dudley Field, Lucius Robinson, Nelson J. Waterbury and other well-known politicians were members. He adhered to the Free Soil party and its successor, the Republican party, till the War of Secession, to the last-named, however, not as a "Republican," but as "a Democrat opposed to the administration." Since the close of the War he has been, as he maintains he had been before the War, a Democrat and a rigid opponent of centralized power both in State and Federal government.

Mr. Dawson was married May 28, 1845, to Catherine, daughter of Abraham D. and Esther (Whelpley) Martling, of Tarrytown, Westchester County, N. Y., one of the oldest families of the county. They have had nine children—1, Spencer H. C., born May 11, 1846, died July 9, 1871; 2, Henry B., Jr., born December 19, 1847, died March 10, 1876; 3, William Martling, born August 27, 1849; 4, Stephen Van Rensselaer, born September 21, 1851; 5, George Cooley, born September 25, 1853, married Mary Kate Dean November 16, 1881; 6, Mary Dawson, born June 17, 1855, married William H. Halsey July 6, 1875; 7,

Catherine Martling, born April 9, 1859; 8, Esther Martling, born July 17, 1861, died March 16, 1865; and 9, Caroline Dutcher, born August 31, 1863, died April 22, 1880. They have also had an adopted daughter, Anna Augusta, born October 30, 1851, who died May 31, 1878.

James Kirke Paulding, the friend of Irving and his associate in the production of the *Salmagundi* papers, was of Westchester extraction, though a native of Dutchess County. His grandfather, many years previous to the Revolution, settled in Westchester County on a farm at Tarrytown, still in possession of his descendants. The family removed to a tract of land in Dutchess County which had been granted them by King William III. This change was made in consequence of the fact that the Paulding residence being "within the lines," that is in the district intervening between the British Army at New York and the American forces in the Highlands, and the Pauldings being Whigs they were exposed to the depredations of the British troops and their Tory allies. Paulding was born at a place called Pleasant Valley in Dutchess County, August 22, 1779. His father was a leader of the Whig party in the county of Westchester, a member of the first committee of safety and subsequently Commissary General of the New York quota of troops. He was financially ruined by furnishing the army with supplies obtained on his personal credit for which he could obtain no compensation from the government.

After the close of the war, the family returned to their former home in Westchester, and Paulding was educated at the village school—a log house nearly two miles distant from his residence. Here he received all the education he ever obtained from tuition. On arriving at manhood in 1800 he removed to New York City, staying at first with Washington Irving's brother, William, who had married Paulding's sister. His first attempts in literature were his contributions to the *Salmagundi* papers. At the beginning of the War of 1812 he published a clever satire on the policy of England toward America with the title of "The Diverting History of John Bull and Brother Jonathan" which was reprinted in one of the English journals. Following this was "The Lay of the Scottish Fiddle," a parody of the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," in which he satirized the predatory warfare of the British on the Chesapeake Bay, and described the burning and sacking of Havre-de-Grace at the mouth of the Susquehanna by Admiral Cockburn's fleet. It was republished in London in handsome style with a complimentary preface and provoked a fierce review from the *London Quarterly*. He next published "The United States and England," a strong defense of this country against the strictures of the *Quarterly*, which attracted the notice of President Madison. In 1815 he published his "Letters From the South by a Northern Man," written after a visit to Virginia, and in 1818 his principal poetical work "The Backwoodsman." He next published the novel "Konigsmark," or, as it was afterwards called, "Old Times in the New World," the scene of which is laid amongst the early Swedish settlers on the Delaware. These were followed by a number of tales and sketches and his "Life of Washington," prepared chiefly for the more youthful class of readers. In 1836 he published a defence of slavery under the title "Slavery in the United States." Most of his works were republished by Harper & Brothers in a uniform edition in 1835. Paulding was thoroughly American in spirit and feeling, and his writings did much to confirm and strengthen in the popular mind the sentiments of patriotism engendered by the Revolution and the war of 1812. Their value was recognized officially by his appointment in 1814 or 1815 as secretary of the Board of Navy Commissioners, then first established. He was transferred several years later to the post of Navy Agent for the port of New York, which he retained for twelve years under



JOSEPH RODMAN DRAKE.

different administrations and resigned to accept the position at the head of the Navy Department, under the administration of President Van Buren. Upon the accession of President Harrison to office, he resigned and soon afterwards retired to a pleasant residence, "Hyde Park," on the east bank of the Hudson in the county of Dutchess, where he spent the closing years of his life. He died in the eighty-second year of his age, on the 6th of April 1860. The "Literary Life of James K. Paulding," by his son, William Irving Paulding, was published in 1867.

Near the road leading from West Farms to Hunt's Point, on the sound and on the edge of the marshes which border the Bronx River, stands an ancient burial place in which repose the remains of Joseph Rodman Drake, the poet who charmed the senses of thousands with the music of "The Culprit Fay," and strung the patriotic feelings of Americans to the highest tension when his muse sung of the national glory. Dying at the age of twenty-five, his

was a life of promise cut short long before the maturity of his gifts could be reached. All readers know that he forever celebrated the rural beauties of the Bronx in some of his daintiest verse, and it was proper that he should be laid to rest near its banks. But whatever fitness there might have been in the selection of his burial place is lost in the neglect into which it was afterward permitted to fall. One who visited it in 1865 [1] gave a most depressing description of its forsaken and desolate appearance. The entire inclosure was covered with briers, weeds and rank grass, which grew thickly around the poet's monument. This was a neat marble shaft, eight feet high, bearing the inscription,—

"Sacred
to the memory
of
Joseph R. Drake, M.D.,
who died Sept. 21st,
1820,
Aged 25 years.
None knew him but to love him,
Nor named him but to praise."

The salt marsh surrounded the knoll on which the cemetery is laid out and the Bronx at that point is but a lazily flowing stream. At the rate of decay then in progress the people of a few generations later would be compelled to refer to books and maps to know where the grave of Drake was situated.

J. Rodman Drake was born in New York City, August 7, 1795. He studied medicine under Dr. Nicholas Romayne, and shortly afterwards married Sarah, the daughter of Henry Eckford, a connection that placed him in affluent circumstances. The youthful couple took a trip to Europe, but Drake's health soon after failed, and, after spending the winter of 1819 in New Orleans, in the hope of regaining it, he returned to New York fatally smitten with consumption, dying on September 21, 1820, at the age of twenty-five.

Drake was a poet from his boyhood. Some of his youthful compositions have been preserved and show great fluency and aptness of expression. In March, 1819, he published the first of the famous "Croakers," the verses to "Ennui," which were written in conjunction with his friend, Halleck. "The Culprit Fay" was written to refute an assertion, by Fenimore Cooper and Halleck, that the rivers of this country furnished no such romantic associations as the Scottish streams for purposes of poetical composition. The scene is laid in the highlands of the Hudson, but the chief associations relate to salt water, "the poet drawing his inspiration from his familiar haunt on the Sound, at Hunt's Point." "The Culprit Fay" is an exquisite creation of the fancy and will always retain for its author a niche in the gallery of American poets. A selection of his poems, including "The Culprit Fay," was made, and published in 1836, by his only child, the wife of Commodore McKay.

Edgar Allan Poe, wrote some of his most noted productions while a resident of Westchester County, including the famous "Raven". Although he was very poor during most of the time, this was probably the brightest period of his melancholy life; for he was happier in the companionship of his wife, the lovely Virginia Clemm, and her mother, than at any other stage of his chequered career. His wife's death, after a residence in the county of about three years, was a sad blow to the poet's sensitive organization; but it is pleasant to think that the sweetest as well as the saddest memories of his "dear heart" his "dear Virginia," were associated with the charming landscapes of Morrisania and Fordham. Poe was nearly thirty-four years old when, in the autumn of 1844, he removed to New York City from Philadelphia. Born in Boston, in January 1811, his early life was as chequered and eventful as his manhood was dark and stormy. The Poe family was one of the oldest and most respectable in Maryland. Edgar's grandfather was a quartermaster-general in the Continental Army and the friend of Lafayette. His father while a law student fell in love with a beautiful actress, Elizabeth Arnold, and went on the stage. He was discarded by his family, and he and his wife died within a few weeks of each other in Richmond, Va., leaving three children, Henry, Edgar and Rosalie, in a state of destitution. Edgar was adopted by Mr. John Allan, a wealthy merchant of Richmond, from whom he derived his middle name. Mr. and Mrs. Allan treated him with great kindness, and after a tour of the British Islands in 1816, placed him at school at Stoke Newington near London, where he remained four or five years. In 1822 he returned to Richmond, and in 1825 was entered as a student at the University of Virginia. His life at the University was marked by many youthful excesses, which finally resulted in his expulsion. He was very much in debt and upon Mr. Allan's refusal to satisfy the claims of some of his creditors he quarreled with his benefactor and set out to join the Greeks, who were then in the midst of their war with Turkey. After wandering in Europe for about a year, he finally made his way to St. Petersburg where he became involved in a quarrel with the Russian authorities, from which he was extricated through the kind offices of the American minister, Mr. Middleton. Returning to America he was again taken into favor by Mr. Allan, who sent him to West Point, where his conduct was so irregular that in ten months after his admission he was cashiered. He was again received into Mr. Allan's family but another rupture ensued, in consequence, it is said, of Poe's uncivil behavior toward Mr. Allan's second wife. Mr. Allan died a few years latter, leaving Poe nothing.

Thrown upon his own resources, Poe turned to literature for support. In 1829, he had published in

[1] Hist. Mag., Feby., 1872.

Baltimore a volume of poems, "Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane and Minor Poems," which had been received with favor. He seems to have had but little difficulty in obtaining employment from magazines and newspapers, but the pay was meagre. In despair he enlisted in the army and then deserted. Luckily for him, in 1833 he entered the competition for prizes offered by the *Baltimore Saturday Visitor* for a story and a poem. He was awarded both prizes but was subsequently excluded from the second prize and only given that for the story. His story was the "MSS. found in a Bottle" and his poem "The Coliseum." His productions attracted the notice of John P. Kennedy, the novelist, who befriended him and finally secured him employment on the *Southern Literary Messenger*. This may be said to have been the beginning of Poe's literary career. In 1835, he was made editor of



THE HOUSE IN WHICH POE WROTE "THE RAVEN."

that publication at a salary of five hundred dollars per annum and removed to Richmond, where he married his cousin, Virginia Clemm.

In January, 1837, he left Richmond and returned to Baltimore, whence he proceeded to Philadelphia and New York. In Philadelphia he obtained employment as a contributor to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and in May, 1839, was made its editor. In the following year he took charge of *Graham's Magazine*. In the spring of 1843, he wrote "The Gold Bug," for which he received a prize of one hundred dollars. He had previously written a number of critical papers and stories, among them "The Mystery of Marie Roget." In the autumn of 1844 he removed to New York. His residence at first was on what is now Eighty-fourth Street. The house, a large bleak structure, stands on a rocky elevation. It is said to have sheltered Washington and some of his generals in the days of the Revolution. The front windows command the Boulevard (formerly Bloomingdale Road) and the new Riverside Park. The Hudson is seen through the trees, with the lofty Palisades beyond, a view still meet for the poet, and far more picturesque and beautiful when Poe looked upon it. Poe was often seen walking along the banks of the river, and he and his wife no doubt were wont to sit at the western window and watch the decline of the sun as it sank to rest behind the embattled front of the Palisades. The room formerly occupied by Poe and in which "The Raven" was written, is an apartment of moderate size, on the second floor of the house. Its windows look out upon the Hudson. The mantel, a relic of by-gone days, is of wood, curiously carved and painted in imitation of ebony. Here, before the old fashioned fire-place, the poet sat and dreamed his wonderful dreams, the weirdest of which, perhaps, is embodied in "The Raven."

Poe's next place of residence was Fordham. In the winter of 1846, says one of his biographers, he was living in extreme destitution at Fordham. In the meantime he had been employed by Willis & Morris, as critic and assistant editor of *The Mirror*, a position which he retained about six months, and as associate editor with C. F. Briggs of *The Broadway Journal*. The latter publication ceased in January, 1846, and Poe then began a series of papers, "The Literati of New York City," which were published in *The Lady's Book*. Their pungency and personality created for him many enemies. His troubles now began to thicken. His wife's health, which had always been delicate, was failing rapidly and Poe was sub-

jected to the agony of seeing her fading, day by day, without the means at hand to minister properly to her comfort. His necessities were finally made known by some friendly hand in the newspapers and a subscription was raised in his behalf. But, although his sufferings were extreme, he must have had many gleams of happiness in the little old-fashioned cottage at Fordham. It is a quaint little structure, a story and a half high, with a white shingled gable-end toward the street and a porch on one side. It is perched on the top of a hill and is surrounded by old fruit-trees, mossy stone walls and thickets of brambles and flowers. In one of his papers on the Literati, Poe severely criticised Dr. Thomas Dunn English, who retorted in a personal article which was reproduced in the *Evening Mirror*. Poe thereupon sued for libel and recovered from the *Mirror* several hundred dollars, with which he refitted his cottage. His life at this time was one of singular domestic tranquillity and sweetness. His mother-in-law, Mrs. Clemm, who seems to have been much attached to him, watched over him with tender kindness and solicitude, and managed the affairs of the little household with great skill and prudence. Poe's affection for his wife and her mother is the one bright spot in his sombre life. In a tender letter of June 12, 1846, to his wife he speaks of Mrs. Clemm as "our mother," and declares that his "dear Virginia" is his "greatest and only stimulus now, to battle with this uncongenial, unsatisfactory and ungrateful life." Nearly all the personal reminiscences of Poe which tell of his life at Fordham are of a bright and pleasing character. One of his friends describes his wife as looking very young. "She had large, black eyes and a pearly whiteness of complexion which was a perfect pallor. The pale face, her brilliant eyes and her raven hair gave her an unearthly look. One felt that she was almost a disrobed spirit, and when she coughed it was made certain that she was rapidly passing away." Mrs. Clemm, we are told, "was a tall, dignified old lady with a most lady-like manner, and her black dress, though old and much worn, looked really elegant on her." The same informant says, "the cottage had an air of taste and gentility that must have been lent it by the presence of its inmates. So neat, so poor, so unfurnished, and yet so charming a dwelling I never saw."

A short distance back of the cottage there is a rocky elevation, crowned with cedars. It overlooks a pleasant landscape and the hills of Long Island in the distance. Tradition asserts that this was a favorite spot of Poe's, and here, perhaps, he wove in his brain the ideas which found expression in "Eureka," "Annabel Lee," "For Annie" and "Ulalume," all of which were written while he lived at Fordham. Another favorite resort was the Aqueduct pathway, leading from High Bridge to Fordham.

A recently published description of the cottage and its surroundings says: "Two years ago the place was sold at public auction, under foreclosure, and it was bid in for five thousand seven hundred dollars. The unpaid taxes and accrued interest amounted to something more than that. From the railroad station the road winds up the Fordham hill to the cottage, with the native rock as a pavement. The cottage seems no more than a little paint-box, shingled on the sides as well as the roof, and covered with vines on which the foliage is now appearing. It is only a few feet from the road, but in summer is almost obscured by the trees. Within, the rooms are more spacious than they appear from the road. A cherry-tree planted by Poe, now vigorous and thrifty, shades a pleasant porch. There are two good-sized rooms, a bed-room and a kitchen on the lower floor. In the front room Virginia, Poe's invalid wife, lay through her sickness, and died. On the upper floor there are three rooms, one of them quite large. The old-fashioned chimney passes through it, affording an old-time fireplace, which in winter, when filled with crackling wood, would be a cheerful place. It was a favorite room with the poet, and here he wrote "Ulalume" and "Eureka."



EDGAR ALLAN POE'S HOME AT FORDHAM.

"Poe moved to Fordham from Amity Street. Washington Square was then the centre of the fine

residences of the city, and his house in Amity Street, into which he moved when the 'Raven' had brought him a reputation, was only a short distance from the square. He had been engaged on the *Evening Mirror* at a salary of ten dollars a week, and in a suit against the paper for libel, after resigning his position, he secured a verdict and obtained several hundred dollars. With this money he secured the Fordham cottage, at a rental of one hundred dollars a year, furnished it and removed there with his wife and her mother, Mrs. Clemm, who remained there until Poe's death in 1849. The grounds, comprising about two acres, are as interesting as the house, and have associations reaching back to Revolutionary times, when this neighborhood was a part of the 'neutral ground' and the field of Cooper's 'Spy.' The lawn slopes into a grassy hollow. A massive ledge of blue-



THE OLD DUTCH CHURCH, FORDHAM.

gray rock overlooks the valley at the height of a hundred feet and forms the eastern wall of the place. The site is said to have been occupied at one time by a British battery. Now a tennis club, composed of young men and women of Fordham, meets on the lawn in summer. The rocky ledge commands a view of the Long Island hills in purple background and against the horizon. In the growth of the city it is likely to become one of the choice sites for residences.

"The place rents for four hundred dollars a year. For several years it has been occupied by Mrs. E. D. Dechert, the widow of an engineer who drew many of the plans of Central Park, and afterward most of the avenues and drives of Fordham. A few of those who knew Poe and his family are still living in the neighborhood. One of these was his nearest neighbor, Mrs. Reuben Cromwell, then a young girl. She said recently that the first time she saw Poe he was up in a cherry-tree picking the fruit, and his wife stood beneath the tree. 'He was a nice-looking young man,' continued Mrs. Cromwell, 'and sociable.' His wife had come out here to get the good air, he said, and to dig in the ground and get well. But she was too thin and weak to dig. She soon became ill and never came out until she was buried. Her mother they called Muddie, and Mr. Poe they always called Eddie. They were awful poor; poorer than I ever want to be.

"Mrs. Cromwell describes going over to the house the morning that she heard of Poe's death. Mrs. Clemm was packing his things, having received a letter from him the day before, in which he wrote of his intended marriage to a Baltimore lady, and said that he would come on for her. She was overcome when informed of his death, and was sure that he would not have died had she been there to 'nurse him in his bad spell.' The neighbors raised money to enable her to go to Baltimore. Poe had not paid any rent for several months, and Mrs. Clemm afterwards returned and sold their few effects. Among these Mrs. Cromwell obtained the family Bible, a rocking-chair and a clock, which she still retained as relics of her distinguished but unfortunate neighbor."

In January, 1847, Poe's wife died and was buried in the church-yard of the old Dutch Church, on the King's Bridge road, about half a mile to the westward of the cottage. She was laid in the vault belonging to the Valentine family, who owned the cottage which Poe rented. In 1878 the remains were taken to Baltimore, to be placed beside those of her devoted "Edgar," and the vault itself has now disappeared. After the death of his wife, Poe's sister, Rosalie, came to live with him at Fordham. Poe continued to reside in the cottage until June, 29, 1849, when he started forth on the journey which terminated in his death. Before leaving, he arranged his papers and instructed Mrs. Clemm as to what disposition to make of them in case he died. After spending some time in Richmond he started on his return to New York, but got no farther than Baltimore when he was taken ill, and died in an infirmary on the 7th of October, 1849, at the age of thirty-eight.

Rev. Daniel Curry, D.D., the clergyman and author, was born near Peekskill, November 26, 1809; graduated from the Wesleyan University in 1837, and in the same year became principal of the Troy Conference Academy, at West Poultney, Vermont. In 1839 he became a professor in the Georgia Female College at Macon, and in 1841 entered the Georgia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He filled pastoral charges at Athens, Savannah and Columbus, and in 1844 was transferred to the New



Charles W. Baird

York Conference where he continued to engage in pastoral work until 1854, when he was chosen president of the Indiana Asbury University, at Greencastle, Indiana. After three years he returned to New York and in 1864 was elected editor of the *Christian Advocate*, at New York. He was re-elected in 1868 and 1872, and in 1876 became the editor of the *Ladies' Repository* of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Dr. Curry has written much for the periodicals of his church in addition to the articles which he gave to his regular editorial work. He has published a "Life of Wyckliff," "The Metropolitan City of America," and a "Life of Bishop Davis W. Clark," and has edited the writings of the late Rev. Dr. James Floy, and an edition of Southey's "Life of Wesley."

Rev. Robert Baird, D.D., the author and philanthropist, spent the closing hours of his busy life in Westchester County, dying at Yonkers on the 15th of



REV. DANIEL CURRY, D.D.

March, 1863. Born in Fayette Co., Pennsylvania, in 1798, he was graduated at Jefferson College in 1818, and received the degree of D.D. in 1842. From 1835 to 1843 he was the most part of the time in Europe, striving to revive the Protestant faith in the south of the continent, and to promote the cause of temperance in the North. He published a number of valuable works. His son, Professor Henry M. Baird, D.D., LL.D., of Yonkers, professor of Greek in the University of New York, is a distinguished scholar and historian. He has published a book of travels entitled, "Modern Greece," and more recently a "History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France," 2 vols. 8vo., which has taken rank among the more important historical works of the day.

Another son, Rev. Charles W. Baird, D.D., is the author of two chapters of this work, the histories of the the towns of Rye and Harrison, and is a distinguished literateur. He was born in Princeton, N. J., August 28, 1828, and was graduated at the University of the city of New York in 1848 and at the Union Theological Seminary in 1852. He was ordained for the ministry and in 1852–54 was the American chaplain in Rome, Italy. In 1859–61 he was the minister at the Reformed Dutch Church on Bergen Hill, Brooklyn, N. Y., and since May 9, 1861, has been pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Rye, N. Y. Dr. Baird has written "Eutaxia: Historical Sketches," New York, 1855; "A Book of Public Prayer," New York, 1857; "History of Rye, N. Y.," 1870; "History of Bedford Church," 1882; "History of the Huguenot Emigration to America," 2 vols., 1885.

Elias Cornelius, D.D., the educator and missionary, was born at Somers in 1794, graduated at Yale College in 1813 and died at Hartford, Conn., February 12, 1832. In early life he studied theology and in 1816 visited the Cherokee and Chickasaw Indians as a missionary. In 1818 he went to New Orleans in the employ of the Missionary Society of Connecticut. In July, 1819, he was installed with Dr. Worcester at Salem, but upon being appointed, in September, 1826, secretary of the American Educational Society he was dismissed. He contributed to the *Quarterly Journal* and published the reports of his educational society.

His father was surgeon's mate of Colonel Angell's regiment during the Revolution, and at one time an inmate of the "Jersey" prison-ship. He died at Somers, June 13, 1823, aged sixty-five years.

Among the eminent men who, after having made high reputations for themselves in other localities, selected Yonkers as the home of their advanced life, is Professor William Holmes Chambers Bartlett. For more than forty years he was identified with the United States Military Academy at West Point, first as a cadet, and subsequently as Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy. The leading particulars of his life, obtained in outline from Cullum's "Register of the Officers and Graduates" of the academy, with such details as we have been able to gather from other sources, are as follows:

Professor Bartlett was born in Pennsylvania in September, 1804, but as his parents removed immediately after his birth to St. Louis, Missouri, his childhood and youth were passed in the latter State, and it was from it that he was in due time sent to West Point. His parents were poor, and as there were then no schools at the West, he had no home advantages for education. Attracting, however, the notice of Missouri men who were able to command the influence of Senator Thomas H. Benton, an appointment was procured for him as a cadet. He was received at West Point on the 1st of July, 1822, at seventeen years and eight months of age, stood at the head of his class through his whole four years of study, and was graduated at its head on the 1st of July, 1826, having served as Acting Assistant Professor of Mathematics during the last two years of his course. From August 30, 1826, to August 30, 1829,

he continued to be employed at the academy, first as Assistant Professor, and later as Principal Assistant Professor of Engineering. In 1828 he took part as assistant engineer in the construction of Fortress Monroe, Va., and from 1829 to 1832 was engaged in the construction of Fort Adams, Newport Harbor, R. I. From 1832 to 1834 he was assistant to the chief engineer at Washington, D. C. In the latter year he returned to the Point, and became Acting Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy. To the full professorship in this department he finally received an appointment from General Jackson in 1836, and continued to fill the position until 1871, when he resigned and was appointed colonel in the regular army on the retired list. The instrument by which he was appointed to his professorship in 1836 is still in his possession. It was forwarded to General Cass, and sent by him, through his son, to Professor Bartlett. It was as follows:

"I hereby appoint Second Lieut. William H. C. Bartlett, of the Corps of Engineers, Prof. of Nat. and Exper. Philosophy (vice Courtney resigned.

(Signed,) ANDREW JACKSON.

During the student days of Professor Bartlett, as we have seen, he spent two years in teaching in the academy. Many men, afterwards distinguished in United States history, and several who, on both sides, in our civil contest, became men of mark, were at the institution. Leonidas Polk, a relative of James K. Polk, and afterwards Bishop of Louisiana, was his room-mate, and Albert Sidney Johnston, afterwards killed at the battle of Shiloh, was both his room-mate and classmate. Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee and Charles Mason (afterwards Judge Mason, of Iowa) were under his instruction, as were many others who in due time became widely noted.

While engaged in the construction of Fort Adams, between 1829 and 1832, Professor Bartlett contributed to *Silliman's Journal* a paper on "The Expansibility of Coping Stones," which has been frequently referred to by foreign writers. During his life in Washington (1832 to 1834), as first assistant to Chief Engineer (General) Gratiot, he had a great deal to do with the engineering on the Cumberland National road, and with fortifications all over the country. In 1840 he was ordered by President Van Buren, through his Secretary of War, Mr. Poinsett, to examine the European observatories, with a view to improving the course of instruction in astronomy, practical and theoretical, in the Military Academy. In this work he was absent from the country about five months, and made many valuable acquaintances in Europe. On his return he submitted to the War Department the report of his work, the receipt of which was duly acknowledged. It is a misfortune, however, that this valuable report has in some way been lost. Frequent search has been made for it, but without success. It suggested a plan for an observatory to be located in Washington City.

In addition to these labors, the Professor, during his long service at the Point, prepared several text-books for the use of the cadets. In 1839 he published a "Treatise on Optics;" in 1858, one on "Synthetical Mechanics," and another on "Spherical Astronomy," and in 1859 one on "Acoustics and Optics" and another on "Analytical Mechanics." Before finally retiring from his professorship he also published an article entitled "Strains on Rifle Guns," which will be found in the Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences, Volume I. It was also separately published. All this shows the years of his life at West Point to have been busy and productive. In 1847 Geneva College conferred upon the professor the degree of Doctor of Laws. The degree of Master of Arts had been conferred upon him as an honorary degree by the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, ten years before. He is a member of the Philosophical Societies of Philadelphia and Boston, and is one of the original corporators of the American Academy of Science, incorporated by Congress.

His books and his writings in periodicals are a monument to Professor Bartlett's scholarship and industry. The value of his books may be inferred from the fact that they have passed through a succession of editions. The ninth edition of "Analytical Mechanics" was published in 1874. We judge from a mere passing sentence in the preface to the second edition that, in the so-called conflict between scientists and the Bible, this eminent scholar and scientist has no sympathy with Anti-Theism. Speaking of a mathematical formula which he framed and which expresses the laws that govern the action and reaction of forces upon bodies, he says of this formula,—

"It embraces alike, in their reciprocal action, the "gigantic and distant orbs of the celestial regions "and the proximate atoms of the ethereal atmosphere "which pervades all space, and establishes an un-"broken continuity upon which its divine architect "and author may impress the power of His will at a "single point and be felt everywhere."

This, even in an academy text-book, is a strong tribute to Theism, and when it is added as a fact that Professor Bartlett is a worthy member of the Episcopal communion, it may be safely taken as a tribute to Theism in its Christian phase.

In 1871, at sixty-seven years of age, Professor Bartlett was retired at his own request. On the 1st of July he removed from West Point to Yonkers, and took possession of a fine residence which he had purchased for himself on Locust Hill Avenue. Here he has since lived. At the time of his retirement from the Point he was elected actuary of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, and this position he still holds, faithfully fulfilling its duties day by day, even at eighty-one years of age. He has rendered exceedingly valuable service to the company. Among his labors have been the construction of tables to facilitate their office work, and the prepara



Wm. H. C. Bartlett

tion of an elaborate report of thirty-one years of the working of their institution.

Professor Bartlett was married during his work upon Fort Adams, in Newport Harbor, February 4, 1829, to Miss Harriet Whitehorne, daughter of Samuel Whitehorne, a merchant of that place. He has had eight children, of whom four sons and three daughters are yet living. Mrs. Bartlett is also still spared. The professor, though somewhat infirm, is still both mentally and physically active, keeps up a deep interest in passing events, and is a fluent and sprightly conversationalist and companion, full of reminiscences of the country's history, and of an eventful and interesting personal life.

Rev. John A. Todd, D.D., pastor of the Second Reformed Church of Tarrytown, N. Y., who contributed to this work the two chapters on the history of the townships of Greenburgh and Mount Pleasant, is a native of Somerset County, N. J., and a graduate of Rutgers College and of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church, at New Brunswick, N. J. After completing his course at the Seminary, in 1848, he was settled towards the latter part of that year as pastor of the Reformed Church of Griggstown, N. J. His personal connection with Westchester County dates back to 1855, when he accepted the call of the Second Reformed Church of Tarrytown, and entered upon his duties as pastor. Having lived since then in the midst of the historical scenes of which he has written, and having enjoyed the friendship of many whose ancestors had long lived there before them and had borne a prominent part in the great revolutionary struggle, he has had peculiar opportunities of information in regard to the localities described.

Among other productions of Dr. Todd's pen may be mentioned his "Discourse on the Character and Death of Washington Irving," 1859; "Memories of the Rev. Peter Labagh, D.D., with Notices of the History of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in North America," 1860; "The Law of Spiritual Growth, a review of Boardman's 'Higher Christian Life,'" in the *Princeton Review* of October, 1860; "The Man for the Times," an Oration delivered before the Governor of the State, the Trustees, and the Alumni of Rutger's College, at the Dedication of Geological Hall, New Brunswick, N. J., June 18, 1872; "The Posture of the Ministers and People of the Reformed Dutch Church during the Revolution," prepared by request of a committee of the General Synod, and published by order of the Synod in the volume of *Centennial Discourses*, 1876; "The Good Fight and the Victor's Crown," a Memorial Discourse on the Life, Character and Services of the Rev. Abraham Moesle, D.D., 1882; "Letters from Europe, from Canada and the Saguenay, from Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton, and Newfoundland," 1880–1884. Dr. Todd has also published a number of translations from the German and the Spanish, both in prose and verse.

Since completing the two chapters included in this work, he has resigned his pastoral charge, but will continue to reside in Tarrytown, and be chiefly occupied in literary pursuits.

James Parton, the well-known historical writer, received his early education in Westchester County. He is a native of England, born at Canterbury, February 9, 1822. Brought to the United States when but five years of age, he was educated in New York City and vicinity, chiefly at a school at White Plains. For seven years he taught school, finally becoming known as a writer by his editorial contributions to the *Home Journal*. His first published work, which appeared in 1855, was the "Life of Horace Greeley." It was a successful piece of work, and secured the author employment in the compilation of "The Humorous Poetry of the English Language," which appeared in 1857. It was followed, in 1859, by the "Life and Times of Aaron Burr," and in 1860 by the "Life of Andrew Jackson." In 1864 his "Life of Benjamin Franklin" appeared. Since then he has been a prolific writer of recognized popularity. In 1856 he married Sara Payson Willis, sister of N. P. Willis, the poet, and herself widely known for her literary productions under the *nom de plume* of Fanny Fern.

John Bigelow, the veteran writer and politician, was, for three years, a resident of Westchester County as one of the inspectors of the state prison at Sing Sing. Mr. Bigelow was appointed to this position in 1845, and during his term of service introduced various reforms in the prison discipline. Mr. Bigelow is a native of Malden, Ulster County, N. Y. He was born November 25, 1817; graduated at Union College 1835; studied law, and was admitted to the bar in New York City in 1839. For ten years he was engaged in the practice of his profession, occupying himself, at the same time, more or less with literature and literary journalism. In 1850 he became one of the proprietors and editors of the *New York Evening Post*, and sustained this relation more than ten years. In 1856 he published a life of General Fremont, when the latter was a candidate for the Presidency. He spent the years 1859 and 1860 abroad, writing letters to the *Evening Post*. He had previously written interesting narratives of trips to Jamaica and Hayti; the former presenting his views of the practical working of emancipation in Jamaica. Early in the administration of President Lincoln he was appointed consul at Paris, and upon the death of the minister, Mr. Dayton, in 1864, was chosen to succeed him. While consul, he published in French, for the information of the people of France, a valuable work on the resources of the United States. Early in 1867 he returned to the United States, bringing with him the original manuscripts of Benjamin Franklin's autobiography, which he published in the following year, with notes and an introduction by himself. Mr. Bigelow is the author of some valuable mono-

graphs on social and political phases of French history, as well as of many other papers and sketches. In December, 1871, he submitted to Senator Conkling, of New York, an elaborate scheme for the commemoration of the first centennial anniversary of American independence in 1876, which was published in the *New York Tribune*, and first directed public attention to the approach of that occasion. Mr. Bigelow was a warm supporter of Governor Tilden for the Presidency, and for some years has been prominent before the public as Mr. Tilden's trusted adviser and intimate friend. Early in 1886 he was appointed United States Sub-Treasurer at New York, and confirmed by the Senate, but, before qualifying, resigned the position, not caring to undertake its arduous duties. Upon the retirement of Louis J. Jennings, he was appointed editor of the New York *Times*, but found the labors of daily journalism too arduous for his tastes.

Alice B. Haven, the author of a number of poems and tales under the name of "Cousin Alice," is a resident of Mamaroneck. She was born at Hudson, N. Y. Her maiden name was Bradley. She became a contributor to the periodicals of the day at an early age, and in 1846 was married to Joseph C. Neal, author of the "Charcoal Sketches." Upon his death a few months later, she took charge of the literary department of *Neal's Gazette*, of which her husband had been a proprietor, and conducted it for several years with success. She also contributed frequently to the leading monthly magazines. "The Gossips of Rivertown, with Sketches in Prose and Verse," from her pen, was published in 1850. She is also the authoress of a series of popular juvenile works published under the name of "Cousin Alice." In 1853 Mrs. Neal was married to Mr. Samuel L. Haven, and has since resided at Mamaroneck.

Cornelius Mathews, the novelist, play-wright and journalist, was a native of Port Chester. He was born October 28, 1817. His early country life on the banks of Byram River and the rolling uplands of Rye and its picturesque lake, made a deep impression on his mind, as is shown by traces in many pages of his writings. He was among the early graduates of the New York University in 1835, and began his literary career while still a youth. To the *American Monthly Magazine* of 1836, he contributed both prose and verse. He was also a contributor to the *New York Review* and the *Knickerbocker Magazine*. In 1837 he was admitted to the bar. In "Behemoth" he produced an original romance, describing the efforts of a supposed anti-Indian race to overcome the pre-historic animal known as the mastodon. From December 1840, to May 1842, he edited the *Arcturus*, a monthly magazine, besides writing a comedy and another novel. In 1843 he published a volume of poems, and in 1846 his tragedy "Witchcraft," was successfully produced. This was followed by a number of tales and sketches. A collected edition of his writings was published by the Harper's in 1843. Mr. Mathews was also a constant writer in the journalism of the day and has been prominently identified with the discussion of the international copyright question.

William Leggett, the well-known writer, married in New Rochelle and spent the closing years of his life there. Mr. Leggett was born in New York City in the summer of 1802 and was partially educated at Georgetown College. In consequence of his father's failure in business, he was withdrawn before the completion of his course, and in 1819 accompanied his father to Illinois, where the family settled. In 1822 he entered the navy as midshipman but resigned his commission in 1826. Shortly afterwards he published "Leisure Hours at Sea," a volume of verses written at intervals during his naval career. He also wrote a prose tale "The Rifle," in which he portrayed the scenes and incidents of western pioneer life. Other stories followed and were afterwards collected and published under the titles of "Tales by a Country School-master," and "Tales of the Sea." In 1828 he married Miss Almira Waring of New Rochelle, and in November of the same year commenced the publication of *The Critic*, a weekly literary periodical. It was discontinued at the end of six months and united with the *Mirror*, to which Mr. Leggett became a contributor. In the summer of 1829, he became, with Wm. C. Bryant, one of the editors of the New York *Evening Post*, a position which he retained until December, 1836. He became a zealous Democrat and an earnest advocate of free-trade, as well as a strong opponent to the United States Bank. After his retirement from the *Evening Post*, he established *The Plain Dealer*, which he conducted with ability. It was involved, however, in the failure of its publisher, and ceased to exist at the end of ten months. Mr. Leggett did not engage in any literary or newspaper work after this, his health having become impaired. He passed the brief remainder of his life at his country place at New Rochelle, which had been his residence since his marriage. In May 1839 he was appointed by President Van Buren, diplomatic agent to the Republic of Guatemala, but he died while preparing to start for his post, on the 29th of May, 1839. He was a writer of great fluency and persuasive force, and a man who possessed in an eminent degree, the courage of his convictions.

Elise Justine Bayard, daughter of Mr. Robert Bayard, of Glenwood, near Fishkill, was the author of a number of poems, some of which have appeared in the *Knickerbocker Magazine* and *Literary World*. She married Mr. Fulton Cutting, and died about 1850.

Hon. William Cauldwell, so well-known as the editor and proprietor of the *New York Sunday Mercury* and as a legislative representative of Westchester County, was born in the city of New York, October 12, 1824. His father, Andrew Cauldwell, who married Margaret, daughter of William Giffen, was a



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native of Kilmarnock, Scotland, and came to this country about 1816. The primary education of his son was obtained at the then well-known high school in Crosby Street, New York, but at the early age of eleven he went at the request of his uncle, Adam Giffen, to Louisiana, and lived for a while at St. Martinsville in that State. He afterwards attended school at Opelousas, but his school-life there was somewhat suddenly terminated. His teacher, a Mr. Tinnerman, who was an old soldier of Napoleon, had heard that the noted Colonel David Crockett was to pass through that place on his way to Texas, where he was destined to end his eventful career at the fated Alamo. Resolved to be one of the brave colonel's followers, he announced his intention to his pupils, and instructed them to inform their parents and guardians that the institution would close. After this, young Cauldwell attended Jefferson College, on the banks of the Mississippi River, south of Plaquemine, where he remained three years. He then returned to his native city, and entered a dry-goods store, but at the end of two years, following the bent of his inclination, he drifted into a printing office, where he learned the trade. This office was conducted by Samuel Adams, whose murder by John C. Colt caused a great sensation throughout the country. After the tragic death of Mr. Adams, young Cauldwell secured a position as compositor on the *Sunday Atlas*, and remained on that paper till about 1850. At that time one-third of the *Sunday Mercury* was owned by Elbridge G. Page, who was a regular contributor to its columns under the name of "Dow, Jr.," and his "Short Patent Sermons," were a well-known feature of the paper, and a source of amusement to thousands of readers. This share Mr. Cauldwell purchased, and Page went to California, where he died some years after. At the time when Mr. Cauldwell became connected with the *Mercury*, it was a small sheet, with a comparatively limited circulation. He immediately went to work with energy and vigor to make it the foremost paper of its kind. It was the pioneer of Sunday journalism, and from that time to the present its circulation has constantly increased, and its sales now number 75,000 copies weekly. The best humorous writers of the country have contributed to its columns, and here appeared the brilliant sketches, written by men of whose life and history the world knows nothing, but whose *noms de plume*, are household words, and known the length and breadth of the land. Among these were "Orpheus C. Kerr," (Robert H. Newell) whose witty papers were the delight of Abraham Lincoln; "Doesticks," (Mortimer G. Thompson); Charles F. Brown, known the world over as "Artemus Ward;" Joseph Barber, author of a long series of racy papers under the name of the "Disbanded Volunteer," and a host of others whose productions were the delight of the reader, and made the *Sunday Mercury* a welcome visitor to many thousands of households. Under his skillful and energetic management, the paper has increased its size to a journal of fifty-six columns, and two of Hoe's perfecting presses are required to work off its regular edition.

In the early part of the year 1848 an association of householders, of whom Mr. Cauldwell's father was one, purchased a tract of land north of the Harlem River, and laid out the village of Morrisania. His father, as well as his brother-in-law and himself, joined in the purchase of one share, or an acre of land, and Mr. Cauldwell's father was the first to erect a house, which he built on "Lot 64" of the village of Morrisania, located on Washington Avenue, between what is now One Hundred and Sixty-ninth and One Hundred and Seventieth Streets. In the autumn of 1848 William Cauldwell and family occupied a portion of his father's residence, and during this time he purchased from Robert H. Elton a plot of ground at the corner of One Hundred and Sixty-sixth Street (then George Street) and Boston Avenue (then known as the old Boston Post Road), and next north of the famous land-mark known as Pudding Rock, and here built in 1852 the mansion which has since been his home. In 1855 the inhabitants of Morrisania village, unwilling to remain longer a part of the town of West Farms, resolved to form a separate township, which was done in the same year. Of the new town, Gouverneur Morris was, in 1856, the first supervisor, and was succeeded the next year by Mr. Cauldwell, who held the office for fifteen terms, and up to the time (1874) when the town was annexed to the city of New York.

For twelve years Mr. Cauldwell was also a member of the Board of Education of the town of Morrisania, and was chosen chairman of the Board of Supervisors of Westchester County in 1866, and held the same position in 1868 and 1869. In 1867 the Board of Supervisors were equally divided between the Democratic and Republican parties. Mr. Cauldwell received the Democratic nomination for chairman, having for his competitor ex-Senator Hezekiah D. Robertson. After one hundred and eleven ballots had been taken, the opposing candidates withdrew, and united upon Abraham Hatfield, an old and respected citizen of Westchester, as presiding officer for that year. The handsome gold mounted gavels which were presented to Mr. Cauldwell as testimonials of his service as chairman of the board, are highly prized by him. His first appearance in active politics was in 1856, at which time he was an ardent worker to secure the election of James Buchanan, for President, and John B. Haskin for Congress, and in 1858 took a prominent part in the re-election of Mr. Haskin. In 1863 he was instrumental in procuring the passage of an act authorizing the construction of a horse railway for Morrisania and West Farms, an enterprise which was rapidly pushed to completion, and since its organization has been treasurer of the company. In 1867 the question of rapid transit began to attract public atten-

tion, and having been in that year elected to the State Senate (his opponent being Hon. James W. Husted), his influence secured the passage of the first act ever passed by the Legislature for that purpose. In 1869 he was re-elected, and in 1871 he again received the unanimous nomination of his party, but was defeated by the Hon. W. H. Robertson. To show Mr. Cauldwell's adaptability for public affairs, he was at one and the same time holding the offices of State Senator, president of the Board of Town Trustees, chairman of the Board of Supervisors of the county, member of the Board of Education, president of the Saving's Bank and chairman of the Democratic General Committee of Morrisania, and in all of these his duties, varied as they were, have been faithfully performed. True to the Union during the war, his duties as supervisor were so faithfully performed, that he was the recipient of most honorable testimonials from the Citizens' Mutual Protection Association, and an engrossed copy of the action of that body, neatly framed, is among the treasures which adorn his library.

In 1874 his fellow citizens again called upon him to go to the Legislature, in order to perfect the somewhat rude Act of Annexation, which had been passed in 1873. He was elected by a very large majority, and devoted himself to the matter with such energy that a new act was passed so perfect in its details, that no need to amend it has yet occurred. It is a somewhat curious circumstance, that when elected to the Assembly, he met in the Legislature both of his former competitors for senatorial honors, Hon. W. H. Robertson and Hon. James W. Husted, the former as President of the Senate, the latter as Speaker of the Assembly. With every work of a public nature in the town of Morrisania, Mr. Cauldwell has been prominently identified. During the fifteen terms in which he held the office of supervisor, nearly a million and a half of dollars passed through his hands; and his duties were performed with such exactness as to merit and receive the complimentary endorsement of those who were appointed as a board of audit to examine his accounts, and the fact remains on record that for this long service, Mr. Cauldwell received the sum of two hundred and twenty dollars for incidentals (his own services being voluntary), which speaks volumes for his unselfishness. It is also worthy of mention that the entire quota of eight hundred men required from his town by the various drafts during the war, was filled by volunteers and substitutes procured through his efforts.

Among the men who are much indebted to him for their success in public life, may be mentioned Waldo Hutchins and Clarkson N. Potter, both of whom became prominent members of Congress.

In 1876 Cauldwell became the sole proprietor of the *Sunday Mercury*, and in 1883 he purchased the building No. 3 Park Row, New York, which is fitted with every appliance for a first-class printing and publishing office. He was married October 27, 1845, to Miss Elizabeth, daughter of George Dyer. Their children are Leslie G., Nettie G. and Emily L., wife of Thomas Rogers.

His career has been alike creditable to himself, and to the county which he has so ably represented, and in his profession as a publisher, few can show a more successful record, and none a more honorable one.

Horace Greeley, the noted journalist, spent much of his leisure at his country home in Westchester County, and breathed his last at Chappaqua. Mr. Greeley was born at Amherst, N. H., February 3, 1811. He received a common-schoool education, which was supplemented by his own unwearied efforts in the acquisition of knowledge. At the age of fourteen, his parents having removed to Vermont, he obtained employment as apprentice-boy in the office of the *Northern Spectator*, Pultney, Vt. In 1830 he returned home, owing to the discontinuance of the paper, but soon afterwards secured another position as apprentice at Erie, Pa., for fifty dollars a year.

In August, 1831, having saved enough money to pay his traveling expenses, besides giving twenty-five or thirty dollars to his father, he arrived in New York City "with a suit of blue cotton jean, two brown shirts and five dollars in cash." He obtained work as a journeyman printer, and, in 1834, commenced with Jonas Winchester (afterwards publisher of the *New World*) a weekly paper, of sixteen pages quarto, called the *New Yorker*. Although conducted with much ability it was not successful, and was finally abandoned. While editing this journal Mr. Greeley also conducted, in 1838, *The Jeffersonian*, published by the Whig Central Committee of the State, and the *Log Cabin*, a campaign paper, published in the Presidential contest of 1840.

On Saturday, April 20, 1841, Mr. Greeley began the publication of the *New York Tribune*, which soon obtained recognition for the spirited and independent tone of its utterances. In 1848 he was elected a member of the United States House of Representatives, and in 1851 visited Europe and was chosen chairman of one of the juries of the World's Fair, at London. While in Paris the Emperor had him imprisoned for his caustic criticism of the imperial government, but he was soon released through the intervention of the American Minister. His letters from Europe, written to the *Tribune*, were published in a volume entitled "Glances at Europe." In 1856 he published his "History of the Struggle for Slavery Extension," and, three years later, "An Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco," a series of letters reprinted from the *Tribune*. Of Mr. Greeley's editorial work on the *Tribune* it may be said that it was one of the most powerful of literary agencies in forming the Republican Party and in paving the way for the downfall of slavery. The *Tribune* was interdicted in many Southern homes, on account of

its radical and uncompromising utterances, and Horace Greeley drew upon himself the wrath of the entire slave-holding section. His style was rugged, trenchant and forcible; always breathing the spirit of candor and sincerity. In 1864 and 1867 were published the two subscription volumes of Mr. Greeley's "American Conflict, or History of the War for the Union." The sale soon reached one hundred thousand copies, but was checked for some years after it had become known that Mr. Greeley had generously consented to affix his name to the bail-bond of Jefferson Davis.

In 1867–68 Mr. Greeley contributed to the *New York Ledger* a series of autobiographic reminiscences, which were afterwards republished in a volume entitled "Recollections of a busy life." In 1870 he reprinted from the *Tribune* a series of "Essays on Political Economy," defending the "protection theory," which were dedicated to the memory of Henry Clay. In 1872 he published "What I Know about Farming." He also originated and edited the *Tribune Almanac*, which for many years has been a standard book of reference.

In 1872 Mr. Greeley was nominated for President of the United States by the Liberal Republican and Democratic Conventions, but, as is well known, was overwhelmingly defeated by General Grant. His political reverses and the death of his wife proved too great a strain for his frame, enfeebled by overwork, anxiety and weary vigils at his sick wife's bedside. He died November 29, 1872, at the residence of Dr. Choate, several miles from his home at Chappaqua. Mr. Greeley's strict integrity, guilelessness of character, simplicity and candor, as well as his lofty aspirations and great services to his country, caused him to be universally mourned, and nowhere more so than in Westchester County, where he was so well known.

James Watson Webb, the noted journalist, resided at Mount Pleasant from about 1848 to 1861, when he was appointed minister to Brazil. Born at Claverack, N. Y., February 8, 1802, he entered the United States Army as second lieutenant of artillery August, 1819, but resigned in 1827 to take charge of the *Morning Courier*, which had been established in New York City in May of that year. In 1829 he purchased the *Enquirer* and combined the two with the name of the *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*. He became the sole editor, and, in the following year, sole proprietor, which position he retained for thirty-four years. At an early period his paper became identified with the principles of the Whig party, of which it was an able exponent. In 1851 he was appointed enginer in chief of the State of New York, with the rank of brigadier-general. In 1849 he was appointed minister to Austria, and in 1861 minister to Constantinople, but this appointment was exchanged for the mission to Brazil. In 1865, being in Paris, he negotiated a secret treaty with the Emperor Napoleon for the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico. In 1869 he resigned the mission to Brazil and returned to New York City, where he afterwards resided.

Henry Ward Beecher, the great pulpit orator and author, has made his summer home at Peekskill for many years. Mr. Beecher comes of a remarkable family. His father, Lyman Beecher, was one of the famous divines of his day, and of his four sons each rose to eminence in the ministry, while his two daughters were equally prominent in literature, one of them, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, achieving a world-wide reputation as the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Henry Ward Beecher was born in Litchfield, Conn., June 24, 1813, graduated at Amherst College in 1834, and studied divinity at the Lane Theological Seminary at Cincinnati. He first had charge, as an ordained minister, of a Presbyterian congregation at Lawrenceburgh, Ind., whence he removed in 1839 to Indianapolis. In 1847 he left the latter city to accept the pastorate of Plymouth Congregational Church at Brooklyn, N. Y., which he has rendered famous throughout the land as the church in which he preaches. Mr. Beecher has been equally successful on the lecture platform, and has long occupied an undisputed position as one of the leading orators of the country. He has been a voluminous contributor to the press, and assisted in founding two religious newspapers—*The Independent* and *The Christian Union*, both of which achieved a large circulation and commanding influence. He has published a number of essays, lectures, etc., in book form, which have been read by many thousands of people, and his published sermons have long commanded a host of readers. In April, 1865, Mr. Beecher, at the request of the federal government, delivered an oration at Fort Sumter on the anniversary of its fall, and on the occasion of the formal restoration of the national flag by Major Anderson. Besides his other literary labors, Mr. Beecher edited "The Plymouth Collection of Hymns and Tunes," a work largely used by churches that practice congregational singing. In 1867 he wrote for the *New York Ledger*, for which he had previously contributed a series of papers teaching the art of profit and enjoyment in familiar objects—a novel entitled, "Norwood; or, Village Life in New England," which was afterwards published in book form. In 1872 he published "The Life of Jesus Christ: Part I.—Earlier Scenes," of which the introductory "Overture to the Angels," had appeared in 1869. In the same year he accepted the "Lyman Beecher Lectureship on Preaching," then recently founded in the theological department of Yale College. Mrs. Henry Ward Beecher has also contributed to the press, and in 1859 published anonymously a work of fiction, "From Dawn to Daylight: A Simple Story of a Western Home, by a Minister's Wife." Her "Motherly Talks with Young Housekeepers" appeared in 1873.

Alexander H. Wells was born January 18, 1805, at Cambridge, Washington County, N. Y., to which his father, Daniel, son of Edmonds Wells, had emi-

grated from Hebron, Tolland County, Conn., about the beginning of the Revolutionary War. Edmonds Wells was one of six patentees of the tract twelve miles square now embraced in the townships of Cambridge, White Creek and Jackson, Washington County. On his mother's side Alexander H. was descended frem Rev. Elijah Lothrop, a stern Whig, who was the Congregationalist minister at Gilead, Tolland County, Conn., during the Revolution. Gilead was also the residence of Rev. Dr. Peters, the historian, who was roughly treated by his patriotic neighbors and finally driven out of the town, whence he escaped to England. Hannah, the daughter of Dr. Lothrop, married Daniel Wells. When a girl, she saw the people riding Peters on a rail, and when he returned to this country the reminiscence was renewed in conversation between them. Alexander H. was the youngest son and sixteenth child of his parents. He graduated at Cambridge Academy and devoted his life to politics and journalism. In 1840 Governor Seward appointed him surrogate of Westchester County, and in 1848 he was appointed warden of Sing Sing prison by David D. Spencer, Isaac N. Comstock and John B. Gedney, the first inspectors under the constitution of 1847. In the fall of 1848 he was himself elected to Gedney's place in the board. He was editor of the *Weekly Times*, Haverstraw, Rockland County, four years; of the *Hudson River Chronicle*, Sing Sing, three years; and of the *Daily Times*, Troy, three years. As a journalist he possessed much force and facility, but his headstrong disposition carried him into frequent situations from which he was forced to retreat. As usual with men of his combative temperament—for he was happiest in a controversy—he had warm friends and bitter enemies.

In 1829 he married Mary Collins, of Bloomfield, N. J., and they had two children, one of whom, Mary Elizabeth, was born January 3, 1838, and died August 7, 1848. Margaret, the oldest daughter, married Horace Stone, a St. Louis merchant, and died in 1881, leaving one son, Hamilton Stone.

Mr. Wells died at Sing Sing December 21, 1857, and is buried in Dale Cemetery, beside his youngest daughter and his wife. The latter survived him fifteen years, dying October 21, 1872.

Mr. James Wood has contributed largely to the literary development of Westchester County by his writings, his lectures and his earnest efforts to promote intellectual activity and especially historical research. He is the author of two chapters in this work—that on the Indians of Westchester County and another on the Early Explorations and Settlers of the County, and has aided the compiler in many ways—by suggestions, by correcting manuscripts and reading proof and by lending his valuable support in various directions to the promotion of the enterprise. He is justly regarded as one of the most intelligent and public-spirited gentlemen in the county and as ne of its most cultured and useful citizens.

James Wood was born November 12, 1839, at the place where he now resides, and where his father and grandfather lived before him, one mile north of the present village of Mount Kisco, in the town of Bedford. He bears his grandfather's name. His father's name was Stephen. He died in 1876. His brothers were Henry, Charles and John J., of whom the first alone is now living. There were three sisters. James is the youngest of the family.

The family came from Long Island early in the last century. They are descended from Jonas Wood, who came from Halifax, in England, in 1635, and was named in the patent of Hempstead in 1644. He was connected with the family of Lord Halifax.

Mr. Wood's mother was Phœbe, daughter of Caleb Underhill, of Yorktown, a descendant of John Underhill, who came from Ettington, in Warwickshire, England, and settled at Oyster Bay, Long Island, in 1667. The Underhill mansion and buildings are still standing at Ettington, while numerous brasses and monuments to members of the family remain in the old parish church. The estates are now in the possession of Lord Frere's family—the Shirleys—with whom the Underhills intermarried. Another John Underhill of this family was chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, and was made Bishop of Oxford in 1589.

Mr. Wood married, June 7, 1866, Emily Hollingsworth Morris, daughter of Henry Morris, of Philadelphia. They have three children,—Ellen M., Carolina M. and Levi Hollingsworth.

Mr. Wood attended the Reynolds Academy, at Bedford, in 1850 and '51, Westtown School, Pa., in 1851 and '52, and entered the sophomore class in Haverford College, Philadelphia, in 1853. From this college he has the degree of Master of Arts. He is now a member of the corporation of the college and of the board of managers.

Mr. Wood has never held any political office except that of supervisor of his native town in 1862 and '63. He has never allowed his name to be used in connection with a political nomination.

Mr. Wood has taken a great interest in the cultivation of his farm and in importing and breeding fine sheep. He has been a frequent contributor to the agricultural press, has delivered many agricultural addresses, has taken an active part in the discussions of the Bedford Farmers' Club and has held official positions in the New York State Agricultural Society.

He was one of the original incorporators of the Westchester County Historical Society, and has been its president since 1879. He has read a number of papers before the society. He has taken especial interest in local Indian history and has an extensive collection of Indian implements and remains.

He has also taken an active interest in the Westchester County Bible Society, which has long been an important auxiliary to the American Bible Society. He has been its treasurer since 1878.

Mr. Wood is a member of the religious Society of

Friends, as were also his father and grandfather. He has been the clerk (presiding officer) of their Yearly Meeting for the States of New York and Vermont and is now clerk of the Representative Meeting. He is a member of the Missionary and Educational Boards of that denomination.

Mr. Wood has frequently appeared upon the lecture platform, with a variety of subjects, in aid of various institutions and charities. In this way he has largely sustained the Mount Kisco Lyceum and Free Library Association, of which he has been the president since its organization, in 1880.

Besides the management of his farm and personal affairs, Mr. Wood's most active business connections have been with a number of estates as their trustee. He is the president of the Genesee Salt Company, whose works are at Pifford, in Livingston County, New York, and have the capacity for producing five thousand bushels of salt per day. He is also president of the Oakwood Cemetery Association.

Mr. Wood's family have been unfortunate in having their homesteads destroyed by fire. A new house, built by his father, was burned in 1819. The one built upon the same site, and in which Mr. Wood was born, was destroyed in 1869. Upon this site Mr. Wood, in 1870, built the large stone house in which he now resides. The farm buildings are largely of stone, and, with the green-houses, grapery, museum of curiosities, vineyards and orchards of many kinds of fruits, combine to make an attractive country home.

Mr. Joseph Barrett, author of the town histories of Bedford, North Castle and New Castle, in this work, is a gentleman of cultured literary taste and a clear and interesting writer. He was born in Bedford, May 25, 1840, was prepared for college at the old Bedford Acadamy and graduated at Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., in 1861. He was school commissioner, *i.e.* Superintendent of Schools, for the third school district of Westchester County from 1867 to 1875 inclusive and occasionally prepared and read papers before teachers' societies, and once before the State Association of Superintendents and Commissioners. On the 4th of July, 1876, he read an historical address on the town of Bedford. Mr. Barrett was one of the original members of the Westchester County Historical Society and in 1878 read a paper before the Society on "Enoch Crosby, the Spy of the Neutral Ground." For many years years he was secretary of the Bedford Farmers' Club, being then a farmer, and has written a number of articles on agricultural topics. From July, 1881, to July, 1885, he was special deputy collector in the New York Custom House, and from November, 1884, to July, 1885, cashier of that institution.

William Allen Butler, the noted author of "Nothing to Wear," and of a number of other poetical and prose compositions, is a resident of Yonkers. He is the son of the eminent lawyer and politician, Benjamin F. Butler, of New York, who was a member of the cabinets of Jackson and Van Buren. William Allen Butler was born in Albany, in 1825. After a course of study at the University of the City of New York, he read law in his father's office and then went abroad, where he remained a year and a half. Although since 1855 engrossed with the practice of his profession in New York City, Mr. Butler has devoted much time to literature. Among his writings are some spirited translations from the German poet Uhland, a series of biographical and critical sketches of the old masters, some pleasant descriptions of Old World localities, and a number of poems, including clever satires on social follies. Of these the most successful was "Nothing to Wear," which was printed anonymously in 1857. Many editions were published in England as well as in this country and the poem was translated into both French and German. In 1871 Mr. Butler published "Lawyer and Client," a valuable exposition of the relations, rights and duties which ought to exist between the two. In the same year appeared a volume of "Poems," containing the translations from Uhland, "Nothing to Wear," poems of travel and other verses. Other published works of Mr. Butler are "The Bible By Itself," an address before the New York Bible Society, 1860; "Martin Van Buren, Lawyer, Statesman and Man," 1862, a comprehensive though brief biography of that eminent statesman.

Mr. Butler has lived in Yonkers nearly a score of years, and his family by their culture and taste, together with the accessory advantage of wealth and liberality in the use of it, have been one of many who have made themselves felt in the city socially and in many varieties of useful work.

Frederic S. Cozzens, author of the "Sparrowgrass Papers," etc., was a resident of Yonkers. He was born in New York City, March 5, 1818, and died at Brooklyn, December 23, 1869. Mr. Cozzens' occupation was that of a wine merchant, but he early evinced a taste for literature, and contributed a number of popular sketches to the *Knickerbocker* and *Putnam's Magazines*. In 1853 he published a volume of sketches in prose and verse, entitled "Prismatics, by Richard Hayward." It was illustrated by Darley, Hensett, Elliott and others. His "Sparrowgrass Papers," describing a cockney's residence in the country, were first written for *Putnam's Monthly*, but in 1856 were published in book form. He also published, in connection with his business, a pleasant miscellany, entitled *The Wine Press*, which he continued to edit for seven years, relinquishing the publication on the breaking out of the Civil War. A collection of essays on gastronomic and kindred topics from its pages was published, in 1867, with the title, "Sayings of Dr. Bushwhacker and Other Learned Men." Another book, "Acadia; or A Sojourn Among the Blue Noses," had been published nine years before, in 1858, and one year later, in 1868, his last work, a

"Memorial of Fitz-Greene Halleck," was published by the New York Historical Society.

The twin brothers, Willis Gaylord Clark and Lewis Gaylord Clark, were born at Otisco, Onondaga County, N. Y., in 1810. Willis, on the completion of his education, went to Philadelphia and commenced the publication of a weekly paper, similar to the *New York Mirror*, which was soon discontinued. He then associated himself with Rev. Dr. Brantley, a Baptist clergyman, as assistant editor of the *Columbian Star*, a religious publication, from which position he retired to take charge of the *Philadelphia Gazette*, the oldest daily newspaper in that city. He became its proprietor and remained at its head for the rest of his life. Mr. Clark died in 1841. He was the author of a number of short poems and of a series of short essays, anecdotes, etc., entitled "Ollopodiana," which were published in the *Knickerbocker Magazine*, then edited by his brother Lewis. The latter conducted the *Knickerbocker* for many years, and became widely known by his monthly "Editor's Table," a selection from which was published with the title, "Knick-knacks from an Editor's Table," in 1852. He died at Piermont-on-the-Hudson, November 3, 1873.

The noted naval commander, Matthew Galbraith Perry, whose claim to literary distinction rests upon the notes which he furnished for an interesting account prepared by F. L. Hawks and George Jones, of his naval expedition to Japan, resided at one time in Mount Pleasant, on the Sing Sing road. Commodore Perry was born at Newport, R. I., in 1794, and was a brother of the famous Oliver Hazard Perry, who fought the battle of Lake Erie. As commander of the "Cyane," he fixed the first settlement of Liberia, and in a cruise in the schooner "Shark," in 1821–24, he captured several pirates. He took an active part in the Mexican War, and in 1852–54 commanded the expedition to Japan, with which country he negotiated an important treaty, March 21, 1854.

Another great naval hero, Admiral D. G. Farragut, was a resident of Westchester County (Hastings, in the town of Greenburgh) in 1861–62.

John Orde Creighton, another commodore of the United States navy, who was born in New York City, died at Sing Sing, October 13, 1838. Commodore Joseph B. Hull, of the United States navy, was also born in Westchester.

John Lorimer Worden, who commanded the ironclad "Monitor" in the famous engagement with the ironclad "Merrimac," in Hampton Roads, March 9, 1862, was born at Mount Pleasant on March 12, 1817. He was appointed a midshipman in the United States navy on January 12, 1835; lieutenant, November 30, 1846; commander, May 27, 1862; captain, February 3, 1863; and commodore, May 27, 1868. In April, 1861, he was sent with dispatches to Fort Pickens, and captured by the Confederates, and kept in prison seven months. In the engagement with the "Merrimac," Captain Worden's eyes were severely injured by the explosion of a shell from the "Merrimac" upon the eyehole of the pilot-house. In the command of the ironclad "Montauk," of the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron, he engaged Fort McAllister, January 27, 1863, and on February 28th attacked and destroyed the privateer steamer "Nashville," under the guns of that fort. He was in the attack of Charleston, under Dupont, April 7, 1863, and on December 1, 1869, was appointed superintendent of the United States Naval Academy, at Annapolis.

Rev. David Cole, D.D., has been a Yonkers pastor since 1865, and is the oldest of eight children of Rev. Isaac D. Cole and Anna Maria Shatzel. On his father's side he is of unbroken Holland descent. The original spelling of the family name was "Kool." His mother's parents were John M. Shatzel, Jr., and Barbara Wood. The former was a son of John M. Shatzel and Anna Maria Tremberin, both born at Frankfort-on-the-Main, and the latter, a daughter of Ebenezer Wood, of Welsh, and Margaret Hubbard, or Hoeber, of Holland descent.

On preserved New Amsterdam (New York) records, the name "Kool" first appears with official papers of 1630 and 1633. Lenart Kool, as Director Minuit's deputy secretary, signed the famous patent to Kiliaen Van Rensselaer for a tract of land on the Hudson River, August 13, 1630, and Barent Jacobsen Kool, as an officer of the West India Company, with six others, signed a "Condition and Agreement" between Jacob Van Curler and certain Indian chiefs on the 8th of June, 1633. Whether these were related is not known. The latter was the earliest American ancestor of Rev. Dr. Cole. The form of his name indicates that he was a son of Jacob Kool. The father is not known to have come to America. The son, in an affidavit made in January, 1645, and still preserved, represents himself as then thirty-five years old, which shows that he was born (of course in Holland) about 1610.

The prominent position he occupied in 1633, at twenty-three years of age, proves that he must then have been in New Amsterdam and with the West India Company a considerable time. Without doubt he came to the colony with Minuit and his suite about 1625 or 1626. He retained his connection with the company till the surrender of 1664, occupying even to that date one of its houses for its officers on Bridge Street. After this he followed some of his children to Ulster County, where his name appears on a list of male inhabitants as late as 1689. The date of his death is not known.

The line from him to Rev. Dr. Cole is in hand without a break. It is widely represented by descendants in different States of the Union, but it is especially to be noted that from its earliest appearance in America it has never failed to be represented by resident families in the city of New York.

1. Barent Jacobsen Kool and Marretje Leenderts had nine children, viz.: Jacob Barentsen, Aeltje,



David Cole

Dievertje, Apollonia, Leendert, Arent, (1st) Theunis Arent, (2d), and Pieter.

2. Jacob Barentsen Kool (born before 1639) and Marretje Simons had eight children, viz.: Barent (1st), Barent (2d), Simon, Arent, Marretje, Barent (3d), Claartje and Jacob.

3. Jacob Kool (baptized at Kingston, N. Y., January 1, 1673) and Barbara Hanse settled at Tappan, N. Y., about 1695, and united with the New Reformed Church, organized the year before. They had six children born in Tappan between 1695 and 1707, viz.: Geertje, Jacob, Jr., Tryntje, Jan, Barent and Abraham. This family first introduced the Kool line into the lower part of Orange (now Rockland) County, where its representatives have been numerous and prominent ever since.

4. Abraham Kool (baptized at Tappan November 2, 1707) and Annetje Meyer had eight children, viz.: Jacob, Ide (1st), Ide (2d), Isaac, Johannes, Rachel, Abraham and Andreas.

5. Isaac Kool (born January 21st and baptized at Tappan February 15, 1741) and Catharine Serven (born at Tappan August 28, 1747) were married at Tappan by Rev. Samuel Verbryk, pastor of the Tappan Reformed Church, October 15, 1764. They settled at New City, in their native county, and had fifteen children born there, viz.: Abraham, Breghje, Rachel, John, Jacob, Anna, Elizabeth, David, Isaac, Jr., Mary, Margaret, Philip, Catharine, Andrew and Sarah. In 1794 the parents removed to Broadalbin (or Fondabush), in Fulton County, where the father died and was buried in October, 1800. The mother, after his death, returned to Rockland County, where she died in 1832. It was in this generation that the spelling of the family name was changed to "Cole." The pronunciation under its earlier and later forms was the same. The change in spelling was adopted to protect the name against mispronunciation by an incoming people not acquainted with Holland forms and sounds.

6. David Cole (born at New City September 26th and baptized at Clarkstown, by Rev. Nicholas Lansing, October 5, 1777) married Elizabeth Meyer, at Kakiat, January 11, 1798, the ceremony being performed by Rev. George G. Brinkerhoff. The wife was a daughter of Johannes Meyer and Tryntje Van Houten, both born in the county, but of Holland descent. These had three children—Isaac D., Catharine and Eliza. The last died unmarried in 1851. The second, Mrs. Thomas Lippincott, who died September 23, 1881, is represented numerously by descendants in New York City and elsewhere. The first was the father of Rev. Dr. Cole.

7. Rev. Isaac D. Cole was born at Spring Valley, Rockland County, N. Y., January 25th and baptized at Kakiat by Rev. Geo. G. Brinkerhoff, March 25, 1799. He was a resident of New York City with brief intervals, from 1801 to 1826, and was married, November 3, 1821, by Rev. Christian Bork, to Anna Maria Shatzel, born in the city November 3, 1797. His history is given with fulness of detail in the "History of Rockland County," published in 1884, under the editorial direction of his son. After several years of teaching in New York City he entered the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick, N. J., in 1826, and having been licensed to the missionary in 1829, at once became pastor of the Reformed Church at Tappan, in which his ancestors had worshipped from its beginning, more than a century and a quarter before, and continued in his pastorate, with an interval of one year, till his retirement from the active duties of the ministry in 1864, at sixty-five years of age. Subsequently and until his death, on the 30th of August, 1878, he lived at Spring Valley upon the family home-ground of more than a hundred years, which he had inherited from his father. His sterling character, his remarkable gifts as an instructor, his special life-work in the ministry, the valuable influence of his precept and example and the preciousness of his memory are so fully put on record in the history mentioned above that they need no reproducing here. The children of Rev. Isaac D. Cole and Anna Maria Shatzel were eight, viz.: David, Caroline, Elizabeth, Juliana (1st), Juliana (2d,) Catharine Amelia, Margaret Ann, Benjamin Wood and Isaac D., Jr. Of these children, Juliana (1st), Caroline Elizabeth (Mrs. Dr. James J. Stephens), Catharine Amelia (Mrs. Benjamin L. Disbrow) and Isaac D., Jr., late president of the Knickerbocker Fire Insurance Company, of New York City, have passed away.

What has thus been given shows that Rev. Dr. Cole belongs to one of the oldest New York families. It is not believed that there are any older, though there may be a very few others as old. The family is of the Reformed Church of Holland from its very start in that country. It was identified with the organization of the first Reformed Church in New Amsterdam (the "Church in the Fort") and subsequently with the organization of the Reformed Churches of Kingston, Tappan, Clarkstown and West Hempstead (or Kakiat), and it also, before 1800, founded a Reformed Church in Fondabush, Fulton County, which, however, was changed to a Presbyterian Church in 1825. Rev. Dr. Cole is thus, through his father, of strictest Holland descent. He feels the derivation of his name from so historic a stock and is equally alive to the character for simplicity and spotless business integrity which has been handed down through the American generations. With the exception of the first member of the line, who was a government officer, all the generations, down to his father, were farmers. All of them were continuously, and many of them officially, connected with the life and work of the Reformed Churches. Purity of life, probity in dealing, steadiness of aim and purpose have been the heritage handed down to him, and this heritage he cherishes with the most

sacred reverence and would not exchange for any other form of inheritance whatever.

Rev. Dr. Cole was born at Spring Valley September 22, 1822, during a brief summer visit of his parents, then residents of New York City, to the old family homestead. Being the first child of a conscientious and gifted teacher, his training naturally engaged his father's close thought. The course taken with him was such as to give to his mind an early and strong bias for the study of languages, without, however, impairing his education in other branches. But his father's view of the importance of languages was such that he was started in Latin at four, in Greek at six and in Hebrew at nine, and was prepared for college at twelve years of age. No effort was spared to lay his foundations solidly. The consequence was the awakening of an enthusiasm for languages which has shaped a life, and is one of its leading characteristics. From twelve to sixteen years of age study was suspended during the summers, and training on a farm substituted, for the building up of a physical and mental strength that had been too severely taxed. The winters, however, continued to be devoted to study. In November, 1838, at sixteen years of age, he entered the Grammar School of Rutgers College. After a year spent in reviewing old studies, and especially in earnest work upon mathematics, he entered the Sophomore Class of the college in October, 1839, from which, in July, 1842, he was graduated. Being too well prepared for college at his entrance, he had thrown himself upon his past studies to a large extent, and as a result, came to his graduation, though with credit, yet without distinction. At once after graduation he began to teach near his father's residence at Tappan, and continued teaching from August, 1842, to November, 1858, more than sixteen years, devoting himself through almost the whole period to the teaching of the Latin and Greek languages alone. During his work as a teacher he prepared many young men for college, several of whom were graduated with honor. His greatest successes as a teacher were attained during several years in the principalship of an academy at Trenton, N. J., during which his students were sent to Princeton, Rutgers, Harvard, Yale, Union, Amherst and the Universities of New York and Pennsylvania.

In 1855, prominently through his influence, the State Normal School of New Jersey was brought into being, of which, by the appointment of Governor Rodman M. Price, he was one of the first trustees. In 1857 he became a professor in that institution, resigning his trusteeship to accept the post. For several years during his teaching life, however, he had been privately studying for the ministry, and, in connection with his teaching work, had established and carried on an enterprise, on which, as a foundation, many years ago, grew up the present Fifth Presbyterian Church of Trenton. Having induced his pastor and friends of the First Presbyterian Church of that city to build a house for the purpose in the suburbs, he founded and conducted a large Sunday-school in it, and soon after began, while still a layman and principal of an academy, to preach twice in it every Sabbath, and lecture in the houses of his hearers on Thursday evenings. From this work and from his professorship in the State Normal School he passed into the ministry in 1858. Several offers of pulpits were at once made to him, but he decided to accept the charge of the new Reformed Church at East Millstone, N. J. Here he was ordained November 23, 1858, and remained pastor until April 1, 1863. In February of that year he had been called to the professorship of the Greek language and literature in Rutgers College, and had accepted the call. Entering upon his new post March 16, 1863, he remained in it till January 1, 1866. During this period of three years, however, he was several times urged to re-enter the pastorate. The teaching in the college was a fascination to him, but the attraction to the pulpit proved the stronger, and in December, 1865, a call from the Reformed Church of Yonkers was accepted. From the 10th of that month he has been connected, as its pastor, with the history and life of that church. During his professorship at New Brunswick the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by the trustees of Franklin and Marshall College, at Lancaster, Pa.

The period from 1861 to 1865 was with Dr. Cole one of strong decision and great activity. From the firing on Sumter he took the most pronounced position for the Union, and during his pastorate at East Millstone, and his college life at New Brunswick, was at all times forward in sustaining the government and making sentiment for it by writing and speaking in its behalf. Many incidents of interest in his history in that connection might be related, but want of space excludes them here.

Dr. Cole's activity as a writer began soon after his graduation from college, but confined itself for some years to newspaper articles. His first book was a small "Manual of English Grammar," published in 1848, and his only other book written during his teaching life was a larger one, entitled "Principles of English Grammar Applied," issued in 1853. These books were intended mostly for his own use, but had a considerable circulation in the schools of New Jersey in their day. It was not till about 1855 that he began to appear much as a public speaker. At this time, in addition to his evangelistic work, before alluded to, in Trenton, he became deeply enlisted in a new educational movement in the State of New Jersey, and, by permission of the State Legislature, joined with others in pressing the interests and wants of the public schools upon the members assembled for the purpose in joint session. He also formed one of a company who visited the various counties of the State, speaking everywhere for the cause of popular education. Several of his addresses on these subjects,

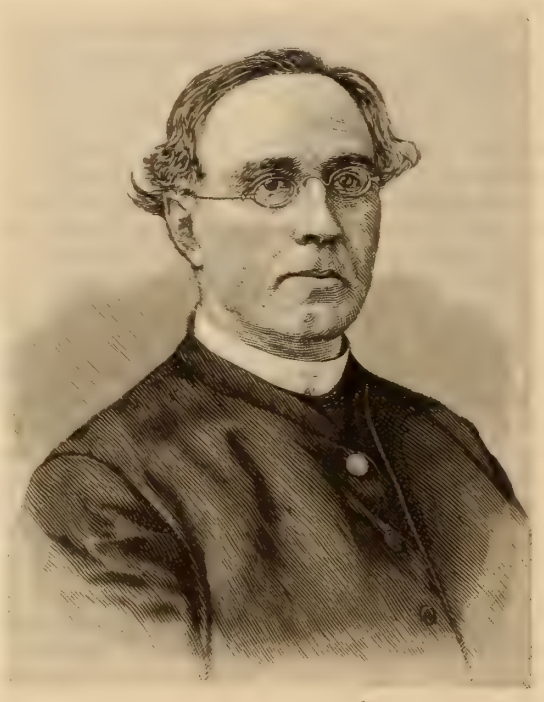
from 1855 onward, were printed. Besides this, he spoke in various places upon topics connected with higher education. In December, 1854, he read an important paper at the Smithsonian Institution on "Classical Education," which was published in Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, and drew commendation from both sides of the Atlantic. In 1855–56 he was New Jersey editor of the *New York Teacher* and wrote many of its editorials. After his entrance into the ministry, in 1858, he dropped speaking and writing in the special interest of education, finding enough to do for his pulpit and in the defense of the Union cause during the war. During his ministry he has been absorbed in two specialties, the one being his principal and the other his secondary object of pursuit.

The former is the critical study of the Bible originals and the development of the Bible's thought, and the latter is the tracing of Divine Providence through history. Of the results of his Bible study, he has written and printed very much, but not in pamphlet or book-form. Upon history, his researches have been mostly of local bearing, being developments of church and local annals. In October, 1865, he delivered an historical address upon his first church at East Millstone, then ten years old; in 1868, another upon his church at Yonkers, then twenty-five; and in 1883, a third upon the same church, then forty years old. All these were published by the congregations. His Thanksgiving sermon of 1866 was also published by his people, and his Centennial Thanksgiving sermon (1876) on "Our American Republic, the Child of Special Providence," was called for by a representation from the uniting congregations that heard it, and published. The General Synod of the Reformed Church published also a sermon he preached before it in 1874 on "Offerings to the Lord," being its "Annual Sermon on Benevolence." In 1876, Dr. Cole himself published a large octavo volume, the fruit of very great labor, giving the genealogy of his own Holland family from 1580 to date. In October, 1882, at the call of his fellow-citizens of Yonkers, he delivered in the open air, to many thousands of people, a bi-centennial oration commemorative of the founding of the Manor (now the city) Hall of Yonkers, which was printed and very widely circulated. In 1883 and 1884 he edited the "History of Rockland County," alluded to above. In September, 1884, as president of the General Synod of the Reformed Church, he presided at the installation of Rev. John G. Lansing, D.D., as professor in the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick, and delivered a sermon on "God's noteworthy preparations of the two original languages of the sacred Scriptures to become the conveyancers of His divine revelation to men, and His no less noteworthy preparations of a modern language to effect the spread of this revelation over the earth." The sermon was published with the proceedings of the day. In October of the same year, in the same capacity, he presided at the first session of the centennial of the same seminary, and delivered the "Response" to the "Address of Welcome," which was printed in a volume with the proceedings. His latest publication has been the "History of Yonkers," contained in this work. In all his published historical addresses he has had in view one controlling object—to hold up in the most conspicuous light the Providence of God as manifested in the details of church, historical, community and family life.

Dr. Cole married, on the 18th of April, 1844, Abbie D. Wyckoff, a daughter of Jacob Wyckoff and Elizabeth Van Deventer, of New Brunswick, both of purest Holland descent. The children have been six in number, of whom the third died in infancy, in 1855, viz.: Mary Elizabeth (wife of Rev. James Henry Bertholf, of Nassau, Rensselaer County, N. Y.), Isaac D., Ella, J. Wyckoff, Frank Howard and Edward R. None of the sons are married. Rev. and Mrs. Bertholf have four children, viz.: Harry W., Charles Howard, Bessie and Griffith Dürst.

Thomas Henry Edsall is descended from Samuel Edsall, Esq., a native of Reading, Berkshire, England, by his marriage with Ruth Woodhull, daughter of Richard Woodhull, Esq., a native of Thenford, Northamptonshire, England. Samuel Edsall came to Boston, Mass., in 1648, settled among the Dutch in New Amsterdam in 1655, and afterwards became quite prominent in the colonial affairs of New York and New Jersey. Mr. Woodhull came to Lynn, Mass., about 1640, and was an early settler and leading citizen of Southampton and Brookhaven, L. I. Other immigrant ancestors of Mr. Edsall came in the seventeenth century from Holland and France (Huguenot). In the last century several of his progenitors bore arms in the old French War and in support of American independence during the Revolution. He is the only son of the late Thomas Edsall, Esq., and Phebe A. Jones, daughter of the late Hon. Nathaniel Jones, of Orange County, N. Y., and was born October 7, 1840, in the city of New York. After completing his academic education he entered Brown University at seventeen, and was graduated in 1861. The following year he assisted in raising a regiment of infantry, which was afterwards consolidated to form the One Hundred and Seventy-sixth New York Volunteers—"Ironsides"—of which he was commissioned adjutant. The regiment was assigned to the "Banks Expedition" and served in the Department of the Gulf. During the summer and autumn of 1863 Mr. Edsall was detached and assigned to duty at headquarters under the chief engineer of the department. In November he returned to New York and was mustered out with his regiment. He then studied law with O'Connor & Dunning and at Columbia College Law School, was admitted to the bar in the spring of 1865, and has since been in practice in New York City. He is now a member of the firm of Dunning, Edsall, Hart & Fowler.

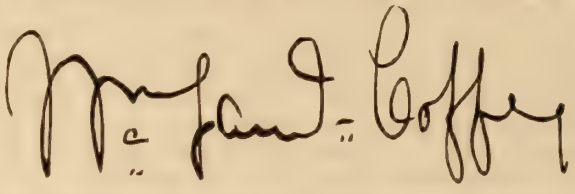
For several years Mr. Edsall has devoted much attention to historical and genealogical researches, and has contributed several papers on those subjects to the New York Historical and the New York Genealogical and Biographical Societies, some of which have been published. He has given special study to the early history of King's Bridge and its neighborhood, where he has resided for several years, in Spuyten Duyvil. Mr. Edsall has prepared a very interesting and valuable history of that town for this work, which is published elsewhere. He is a member of the University Club, the New York Historical Society, a trustee of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society and the vice-president of the Society of the Sons of the Revolution.



Josiah Sherman Mitchell, son of Minot Mitchell, one of the most distinguished members of the Westchester County bar, was born at White Plains, February 2, 1816. He studied law in his father's office, and was admitted to the bar in 1845. He is still (1886) pursuing the practice of his profession, and resides in White Plains. Mr. Mitchell has devoted a good deal of study to the history of his locality, and is recognized as an authority upon that subject. Besides writing the very able and interesting history of White Plains for this work, he has written a number of other articles on subjects relating to White Plains, or other points in the county, but none of them have hitherto appeared in printed form. He prepared two papers on "The French in Westchester County," which were read before a social club of White Plains, and has read two papers before the Westchester County Historical Society, of which he is a member, one of them being a "Life of Ann Hutchison," the other a review of the events succeeding the battle of White Plains, giving reasons for Howe's retreat. A paper has also been written by Mr. Mitchell in which he brings forward arguments to show that the sect of Methodists acquired a foothold in Westchester County before having done so in New York City,—a conclusion contrary to the received teaching on that point, which is, that the Methodist Society in this country acquired its first converts in the latter place. The paper is deposited with the pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church at White Plains.

Mr. Mitchell has been twice married. His first wife was Elizabeth Anderson, daughter of the Hon. Joseph H. Anderson. Their children were William Anderson, who is now a manager of one of the departments of the New York Safe Deposit Company, of New York City, and Anna Caroline. His second wife was Margaret Louise Dusenbury. Their only child is Charles Halsey.

Rev. William Samuel Coffey was born in the city of New York in 1827, and in 1847 graduated from Columbia College. After studying for the ministry he graduated from the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1850, and was ordained deacon in the same year at Trinity Church, New York. In 1851 he received the full orders of the priesthood at Grace Church, Brooklyn Heights. On February 1, 1852, he became rector of St. Paul's Church, East Chester, and his pastorate has continued to the present time, a period of over thirty-four years, during which he has been most efficient and active in his ministerial labors, and has greatly endeared himself to the community. He has held the commissions of the State as chaplain of the Third Regiment and consequently of the Twenty-seventh Regiment N. Y. S. N. G. In 1856 he founded Trinity Church at Mount Vernon.



Mr. Coffey's literary work has only been second in importance and value to his labors in the ministry. He delivered the centennial address of the laying of the corner-stone of St. Paul's Church, East Chester, in October, 1865, and a memorial paper in 1875 upon the life and services of Rev. Thomas Standard, D.D., at the dedication of a tablet erected in his honor in the church. He also delivered a historical address in October, 1884, in St. Peter's Church, Westchester, upon the eminent career of Rev. Samuel Seabury as rector of that parish. To these volumes he has contributed three important chapters,—"The General History of Westchester County from 1683 to 1774;"

"The General History of Westchester County from 1783 to 1860," and the "History of the town of East Chester," which is a complete review of that town in all its social, political and religious aspects from the earliest period to the present year. The public addresses of Mr. Coffey upon religious and secular topics and occasions have been numerous, while for many years he has contributed to the newspapers of the country the results of his profound thought and thorough scholarship as brought to bear upon the questions which interest mankind. On October 4, 1876, he married Henrietta, daughter of Henry P. Kellogg, of New Rochelle, and has two sons, both of whom are living.

John William Draper, M.D., LL.D., the late chemist and physiologist, was born in Liverpool, England, May 5, 1811, and at the time of his death, in 1886, lived at Irvington, in Westchester County. He was educated at the University of London. Emigrating to America in 1833, he continued his chemical and medical studies at the University of Pennsylvania, where he took the degree of M.D. in 1836. Besides holding prominent professorships in various seats of learning, he contributed a large number of valuable works to the literature of America. Between 1838 and 1857 he furnished to the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal* about forty treatises, besides contributing to other scientific journals. He was the author of a "Treatise on the Organization of Plants," 4to, 1844; a popular "Text-Book on Chemistry," 1846; another on "Natural Philosophy," 1847; a "History of the Intellectual Development of Europe;" "Thoughts on the Future Civil Policy of America;" "History of the American Civil War," 3 vols., 1867–68; and "Memoirs on the Chemical Action of Light." His most elaborate work is a treatise on "Human Physiology, Statical and Dynamical," 1856.

Robert Bonner, the proprietor of the *New York Ledger*, born in Londonderry, Ireland, about 1820, of Scotch-Presbyterian ancestry, is or was a resident of Westchester. While a lad in the printing-office of the *Hartford Courant* it is said he could set up more type in a day than any man in the State. He went to New York City in 1844, purchasing the *Ledger*, then an obscure sheet, and brought it to the position it now occupies by engaging Fanny Fern, Edward Everett, Henry Ward Beecher and other eminent writers as contributors.

General Adam Badeau, the author of a "History of General Grant" and numerous newspaper and magazine articles, was born in New York and resided in Westchester County. He was made captain and aide-de-camp of United States Volunteers in April, 1862, and afterward appointed on the staff of General Sherman. He was severely wounded at Port Hudson, joined General Grant in January, 1864, as his military secretary, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and was made brevet brigadier-general United States army for faithful and meritorious services in the war. He became colonel and aide-de-camp to the general of the army in March, 1865, and continued to May, 1869, when he was retired. He was secretary of legation to the English court at London.

Rev. Wm. E. Turner, of Elmsford, kindly furnishes the following account of the early life and literary labors of Jay Gould, the noted financier, who, while a mere lad, wrote the history of Delaware County:

"Jay Gould did not in early life enjoy the advantages of a literary education. His only opportunities were first in a private school taught in the neighborhood, for the benefit of a few of the neighbors, by a young man named Oliver. He subsequently removed to the academy in Franklin, where young Gould followed him and very early finished his education. Hence it could not be said that he ever acquired much of a literary taste, but rather a business education. He did, however, write the history of Delaware County, which is still extant and certainly a very creditable performance for a youth of sixteen years of age. His education, as we have said, was more of a business character. Hence we see him, after spending a little time as clerk in a country store, engaged in measuring the distances and assisting in plotting the maps of Ulster and Scoharie Counties. We should not forget to mention that his first business venture was with a mouse-trap which he had constructed and brought to the city of New York for the purpose of placing it among the curiosities and useful exhibits of the Crystal Palace. This venture seems, in some respects, to have been unfortunate; for, while on his way, as he was admiring the wonders of the city, a thief stole the trap. The offender, however, was caught and on his arraignment before the Police Court it was recorded that the mouse-trap had taken larger game—it had caught a thief.

"At an early age—before he was twenty—he left his native town to engage in a large business in Pennsylvania—managing the financial affairs of a tannery, said at that time to be the largest in the country, if not in the world."

Mr. Gould's life story, as told by himself before the Senate Labor Committee in New York, in September, 1883, was as follows: Having stated that he was born in Roxbury, N. Y., on May 27, 1836, he said he assisted his sisters in tending the cattle and one day he said to his father he would like to go to school. The father replied that he was too young, "but," said the witness, "I was determined to secure an education, as I was then fourteen years of age. At last," said the witness, with a smile, "I fell in with a blacksmith, and as I could write a good hand, I told him I could keep his books. He consented and that was the first occupation that brought me remuneration."

He had a taste for mathematics; used to get up at three o'clock in the morning and study till six and in this way prepared himself for a start in life.

Mr. Gould then proceeded to say that he heard of a man in Ulster County who was making a map of

that county, and having a great taste for surveying he (the witness) went and offered his assistance. He was thereupon engaged at twenty dollars per month, but his work proved so unsatisfactory that his employer told him the work he performed was a silly lot of stuff. "After that," said the witness, "I had not the heart next day to ask anybody to give me a dinner." He finally went to a quiet place, where nobody could see him, and had a good cry. He then went to his sister's house, where he went up stairs and prayed, after which he felt better. After that he resolved not to go home again, but to go ahead and die in the last ditch. He returned to his task of completing the map and made similar surveys of Delaware and Albany Counties, from which he realized five thousand dollars, which was his first capital.

After the panic of 1857 he came to New York and, owing to the depreciation of values in property, he was able to buy on credit the bonds of the Rutland and Washington Railroad for ten cents on the dollar. He took charge of the railroad and was its president, treasurer and general manager. He conducted the road until its consolidation with the Rensselaer and Saratoga road, when he was able to sell out his interest at a large profit. Subsequently he took a bankrupt friend's interest in the Cleveland and Pittsburgh road and held it till he was able to sell it to advantage. He became a large owner of Union Pacific stock in consequence of a misunderstanding with parties interested and also owing to the illness of Mr. Horace F. Clark in Chicago. The road was then in a bad way, the stock going down to fifteen, and the only thing he could do to save himself was to hold on to what he had, while at the same time he still kept buying. He made up his mind to stick to the road and build it up, and he persevered till it at last paid dividends. Before the road became a success a great clamor arose that it was Jay Gould's road, as though that was a dangerous thing. He was then engaged in selling out his stock, which was soon in the hands of seven thousand investors, representing the earnings of many widows and orphans.

The next venture was the building up of the Gould railroad system in the South and West. It began with purchase of the Missouri and Pacific from Commodore Garrison. Other roads were purchased and connections were made to different points. Mr. Gould said that he had at this time passed the point where money-making was an object, and his only idea was in carrying out the system to merely see what could be done by combinations. The lines now spread through Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Missouri, Arkansas and Indian Territory, Texas, Louisiana and Mexico. There are central connections at Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago and New Orleans. All the construction of this system of roads was completed in 1882, and represented about ten thousand miles of road. The earnings of the lines when he took possession of them were about seventy thousand dollars a month. The earnings for the month of August, 1883, were five million five hundred thousand dollars. In building up this system, the Southwest has been opened up and the country thrown open to civilization. Mr. Gould stated that he was a director in the Chicago and Northwest, Chicago and Rock Island, Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, New York and New England and several other smaller lines.

Incidental to his railroad interests he has become largely interested in the telegraphic business. This was on account of the intimate connection between the two industries. He was instrumental in starting the American Union to make it a competing line with the Western Union. He found it would be impossible to accomplish this on account of the extent of the latter's connections. He then turned his attention to getting control of Western Union by buying stock when it was low. Finding it a paying investment, he had been constantly increasing his interest. His subsequent history as a successful business man, and finally as one of the greatest magnates of Wall Street, is well known, but has little to do with the literary annals of Westchester County.

Another Westchester County *littérateur*, Mr. Frederick Whittaker, is a prolific writer of stories, and widely known for his "Life of Custer." Mr. Whittaker is the second son and fourth child of Henry Whittaker and Catharine Maitland, and was born in Sloane Street, London, on December 12, 1838. His father was a solicitor with a large practice, but was ruined by indorsing for a noble client, Lord Kensington, the original of Thackeray's "Lord Crabs" in the "Yellowplush Papers." Mr. Whittaker was compelled to flee from England to escape imprisonment for debt. For some years he wandered from place to place with his family on the Continent, and finally, in 1850, came to this country, settling in New York, where he obtained a good practice as a lawyer, and wrote the first book on practice, under the code. "Whittaker's Practice" was a standard book until superseded by later decisions and later books. Frederick Whittaker's education in the mean time was of a desultory character, and his attendance at school was limited to six months at a Mr. Walker's private school in Brooklyn. His father tried to make a lawyer of him, but the boy's tastes inclined to literature. At sixteen he entered the office of N. Dane Ellingwood, a lawyer, as office-boy, and two or three years later obtained a position in the office of Henry G. Harrison, architect. A defect in his eyesight, however, which was now discovered, put an end to his efforts to become an architect. In the mean time he had made many boyish attempts at literary composition, and finally succeeded in getting into print in a magazine, now extinct, called *The Great Republic Monthly*. When the Civil War broke out he joined a cavalry regiment, and on his return obtained employment as

a book canvasser, and afterwards as a school-teacher. After repeated failures to secure the publication of some of his writings he attracted the notice of Mayne Reid, who published a little song "Starlighted Midnight" from his pen in his (Reid's) magazine, *Onward*. Reid gave him some good advice, and pointed out the course he should pursue in order to succeed. Mr. Whittaker's next step was the publication by Frank Leslie of some stories of adventure which he had submitted. In 1870, with some money inherited from English relatives, he was enabled to buy his present home at Mount Vernon. He also married and set to work in earnest to earn a living by his pen. This he succeeded in doing by writing serials and dime novels for Munro, of the *Fireside Companion*, Beadle and others. He also contributed a set of papers to the *Army and Navy Journal*, called "Volunteer Cavalry; the Lessons of the Decade." These attracted much attention, and in 1874 Mr. Whittaker became the first National Guard editor, and afterwards assistant editor of the *Journal*. In 1876 he left it for a time and wrote the "Life of General Custer." In the following year he returned to the *Journal* and also wrote a good deal for the *Galaxy* magazine. He also published a novel, "The Cadet Button," about this time. Since then he has been engaged in writing serials for a living, and has also written a play, "Napoleon," intended for Edwin Booth, but never acted. He compiled for this work the chapter on "Civil War" in Westchester County.

Eliza W. Farnham, philanthropist and author, was born at Rensselaerville, November 17, 1815, and died in New York City, December 15, 1864. Her maiden-name was Burhaus. She went to Illinois in 1835, and was married there in the following year to Thomas J. Farnham. In 1841 she returned to New York, and was employed in visiting prisons and lecturing to women. In the spring of 1844 she accepted appointment as matron of the Female Department of the State Prison, at Sing Sing. In 1848 she was connected with the Institution for the Blind, in Boston, and from 1849 to 1856 resided in California. She returned to New York and published "California, in Doors and Out." She was also the author of several books, and was active in promoting social reforms and the rights of women.

Rev. William James Cumming, author of the histories of the towns of Cortlandt and Yorktown in this work, and compiler of the Civil List, was born in New York City, July 22, 1847, and is the son of John Pollock Cumming and Isabella Pollock, both of Bangor, Ireland. He was educated at the public schools of New York City and in the College of the City of New York, where he graduated in 1867. He studied for the ministry at the Union Theological Seminary, graduating in 1871 and was ordained August 8, 1876, since which time he has been pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Yorktown. Previous to that time, 1872–75, he taught school at Norwalk, Conn., and in New York City. His literary work has comprised a number of historical papers and newspaper articles, and he is a member of the Westchester Historical Society and secretary of the Westchester Bible Society.

Mr. Charles E. Culver, author of the town histories of Somers and North Salem in this work, was born on the 6th of April, 1842, in the town of Somers, in the house now owned and occupied by James P. Teed. His father was Edward W. Culver, the son of Joshua Culver, and he was born in the house directly opposite Mt. Zion Church. The Culver family are of Welsh descent. Charles E. Culver's mother was Sarah J., daughter of Samuel Teed. She was born in the Teed homestead, now the residence of her brother, James P. Teed. The Teed family are of French extraction. His parents removed to New York City when he was a child, and among the earliest of his recollections is the attendance at a private school in Amos, (now West Tenth) Street. Owing to continued ill health in childhood and by advice of a physician, his father disposed of his business in the city, and removed to North Salem on a farm. Charles then attended the preparatory department of the North Salem Academy. John F. Jenkins, A.M., was the principal, his daughter, Miss Mary Jenkins, having charge of the preparatory department. The family then removed to Whitlockville, (now Katonah,) and Charles attended the private school of Mrs. Miller and Miss Mitchell, near that place. He continued his studies, after the close of the latter school, at the public school and under tutors. In 1860 he began the study of dentistry in New York, intending to complete the course at the Baltimore Dental College, but the approach of the war and excitement of the times turned his attention to other than civil pursuits. In 1861–62–63 he was engaged in various government employments, both under the State and nation. He was married in New York City in 1863, and removed to West Farms, where he carried on the manufacture of writing ink. In 1864 he removed to Northern Illinois and remained West ten years, being a resident of Chicago during the memorable fire of 1871, where his publishing business, as well as his home and everything he possessed, including a fine library, were completely destroyed, his family and himself escaping with but the clothing they wore. In 1869 he started the publication of the *Chicago Dispatch*, a weekly Sunday paper, under the firm-name of Culver, Harris & Wilson. Charles E. Harris (Carl Pretzel) is now the publisher of *Pretzel's Weekly*. Col. T. B. Wilson was from Alabama, and had charge of the Masonic department of the paper. After the firm had sold out the publication, Mr. Culver became connected with the daily press of Chicago, having began to write for the press when a mere lad. His first real newspaper work was done for the late Horace Greeley about 1861, since which time he has been more or less actively engaged as correspondent or in

an editorial capacity. He has had two children, both now deceased. In politics he is a Democrat.

Rev. David Cole, D.D., of Yonkers, who has contributed so much towards this history of Westchester County, has furnished us with the following interesting sketch of a few of the authors and writers in his locality:

Pastors, editors and newspaper correspondents have, of course, in Yonkers, as in other places, written voluminously. We have already spoken of all editors and conductors of papers who live in the city, and will not bring them in here. But, among paper correspondents, many facile Yonkers pens, driven both by ladies and gentlemen among us, have been driven to purpose upon articles that have appeared in our own and in outside papers and periodicals. We cannot mention these, but confine ourselves, in the following catalogue, to writers who have published pamphlets or books.

Lyman Cobb, Sr., born in Massachusetts in 1800, and one of the greatest educators and most indefatigable authors of his time, spent the last five years of his life in Yonkers. Mr. Cobb began teaching at sixteen, and published his famous "Cobb's Spelling-Book" at nineteen years of age. This book went into all the schools of the country. His subsequently published books were very numerous. They included five reading-books, a speaker, a dictionary, an expositor, a miniature lexicon and extended to many other volumes. At his death he left unfinished a concordance, a national dictionary and a pronouncing Testament. Mr. Cobb was as active in humane enterprises as he was in educational and literary work. He was a member of each of many benevolent societies of prominence, and a leader in them all. He was noted for intelligent zeal, for promptness in action, for kindness of heart and for simplicity of conduct. His death occurred on October 26, 1864, and he left in Yonkers four children, two of whom are prominent in Yonkers business life, and have both been mentioned in their places in this work.

J. Henry Pooley, M.D., who has been spoken of among the Yonkers physicians, was, during his long residence and practice in Yonkers, a frequent writer of pamphlets and fugitive articles upon professional subjects, some of which at least attracted wide notice. These were his diversions. He did not make writing a profession.

Several leading business men of Yonkers have done more or less amateur writing, now and then throwing their productions into pamphlet form. Among these, one is Mr. Robert P. Getty, whose overflowing life has made itself felt in so many and such various directions. Mr. Getty's home delight has been in his library, within the walls of which he has collected and systematically filed newspapers and other registers of passing events, with which he has kept up familiarity to such a remarkable degree that he is almost an encyclopædia of the history of New York and its vicinity. He has grappled with history, with science and with social, political and financial economy, and has written considerably on them all, and many articles he has printed. One little waif of his, in doggerel verse, will keep his memory alive. It is entitled, "Chronicles of Yonkers." It was published in 1864 without name, and thrown upon the tables of a fair held in the interest of the New York Sanitary Commission, to be sold for the benefit of the fair. It is sprightly and pungent, full of caustic allusions to the early history of Yonkers, as well as hits at the living men and the usages of the place at the time in which it was written. But, most of all, it helps to reveal the mind and vivacity of the writer, who has himself been one of the institutions of Yonkers since 1849.

Hon. G. Hilton Scribner, who came to Yonkers about twenty years ago as a practicing lawyer, and who, from 1871 to 1873, was Secretary of State, has now long confined himself to the management of a New York City railroad. He is, however, another of the amateur writers of Yonkers. His most notable production is a monograph, published about two years ago, entitled "Where did Life Begin?" It has attracted wide attention for its subject, for the way in which the subject is treated, and from the fact that several minds on both sides of the Atlantic seem almost simultaneously to have set forth its theory, which is, that all life of all varieties began at the poles. Mr. Scribner does not make writing a pursuit, but writes in a neat, self-controlled and pleasant style, which always insures respectful attention for whatever he prints.

Foremost among the writers of Yonkers is the Rev. Henry Martyn Baird, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D., an accomplished linguist, and one of the best read and most scholarly of men. He has been professor of Greek in the University of the City of New York since 1859. His writings have been numerous. A list of them may easily be obtained. It is enough here to cite his last and greatest work, entitled "Rise of the Huguenots of France," published in two volumes in 1879. Dr. Baird was widely known before, but this masterly work gave him a greatly increased reputation. Its style is a model, it thrills with interest, its grasp is profound, and altogether it is a masterpiece. The notices of it by foreign as well as home journals, while independent and in many cases ably critical, have been most flattering, and some have not hesitated to rank the work with the great histories of Prescott and Motley. Dr. Baird is still prosecuting his researches into his great subject, and further volumes, we understand, may be expected in due time.

Dr. Dio Lewis, the author and teacher of physical culture, died at his residence in Yonkers, in 1886, from erysipelas. A couple of weeks before his death he fell from his horse and received an injury to his left leg, below the knee. On Wednesday following he came to New York, and in returning home was

carried past Yonkers to Hastings. He walked home, a distance of about four miles. The exertion proved too much for his injured leg, causing erysipelas to set in.

Dr. Lewis was a native of Auburn, N. Y., and was sixty-three years old. He studied medicine in the Harvard Medical School, and began the practice of his profession in Auburn in 1845, at the age of twenty-two. Two years later he removed to Buffalo, where he practiced five years, and wrote and published a number of papers on the causes and treatment of cholera, which ravaged that city in 1849 and 1851. Dr. Lewis during those years of practice became impressed with the necessity of physical culture to prevent disease, and in 1855 he gave up the practice of his profession, and began a course of lecturing and writing on the subject of public and personal hygiene. During four years he lectured almost every night, giving his days to the invention of his new system of gymnastics.

In 1860, having perfected this system, he abandoned the platform and settled in Boston, where he established his normal school for physical training. He was assisted in teaching by the celebrated Dr. Walter Channing, Dr. Thomas Hoskins and other well-known medical scholars, and within seven years more than four hundred persons had been graduated from his normal school, and were spreading the principles of his system of physical training throughout the land. He next established a seminary for girls in Lexington, Mass., his object being to illustrate the possibilities in the physical development of girls during their school-life. This seminary rapidly became popular, and attracted pupils from all parts of the country and even from Central America and the West Indies. Dr. Lewis remained in Boston until 1882, when he removed to Yonkers and established a magazine in New York devoted to sanitary and social science, and known as *Dio Lewis' Monthly*.

Dr. Lewis published a number of books on physical culture which had a wide circulation, the most prominent of them being "Our Girls," "Our Digestion" and "Weak Lungs."

Besides the authors mentioned, the celebrated novelist Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth has been a resident of Yonkers since 1876. She was born in Washington, D. C., December 26, 1819, her parents being Charles Le Compte Nevitte, a merchant of Alexandria, Va., and Susannah George Wailes Nevitte, of St. Mary's, Md. She married Frederick H. Southworth, of Utica, N. Y., in 1840. Her first story was written in the latter part of 1846, and published in the *Baltimore Saturday Visitor* of that year. From 1847 to 1857 all her writings were issued in the *Washington National Era*. Her first novel in book-form was published by the Harpers of New York, in 1849, after having been run through the *Era*. From 1857 she has been writing for the *New York Ledger*.

Since the latter year she has published through the *New York Ledger* only. She is at present (December, 1885) writing her sixty-seventh novel. Her works have been republished in England, and translated into German, French and Spanish. Mrs. Southworth is a lady of refinement, of great intelligence and extensive reading, especially familiar with all the characters and phases of Washington life, and a most interesting conversationalist. She is so devoted to her work as to be seldom seen in public. She is understood to be an admirer and perhaps a disciple of Swedenborg. Her disposition is one of great amiability, and she is noted for her practical sympathy with and ready hand for all who are in trial and need.

It would not be possible to give the names of all Yonkers men and women who have simply published pamphlets or been active in newspaper correspondence. Among the latter have been several Yonkers ladies, some of whom have been professional paper and magazine contributors, writing under assumed names. We have tried to recall at least all writers of books, and hope that to this extent our effort has been a success.

J. Thomas Scharf

CHAPTER XIV.

CIVIL HISTORY.

BY REV. WILLIAM J. CUMMING,
Of Yorktown.

OCTOBER 3, 1642, John Throgmorton (or Throckmorton) and some friends, who had suffered in the persecution against Roger Williams, obtained permission of the authorities of the New Netherlands to settle thirty-five families in what is now the town of Westchester, and doubtless the settlement was made shortly after this date. This territory had been purchased of the Indians in 1640, and bore the name Vredeland—land of peace.[1] This grant was confirmed by William Kieft, director-general, July 6, 1643. John (or Jan) Throckmorton was to receive the land in fee-simple and to be allowed the free exercise of religion, on condition that he, his associates and successors should "acknowledge as their lords and patroons" the Dutch authorities. This grant really made John Throckmorton the patroon of the portion of Vredeland granted to him. The settlement was designated by the Dutch Oostdorp and by the English Easttown. This is the first civil division in what is now Westchester County,[2] in which, doubt-

[1] O'Callaghan's "History of the New Netherlands," vol. ii. p. 312.
[2] See "History of Town of Westchester," below.

less, English ideas and government, subject to the supremacy of the Dutch, prevailed.

August 3, 1639, the Dutch purchased a large tract of land on the Hudson, north of Manhattan Island, from the Indians. In 1646, Adriaen van der Donck received a grant of this tract, called Nepperhaem, where Yonkers now stands, from the Dutch.[1] This grant was made under the "Charter of Privileges and Exemptions," issued June 7, 1629, "which provided that any member of the company who should purchase of the Indians, and found in any part of New Netherland (except Manhattan) a colonie of fifty persons over fifteen years of age, should be in all respects the fendal lord and patroon of the territory of which he should thus take possession."[2] This colony bears the name of Colen Donck. Here we have the second civil division.

In 1655, Thomas Pell, of Fairfield, Conn., laid claim to Vredeland under color of an Indian conveyance[3] of November 14, 1654, and called it Westchester. Settlement took place shortly after by the English from New England. April 2, 1655, the Dutch ordered them off. March 6, 1656, an order was issued by the director-general and Council for the arrest of the English intruders. A force, sent for the purpose, arrested twenty-three persons and brought them to New Amsterdam. On the 16th the prisoners offered to submit to the Dutch authority. Their offer was accepted. They requested the privilege of choosing their own officers and of making and administering their own laws. They were granted the same privileges as the freemen of the villages of Middleborough, Brenkelen, Midwout and Amersfoort. They were allowed to nominate double the number of persons, from whom the executive would make selections. These officers were called "Schepens."[4] [5] The civil designation originally given to Throckmorton's settlement Oostdorp or Easttown, was continued.

"In the municipal government of these settlements two systems, essentially different in principle obtained. In the 'Colonies' the superintending power was lodged in one individual, who, though the immediate vassal of the sovereign authority from which he derived his lands, was himself lord paramount in his manor, where he not only represented the sovereign, but exercised feudal jurisdiction over his colonists, who stood towards him in the same relation he occupied towards the supreme head of the State. . . . In return for this obedience the patroon was bound to protect the colonists, who had the additional right to address themselves by appeal to the supreme authority at Amsterdam, in case they were either aggrieved or oppressed. . . .

"Towns or communes sometimes acquired independence of these feudal lords, and held their privileges directly from the crown. They were incorporated and held land in fee, and possessed the rights of patroons. They named persons from whom the executive selected officers called 'schepens.' These constituted a board of communication with their sovereign head, were a local court of justice, and had a schout or sheriff, a secretary and a marshal. Their official term was one year. One hundred years before the Dutch settlement there were in Holland 300 such municipalities. Both ideas came with the people and were found here.

"Strange as it may seem, while every colonie, and almost every hamlet, had its local magistracy, the citizens of New Amsterdam [New York City], the capital of the whole province, continued, greatly to their discontent, without a voice in the management of their municipal affairs. The government of the city still remained in the hands of the Director-General and his council."[6]

Colendonck, (Yonkers) was under the government of a patroon, such as is described above; and the following statement gives some idea of the "Charter of Privileges and Exemptions" issued by the West India Company's College of Nineteen, June 7, 1629, in accordance with which the grant was made to Van der Donck:

"The Patroon had power to appoint officers and magistrates in all towns and cities on his lands; to hold manorial courts, from which, in cases where the judgment exceeded fifty guilders, the only appeal was to the Director-General and Council; in short, to hold and govern his great manor with as absolute a rule as any baron of the Middle Ages. The power of the Patroons over their tenants was almost unlimited. No man or woman, son or daughter, man-servant or maid-servant could leave a Patroon's service during the time they had agreed to remain, except by his written consent, no matter what abuses or breaches of contract existed on part of the Patroon. This charter prescribed regulations and granted privileges with regard to trade, gave to the freemen all the land they could cultivate, and exempted them from taxation for ten years. Churches and schools were required to be established, and the manufacture of cloths was prohibited. The company retained the fur trade and fettered commerce. Several directors of the company availed themselves of the advantages offered. The Patroon of Rensselaerswyck, however, was the only one who established a manorial court, and he rendered the privilege of appeal nugatory by exacting of his tenants, as a condition to the occupation of land, that they would not avail themselves of it. This monopoly had a disastrous effect upon the colony. Differences arose between the company and the Patroons, and a new policy was, therefore, inaugurated. In 1638 free emigration was encouraged, and in 1640 (July 19) the College of Nineteen passed an ordinance materially modifying the Charter of Privileges and Exemptions. The policy of free emigration, free lands and free trade, incomplete as it was, increased at once the prosperity of the colony."[7]

In what is now Westchester County we have, therefore, both systems—in Colendonck the government of a patroon or feudal baron, in Oostdorf the commune or town, with some local autonomy.

The New Netherlands were governed by the "Dutch Roman [or Civil] Law, the imperial statutes of Charles V., and the edicts, customs and resolutions of the United Netherlands[8] and such ordinances as the Dutch West India Company should prescribe.

The boundary between the New England colonies and the New Netherlands had been in dispute. By the treaty of 1650 Greenwich on the main land and Oyster Bay on Long Island became the eastern limits of the latter.[9] November 15, 1663, Westchester was ceded by Stuyvesant to Connecticut, and English law and customs prevailed. Less than a year later, September 8, 1664, the New Netherlands surrendered to an English squadron under Richard Nicolls. The New Netherlands became New York, the Dutch West India Company were succeeded by the Duke of York (to whom his brother, Charles II., "by the most des-

1 O'Callaghan's "History of the New Netherlands," vol. ii. p. 382.
2 Civil List of State of New York, 1880, p. 57.
3 O'Callaghan's "Hist. of N. H."
4 O'Callaghan's "History of N. H.," pp. 312–313.
5 There is among the records of the town of Westchester one entitled 'The Book of Courts Acts from 1657 to 1662.''
6 O'Callaghan's "History of N. N.," pp. 391–393.
7 Civil List of State of N. Y., 1880, pp. 57–58.
8 Civil List of State of N. Y., 1880, p. 23.
9 Bancroft's "Hist. of U. S." (last edition), vol. i. p. 508.

potic instrument recorded in the colonial archives of England," which ignored alike English charters and Dutch claims),[1] and the civil law gave place to the common law. With the exception of a brief period of Dutch occupation in 1673 to 1674, English rule remained until the Revolution. Anglo-Saxon ideas and customs still predominate. Richard Nicolls took Stuyvesant's place, and found it profitable employment, for the fees received, to issue new patents to the old settlers. The Duke of York, whose deputy the Governor was, promised more privileges than he ever gave.

COUNTY UNDER ENGLISH RULE.—Changes in the proprietors and systems brought with them local changes. Colendonck (Yonkers), the second civil division of what is now called Westchester County, had been blotted from the map by the massacre of its inhabitants by the Algonquin Indians in September, 1655.[2] Nothing remained but the charter. In 1664, only Westchester, formerly called by the Dutch Oostdorp, or Easttown, remained. "A convention of two delegates from each town on Long Island[3] was held at Hempstead in February, 1665, for the purpose of receiving from the Governor the code which he had prepared, and which was called 'the Duke's Laws.' The code was chiefly compiled from laws then in force in New England, 'with an abatement of the severity against such as differ in matters of conscience and religion.' The only popular feature of the code was the one organizing the town courts. It provided for the election, by a majority of the freeholders of each town, of eight overseers, to try minor causes, and adopt local ordinances, subject to the approval of the Court of Assize. Four were to retire each year, and from them a constable was to be elected on the 1st or 2d of April, to act with the overseers, his election being subject to confirmation by the justice, in whose hands the local administration was really vested. Long Island, Staten Island and parts of Westchester were united in a shrievalty called Yorkshire, and divided into three districts, called ridings. The English system of sheriff's courts was introduced. The Governor and the Council appointed each year a sheriff for the whole of Yorkshire, and three justices of the peace for each riding, who were to continue in office during the Governor's pleasure, and were to hold a Court of Sessions in each riding three times a year, in which the Governor or any of his councilors might preside. Besides their local duties, the high sheriff and justices were to sit with the Governor and his Council in the Supreme Court of the Province, called the Court of Assize, which was to meet at New York once a year, on the last Thursday in September. This court was also a legislative body, as it was invested with 'the supreme power of making, altering and abolishing any laws,' except customs laws, in which it could only recommend changes. Town officers were required to make assessments annually, and taxes were levied through the Courts of Sessions, which made requisitions upon the town authorities. The delegates to the convention asked for power to choose their local magistrates. This was denied, the Governor exhibiting his instructions from the Duke of York, 'wherein the choice of all the officers of justice was solely to be made by the Governor.'"[4] From 1665 to 1683 the inhabited portion this county formed, with Staten Island, Kings County and Newtown, the West Riding of Yorkshire.

Westchester County, with substantially the same boundaries as at present, was erected, November 1, 1683, by the following act of the General Assembly, assented to by the Governor and Council:

"*An Act to divide the Province of New York and dependencies into shires and counties, etc.*

"Having taken into consideration the necessity of dividing the Province into respective countys, for the better governing and settling courts in the same, be it enacted by the Governor, Council and the Representatives, and by the authority of the same, that the said Province be divided into twelve countys as followeth. The County of Westchester to conteyne, West and Eastchester, Bronx-land, Fordham, Anne Hook's Neck, Richbell's, Miniford's Islands, and all the land on the maine to the eastward of Manhattan's Island, as farre as the government extends, and the Yonker's land, and northward along Hudson's River as farre as the Highland. . . .

"The bill having been three times read before the governor and Council, is assented to the first of November, 1683."[5]

This act is confirmed by one passed October 1, 1691 (3d William and Mary).

The dividing line between this State and Connecticut was in dispute. As this was a border county, it was involved. Prior to the taking of the New Netherlands by the English a controversy was going on between the Dutch and colony of Connecticut. This was inevitable from the fact that the charters came from different nations. There could have been but one outcome—the Dutch were obliged to yield and the inhabitants of Connecticut would have pushed their settlements to the Hudson River. The charters granted by the English did not settle matters. The Duke of York's domain extended to the Connecticut River, that of Connecticut to the "South Sea."

The determination of the boundary line settled the civil status of Bedford and Rye. Both colonies acknowledging one supreme authority an amicable adjustment was possible. Commissioners were sent over for the purpose in 1664. The line decided upon was to be twenty miles east of the Hudson River and was located at the Mamaroneck River. The towns named above fell to our neighbor. The matter was reopened in 1683 and the dividing line placed by agreement at Byram River. Bedford and Rye became a part of

[1] Bancroft's "History of the U. S.," vol. i. p. 518 (last edition).

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] This is a mistake; Westchester was represented by Edward Jessup and John Quinby.

[4] Civil List of State of New York, 1880, pp. 45 and 46.

[5] Provincial Laws of N. Y., Co. Clerk's Office, Queen's Co., L. I., as quoted by Bolton—"History of West Co.," vol. i. pp. 7 and 8 (new edition).

New York. The King died before this settlement received his approval, and the subject was an open one once more. March 29, 1700, William III. approved of the agreement of 1683. The line was not finally established until May 14, 1731, by which the "Oblong," a tract of sixty-one thousand four hundred and forty acres, extending as far north as the Massachusetts line, was ceded to New York, in compensation for loss of territory along the Sound, in addition to the towns named above. That portion of the "Oblong" which belongs to this county was erected into the town of Salem (now Lewisboro). By an act entitled "An Act to ascertain Part of the Southern and Western Boundaries of the County of Westchester and Eastern Boundaries of the County of Orange and Part of the Northern Bounds of Queens County," passed December 31, 1768 (9th George III.), the water boundaries were given more definitely.

COURTS.—By the act of 1683, Westchester was made the county-town, and the courts there established. From the report to the Committee on Trade on province of New York, of February 22, 1687, made by Governor Dongan, who had summoned the General Assembly of 1683, we gain some idea of the courts established by the act referred to,—

Courts of Justice are now established by Act of Assembly, and they are:

"1. The Court of Chancery, consisting of Governor and Council, is the Supreme Court of this province, to which appeals may be brought from any other court.

"2. The Assembly finding the inconvenience of bringing y^e^ peace, sheriffs, constables @ other persons concerned from the remote parts of this government to New York, did, instead of the Court of Assizes which was yearly held for the whole Government of this province, erect a Court of Oyer and Terminer, to be held once every year within each county, for the determining of such matters as should arise within them respectively, the members of which court were appointed to be one of the two judges of this province, assisted by three justices of the peace of that wherein such court is held, which Court of Oyer and Terminer has likewise power to hear appeals from any inferior Court.

"4. There is likewise in every county, twice in every year (except in New York, where its four times, @ in Albany, where its thrice), Courts of Sessions held by the Justices of the Peace for the respective counties, as in England.

"5. In every town within y^e^ Government there are 3 Commissioners appointed to hear and determine all matters of difference not exceeding the value of £5, which shall happen in the respective towns."[1]

By the act of General Assembly passed May 6, 1691, and ordinance of 1699, several changes were made in the judicial system of the province. A Supreme Court was established, the Court of Oyer and Terminer as a distinct court was abolished, and its jurisdiction vested in the Supreme Court, which retained also the name for its criminal circuit, the functions of the Court of Sessions were confined to criminal matters, and a Court of Common Pleas, erected for each county, with cognizance of all actions, real, personal and mixed, where the value exceeded five pounds. From the civil list of the province of New York for 1693[2] we learn something of civil affairs in this county,—

"Justices in Westchester County: Caleb Heathcote, Esqr., Judge of Common Pleas; Joseph Theall, Wm. Barnes, Daniel Strange, James Mott, John Hunt, Thomas Chadderton, Thomas Pinckney, Esqrs.; Benj. Collier, Sheriff; Joseph Lee, Clerk of County; Collectors, Assessors and Constables elective.

"*An account of all Establishments of Jurisdiction Within this Province.*

"*Single Justice.*—Every Justice of the Peace hath power to determine any suite or controversy to the value of 40s.

"*Quarter Sessions.*—The Justices of the Peace in Quarter Sessions have all such powers and authorities as are granted in a commission of y^e^ Peace in England.

"*County Court.*—The County Court or Common Pleas hath cognizance of Civil Accôns to any value, excepting what concerns title of land and noe Accôn can be removed from this court, if the damage be under £20.

"*Supreme Court.*—The Supreme Court hath powers of King's Bench, Common Pleas & Exchequer in England and noe Accôn can be removed from this court if under £100.

"*Chancery.*—The Governor & Council are a Court of Chancery and have powers of the chancery in England, from whose sentence or decree nothing can be removed under £300.

"*Prerogative Court.*—The Governor discharges the place of Ordinary in granting administracôns and proveing Wills, etc. The Secretary is Register. The Governor is about to appoint Delegates in the remoter parts of the Government, with supervisors for looking after intestate's estates and provideing for orphans."

Minor criminal offenses were looked after by the Court of Sessions, and the more flagrant by the judges of the Supreme Court in their circuits through the counties. They had for this purpose "a commission of oyer and terminer and general jail delivery, in which some of the county judges were joined."[3]

Smith, in his "History of New York," gives us an interesting account of the courts as they were in 1757,—

"Justices of the peace are appointed by commission from the Governors, who, to serve their purposes in elections, sometimes grant, as it is called, the administration to particular favorites in each county, which is the nomination of officers civil and military; and by these means justices have been astonishingly multiplied. There are instances of some of these who can neither write nor read. These Genii, besides their ordinary powers, are by acts of assembly enabled to hold courts for the determination of small causes of 5 pounds and under; but the parties are privileged, if they choose it, with a jury; the proceedings are in a summary way, and the conduct of the justices has given just cause to innumerable complaints. The justices have also jurisdiction with crimes under the degree of grand larceny; for any three of them (one being of the quorum) may try the criminal without a jury, and inflict punishments not extending to life or limb.

"*The Sessions and Court of Common Pleas.*—The Court of Common Pleas takes cognizance of all causes where the matter in demand is in value above 5 pounds. It is established by ordinance of the Governor in Council. The judges are ordinarily three, and hold their offices during pleasure. Thro' the infancy of the country, few, if any of them, are acquainted with the law. The practice of these courts is similar to that of the common bench at Westminster. They have each a clerk, commissioned by the Governor, who issues their writs, enters their minutes and keeps the records of the country. They are held twice every year. These judges, together with some of the justices, hold at the same time a court of general sessions of the peace. . . .

"*Supreme Court.*—The judges of this court, according to the act of Assembly, are judges of the *Nisi Prius*, of course, and agreeably to an ordinance of the Governor and Council, perform a circuit thro' the counties once every year. They carry with them at the same time, a commission of oyer and terminer and general jail delivery, in which some of the county justices are joined. They have but two clerks—one attendant upon the Supreme Court at New York and the other on the circuits."[4]

From these accounts and other sources we gain some idea of the judicial system of the county during

[1] O'Callaghan's "Doc. History of N. Y.," vol. i. pp. 147 and 148.
[2] O'Callaghan's "Doc. History of N. Y.," vol. i. pp. 315 and 319.
[3] Civil List, 1880, p. 209.
[4] Smith's "History of N. Y.," vol. i. pp. 369-377.

colonial times. Under the Duke's Laws there existed a Court of Sessions with both civil and criminal jurisdiction, held three times a year by the resident justices of the peace and the Town Court, held by the constable and at least five overseers of town. The latter court had both legislative and judicial functions, while the former exercised some of the functions of the supervisors.[1] From 1683 to 1691 we have the Court of Oyer and Terminer, with civil, criminal and appellate jurisdiction, held by one judge and three resident justices of the peace; a Court of Sessions, with civil and criminal jurisdiction and power to audit and levy the county and town charges, held twice each year; and a Town Court, held by three commissioners. From 1691 to 1776 there were Circuit Courts held annually by one of the Supreme Court justices, who had a commission of Oyer and Terminer, in which some of the county judges were associated; the Court of Common Pleas, composed of one judge and two or more justices of the peace, which took cognizance of all actions, real, personal and mixed, where the matter in demand exceeded the sum of five pounds in value; the Court of Sessions, whose jurisdiction was now confined to criminal cases; the Justice's Court in the various towns. The people had comparatively little voice in their own government. The judges of the various courts, justices of peace, sheriff, county clerk, surrogate, and, in fact, all officers, except the town officers (supervisors, collectors, assessors and constables), were appointed by the Governor, who was responsible only to the King. Most of the officers thus appointed held office during the pleasure of the Governor. This condition of affairs produced dissatisfaction among the people, and led to an almost perpetual conflict between the Government and the General Assembly. The elective officers were the overseers, supervisors, collectors, assessors and constables of the town, the mayor, aldermen and Common Council of the town or borough of Westchester,[2] (which had a special charter) and representatives in the General Assembly.

County under the Constitution.—When New York ceased to be a colony of England and became an independent State, great and radical changes in principle were made, yet the machinery of government was but little changed. The source of authority was changed, not its expression. The Constitution of 1777 substituted for a Governor appointed by the King one elected by the people; the Council appointed by the King or Governor became a Senate, elected by the people; and the General Assembly elected by the people remained. The apportionment in both branches of the Legislature was according to population,—a principle not previously recognized. The number of elective officers remained the same, but the appointing power was vested in the Council of Appointment, presided over by the Governor, who had a casting vote, consisting of one Senator elected annually by the Assembly from each of the four senatorial districts. A Governor and Council holding office at the pleasure of the King gave place to a Governor and a Council elected by the people for a limited term, and thus became directly amenable to them. The elective franchise in principle remained the same, with the single exception that there was no discrimination on account of religion. The property qualification was still retained. The judicial system remained largely the same. The common and statute law of Great Britain and the acts of Colonial General Assembly, except so far as they conflicted with the new order of things, were made the law of the State until modified by the Legislature. The radical change was in the constitution of the court of final resort. Under the colonial system the Governor and Council were the court for the correction of errors and appeals, from whom appeals, where the value exceeded five hundred pounds, or where the Episcopal Church was involved, lay to the King in Privy Council. Under the first constitution the executive had no judicial functions; the court of final resort was called the Court for the Trial of Impeachments and the Correction of Errors, consisting of the Lieutenant-Governor, Senate, chancellor and judges of the Supreme Court. One other important change was made. In England the granting of probates was a royal prerogative and in the colony was vested in the King's representative, the Governor. The Governor of the State was stripped of this authority, which was granted to the surrogates of the counties and the Court of Probate. With these exceptions, the colonial courts were recognized, and we have the Court of Chancery with equity powers, the Supreme Court, Court of Common Pleas, Court of Sessions and the Justices' Courts. Their powers remained substantially the same. The Supreme Court judges held Circuit Courts and Courts of Oyer and Terminer in each of the counties. In the latter, two or more judges of the Common Pleas were associated.

The Constitution of 1821 extended the elective franchise by virtually removing the property qualification, except in the case of colored persons, who were to be freeholders of two hundred and fifty dollars and tax-payers. The appointing power was vested in the Governor with the advice and consent of the Senate. The offices of sheriff and county clerk became elective (term of service three years). The justices of the peace were to be appointed by the supervisors and judges of the County Court.

The courts in name remained the same, but the constitution of the Supreme Court was somewhat changed and a Circuit Court was added. "The Supreme Court sat four times a year in review of their decisions and for the determination of questions of law. Each justice was empowered to hold circuit courts and any justice of the Supreme Court could

[1] See Supervisors, below.

[2] See History of Town of Westchester.

likewise preside at the Oyer and Terminer."[1][2] The Constitution provided that the State should be divided into not less than four nor more than eight circuits.[3] Each district had its circuit judge, who possessed the powers of a justice of the Supreme Court at chambers, in the trial of issues joined in the Supreme Court, and in the Court of Oyer and Terminer. The Courts of Common Pleas and Sessions and Justices' Court were continued. Prior to the adoption of this Constitution most offices were held either during good behavior or at the pleasure of the appointing power. The judges of the Court of Common Pleas were appointed for the term of five years, and the surrogates for four years. In 1823 the Court of Probates disappears, and appeals from the surrogates lay to the chancellor. The justices of the peace became elective in 1826.

The Constitution of 1846 extended the franchise to every resident white male citizen who was twenty-one years of age. The XV. Amendment to the Constitution of the United States erased the word white. All judicial offices of the State, all county offices and almost all civil offices in the gift of the State became elective. The Court for the Final Impeachment and the Correction of Errors disappears. A new Court of Appeals is established, the constitution of which was somewhat modified by the amendment of 1866. A new Supreme Court was erected, vested with the powers hitherto possessed by the Supreme Court, the Court of Chancery and the Circuit Court. The County Court takes the place of the Common Pleas and the county judge, with two justices of the peace, holds the Court of Sessions. The jurisdiction of the former was much greater than its predecessor. This county forms part of the Second Judicial District. At the present time the Supreme Court holds four terms and the County Court five each year at the court-house, White Plains.

County-Seat.—By an act of General Assembly entitled "An Act for the more orderly hearing and determining matters of controversy," etc., passed October 29, 1683, it was directed that Courts of Session for Westchester County should be held on the first Tuesdays of June and December, one to be held at Westchester and the other at East Chester. On the first Wednesday of December a Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Jail Delivery was to be held. Westchester remained the shire or county-town until November 6, 1759, when the last session of the Court of Common Pleas was held there.[4] *The New York Post-Boy* of February 13, 1758, contained the following item: "New York, February 13th.—We hear from Westchester that on Saturday the 4th inst., the court-house at that place was unfortunately burnt to the ground. We have not heard how it happened."[5] The destruction of the court-house on February 4, 1758, and the felt necessity for a more central location for the county town, led to the passing of the following act on December 16, 1758: "An Act to impower the Justices of the Peace and Aldermen of the Borough of Westchester, in conjunction with the Supervisors of the said County, to ascertain and fix the place for erecting a new Court-House and Gaol for the said County; and for raising a sum not exceeding One thousand Pounds, on the Estates, real and personal, of all the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the said County, for and towards erecting the said Court-House and Gaol." White Plains was selected as the place, and on November 7, 1759, the Court of Common Pleas held its first session in the court-house.[6] The act of February 6, 1773, directed the supervisors to meet in the court-house. In July, 1776, the Provincial Convention met in it. November 5, 1776, the building was burned by some of the American troops, the records having previously been removed to a safe place. During the Revolutionary War the courts were held in the Presbyterian Church at Bedford until its destruction by the British, in 1779. From this time until November, 1884, they were held at the meeting-house in Upper Salem. The act of April 11, 1785, ordered them to be held in the Presbyterian meeting-house at Bedford until the court-house should be rebuilt or until further orders of the Legislature. The act of May 1, 1786, directed the erection of court-houses at both White Plains and Bedford and eighteen hundred pounds was appropriated for the purpose. Stephen Ward, Ebenezer Lockwood, Jonathan G. Tompkins, Ebenezer Purdy, Thomas Thomas, Richard Hatfield and Richard Sacket, Jr., superintended their construction. The first session of the County Court was held in Bedford court-house January 28, 1788, and that at White Plains on May 26th following. The courts were held alternately at these places until 1870, when, by chapter five hundred and fifty by the laws of 1870, it was directed that they be hereafter held in the new court-house at the latter. The present county buildings were erected in 1856–57, under the superintendence of a committee appointed by the Board of Supervisors, consisting of Abraham Hatfield, States Barton, William Marshall, Jr., Daniel Hunt and George G. Finch, at a cost of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars.[7]

Elections.—During the colonial period elections were held on the first Tuesday of April in each of the towns for choosing of town officers, and as often as writs of election directed to the high sheriff were issued for the purpose of selecting members of the Colonial Assembly. The places where the latter were

[1] Civil List, 1880, pp. 211 and 212.

[2] It seemed to have had same powers as general term of present Supreme Court.

[3] Westchester County was in the Second Circuit.

[4] See records of Court of Common Pleas.

[5] Bolton's "History of Westchester County," vol. ii. p. 299 (new edition).

[6] Court-house cost £2000. Additional appropriations were made in 1760 and 1762.

[7] Proceedings of Board of Supervisors, 1873, p. 714.

held were within the bounds of the civil divisions represented. The representative for the county was elected at first in the southern part of the county, and later near the Presbyterian meeting-house at White Plains.[1] The voting in all cases was *viva voce*. The Constitution of 1777 made provision for a trial of voting by ballot. The act of March 27, 1778, authorized the use of the ballot in the election of Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, and that of February 13, 1787, extended it to the election of members of the Legislature. Doubtless up to the passage of the latter act elections were carried on in much the same manner as they had been during colonial times. The act last mentioned provided that they should be held in every borough, town, district, precinct or ward under the supervision of inspectors chosen for that purpose. Until after the passage of the act of March 27, 1799, the canvassers were a joint committee of the Legislature, the boxes containing the ballots being sent by the sheriff to the Secretary of State for the purpose. After that date there were local canvassers. The result was recorded by the town clerk, who made return to the county clerk, who made record and transmitted it to the Secretary of State, who, with the comptroller and treasurer, constituted a State Board of Canvassers. The act of April 17, 1822, instituted a County Board of Canvassers, consisting of one inspector of election from each town. Each town or ward was made an election district. The act of April 5, 1842, made the supervisors the county canvassers, and provided for the division of towns and wards into a convenient number of election districts. This duty devolved upon the supervisors, assessors and clerks of towns, who were required to do it where the population exceeded five hundred.

Election Days.—The act of February 13, 1787, appointed the last Tuesday of April the day for the general election, which might be held for five days. By the act of April 17, 1822, it was changed to the first Tuesday of November, and the polls were opened, by adjournment from place to place, for three successive days. The act of April 5, 1842, the Tuesday succeeding the first Monday of November was designated, and the election was confined to one day. The election for town officers takes place on the last Tuesday of March.

Supervisors.—By the "Duke's Laws," promulgated in 1665, the Courts of Sessions levied the taxes upon the towns. By an act of the General Assembly, passed October 18, 1701 (13th William III.), the justices of the peace, in special or general session, were directed to levy once a year the necessary county and town charges and allowance for their representative in the General Assembly, to make provision for the poor, and to issue warrants for the election of two assessors and one collector, and for the collection of taxes.[2] These duties were transferred to a Board of Supervisors by an act of General Assembly passed June 19, 1703 (2d Anne), entitled "An Act for the better explaining and more effectually putting into Execution an Act of General Assembly made in the third year of the Reign of their late Majesties King William and Queen Mary, entitled an Act for defraying the publick and necessary charges thro'out this Province and for maintaining the poor and Preventing Vagabonds." The freeholders and inhabitants of each town were authorized to choose once each year, on the first Tuesday of April (unless otherwise directed), one supervisor, two assessors and one collector. The supervisors elected were directed to meet in the county town on the first Tuesday of October, ascertain the contingent charges of the county and such sums as were imposed by the laws of the colony, apportion to each town, manor, liberty, jurisdiction and precinct their respective quotas, and to transmit them to the assessors of the different towns, etc., who should apportion them among the inhabitants. The supervisors were authorized to choose annually a treasurer. The Court of Sessions was thus relieved of that portion of its duties which was legislative and not judicial. Supervisors had been chosen in several of the towns before the passage of the act of 1703 (East Chester, 1686; Mamaroneck, 1697; New Rochelle, 1700), but what were their duties it is impossible to state. The records of the proceedings of the supervisors prior to 1772 having been lost during the Revolutionary War, we can only surmise what sections of the county came under the provisions of the act. East Chester, Westchester, Philipsburg, Pelham Manor, Morrisania, Mamaroneck, New Rochelle, Bedford and Rye probably elected these officers. The census[3] for 1712 gives some idea of the civil divisions recognized by law or usage, with the population of each,—

"Westchester	572
East Chester	300
Rye	516
New Rochelle	304
Younkers	260
Philipsburg	348
Mo Marronack	84
Morrisania	62
Pelham	62
Bedford	172
Cortland's Pattent	91
Ryke's Pattent	32
Scarsdale	12
Total	2815 "

November 1, 1722 (9th Geo. I.), an act was passed entitled "An Act to increase the number of Supervisors in the county of Westchester, and that no wages of Supervisors shall be any part of the said county's rate for the future." After authorizing the choice of a freeholder by the freeholders and inhabitants, it was

[1] "An act to fix and ascertain the place for election of representatives to serve in General Assembly for county of Westchester, passed the 25th of November, 1751."

[2] Civil List, 1880, p. 209.

[3] O'Callaghan's "Doc. Hist. of N. Y.," vol. i.

provided that in case of failure to elect, or where there were not more than twenty inhabitants, the owner of the manor or his steward should be supervisor. The freeholders of the Manor of Cortlandt were authorized, by the act of December 16, 1737, to elect annually one supervisor, one treasurer, two assessors and one collector, and Ryke's Patent, by the act of January 27, 1770, were granted a similar privilege. While much is left to surmise prior to the year 1772, the records give both the towns and the supervisors who represented them from that day to this. The following is the list for 1773:

"Wm. Barker, Esq., for Scarsdale; Doct. Haverland, for Rye; Col. Cortlandt, for Yonkers; Jas. Pell, for Pelham; Col. Holmes, for Bedford; Jas. Ferris, Esq., for Westchester; Col. Morris, for Morrisania; Abijah Gilbert, for Salem; Wm. Davis, for Philipsborough; Doct. Daton, for North Castle; Stephen Ward, for Eastchester; Wm. Sutton, Esq., loan officer and supervisor for Memorineck; Justice Lockwood, for Poundridge; Maj. Cortlandt, for Cortlandt Manor; Jas. Cronkhite, for Ryks Patten; Doct. Graham, for the White Plains."[1]

The supervisors met at first in the county town, Westchester. This place being inconvenient, the supervisors were directed to meet in the school-house at Rye, by an act entitled, "An Act to alter the place of the supervisors' meeting in the county of Westchester," passed 29th of November, 1745, with the privilege of adjourning to such place as the majority should deem proper. The population of the northern portions of the county increased rapidly, and for their convenience the place of meeting was changed by act of February 6, 1773, to the court-house at White Plains, with the same privilege of adjournment. After the burning of the court-house, in 1776, the supervisors became a vagrant body, with no certain meeting-place. They met in Bedford, Manor of Cortlandt or Salem. But few towns were represented. All through these trying years we find about the same persons present,—Ebenenezer Lockwood, of Poundridge; Major Joseph Strang, of Manor of Cortlandt; Israel Lyon, of Bedford; Jacob Purdy, of North Castle; and Abijah Gilbert, of Salem. May 31, 1784, the supervisors met at the house of John Cromwell, in Harrison's Precinct, and there were present the following persons:

John Thomas, Rye; Wm. Paulding, Manor of Philipsburgh; Jonathan G. Tompkins, Manor of Scarsdale; Joseph Strang, Manor of Cortlandt; Thad. Crane, town of Upper Salem; Benj. Stevenson, New Rochelle; Israel Honeywell, Yonkers; —— Miller, Harrison's Precinct; Ebenezer Lockwood, Poundridge; Ebenezer L. Burling, East Chester; Abel Smith, North Castle; Daniel Horton, White Plains; Gilbert Budd, Mamaroneck; Abijah Gilbert, Salem.

The business was to levy two thousand pounds on Westchester, Yonkers, East Chester, New Rochelle, Mamaroneck, Manor of Scarsdale and the Manor of Pelham, as a war tax.

By the act of March 7, 1788, entitled "An act for defraying the necessary charges of the respective counties of the State," this county was divided into twenty towns viz.: Bedford, Cortlandt, East Chester, Greenburgh, Harrison, Mamaroneck, Mount Pleasant, New Rochelle, North Castle, North Salem, Pelham, Poundridge, Rye, Salem, Scarsdale, Stephentown, Westchester, White Plains, Yonkers and Yorktown. "The name of the town of Salem was changed to South Salem April 6, 1806, and to Lewisboro February 13, 1840, and a part of North Salem was annexed April 26, 1844. Ossining was formed from Mount Pleasant May 2, 1845. New Castle was formed from North Castle March 18, 1781, and a part of Somers annexed May 12, 1846. The name of Stephentown was changed to Somers April 6, 1808. West Farms was formed from Westchester May 13, 1846. Morrisania was formed from West Farms December 7, 1855. King's Bridge was formed from Yonkers December 16, 1872. By an act of the Legislature passed May 23, 1873, the towns of Morrisania, West Farms and King's Bridge were annexed to the county of New York, to take effect on the 1st day of January, 1874.[2]

From 1784 to 1788 the supervisors met in different places, usually, however, at White Plains, once in the Presbyterian meeting-house at Bedford; after the latter date they met alternately at the court-houses, at Bedford and White Plains until 1870; since the latter date the court-house at White Plains has been their place of meeting.

CIVIL LIST.[3]

COLONIAL ASSEMBLY.—The history of the various assemblies and conventions of the colonial period is a very important part of that of the struggle which ended in the independence of the colonies. It began in the conflict between the people and the director-general and Council in the Dutch colonial period, in which the former claimed a voice in the government, and the "Twelve Selectmen" of 1641, "The Eight Men" of 1643 and 1645, and "The nine men" of 1647, '49, '50 and '52, which necessity wrung from the latter, are really the later Assembly in embryo. Our interest begins with the English period. March 1, 1665, a convention met at the summons of Governor Nicolls, at Hempstead, L. I., simply for the promulgation of the "Duke's Laws," which had been framed by the Governor under the authority of James, Duke of York and Albany. Westchester (later the borough and town of Westchester) was represented by Edward Jessup and John Quinby. The tyranny and the customs law of the Duke of York so exasperated the people that the Duke, fearing lest the expenses of the colony should become a charge on his private purpose, sent out Governor Dongan with authority to convene a General Assembly. He ordered, September 13, 1683, the election of an Assembly of fourteen representatives. The apportionment gave four to Westchester. Its first act was entitled "Charter of Liberties and Priviledges granted by his Royal Highness to

[1] See Record of Board of Supervisors.

[2] Proceedings of the Board of Supervisors, 1873, p. 715.

[3] We acknowledge our indebtedness to the Civil List of the State of New York, of 1880, for information, and even language to which special reference is not made.

the Inhabitants of New York and its dependencies." This act proves its authors worthy descendants of a liberty-loving ancestry, and the true progenitors of the founders of American liberties. James had become King of England, and it is scarcely necessary to add that this charter received the royal *disapproval*, and the General Assembly was abolished, June 16, 1686. Westchester was represented in this Assembly by Thomas Hunt, Sr., Jno. Palmer, Richard Ponton and William Richardson. At Leisler's Assembly, in 1690, Thomas Browne was Westchester's representative. He died and a new writ of election was issued. Governor Sloughter arrived March 19, 1691, with instructions from William and Mary to re-establish the Assembly and reinstate the people in their rights. It consisted of seventeen members, but was afterwards increased to twenty-seven. April 9, 1691, it met for the first time. From this date until it ceased to exist, April 3, 1775, it was engaged in one prolonged conflict with the Governor and the crown for the rights of the people. By the act of May 8, 1699, the representatives were elected by the freeholders of forty pounds in value, who were residents of the electoral district at least three months prior to the issue of the writ. The elections were held by the sheriff at one place in each county, and voting was *viva voce*. The act of November 25, 1751, directed the sheriff to hold his court of election near the Presbyterian meeting-house at White Plains. Previously it had been held in the southern part of the county, doubtless at Westchester. Catholics could neither vote nor hold the office, and at one time the Quakers and Moravians were also virtually disqualified by their unwillingness to take the oath.

The General Assembly legally dates from 1691, with which date the compilers of the colonial laws were directed to commence. In the first eight Assemblies the county of Westchester was represented. By the royal charter of April 6, 1696, the borough of Westchester (now town) was established, the freeholders of which were empowered to choose a mayor, six aldermen and six assistants or Common Council for the government of the borough; also one discreet burgess to every General Assembly. The borough of Westchester is represented from the Ninth Assembly. The Manor of Cortlandt was also entitled by its charter (dated June 17, 1697) to one representative after twenty years had elapsed. The General Assembly recognized this right June 11, 1734, and Philip Verplanck took his seat June 22d following. From this date what is now Westchester County had three representatives.

"On the day appointed for the meeting of a new Legislature the members-elect convened at the Assembly Chamber in the City of New York, and if they were above thirteen in number, sent the Clerk of the House to inform the Governor of their attendance. Commissioners, generally, the Judges of the Supreme Court were sent to the Assembly Chamber to qualify them, after which their presence was required before his Excellency, who requested them to return to their Chamber and elect a Speaker. For that purpose they again retired, and having made a choice, conducted the person elected to the Chair, which was placed at the upper end of the long table. He subsequently presented himself, accompanied by the members, to the Governor, for his approval, which was, of course, granted. The Speaker thereupon addressed the Governor, and, in behalf of the House, prayed 'that their words and actions may have a favorable construction; that the members may have free access to him, and they and their servants be privileged with freedom from arrests.' The Governor having granted this request, opened the session by reading his speech to both Houses, a copy whereof was delivered to the Speaker of the Assembly. Messages to the Council were conveyed by one of the members of the House, who was met at the bar of the Council by the Speaker of that body, into whose hands the message was delivered. All money bills originated in the Assembly, which, according to the practice of the House of Commons, allowed no amendment to be made thereto by the Council. Both houses were present in the Council Chamber when the Governor passed the bills sent him, on which occasion the custom was for his Excellency to ask the advice of his Council with respect to every bill. If approved, he signed them after these words, 'I assent to this bill, enacting the same, and order it to be enrolled.' The acts were thereupon published in the open street, near the City Hall, New York, in the presence of the Governor and both branches of the Legislature. All laws passed were subject, subsequently, to an absolute veto of the King."[1]

List of members of the Colonial Assembly from Westchester County.

Joseph Budd, Westchester, 1716–22.
John De Lancey, Borough of Westchester, 1768–72.
Peter De Lancey, Borough of Westchester, 1750–68.
John Drake, Westchester, 1698–1701, 1809–10.
Joseph Drake, Westchester, 1713–15.
Henry Fowler, Westchester, 1701.
Caleb Heathcote, Westchester, 1701–2.
John Hoite, Westchester, 1712–13.
John Hunt, Westchester, 1699–1701.
Josiah Hunt, Borough of Westchester, 1702–10.
Josiah Hunt, Westchester, 1715–16.
Lewis Morris, Sr., Borough of Westchester, 1710–28.
Lewis Morris, Jr., Borough of Westchester, 1732–50.
Lewis Morris, Sr., Westchester, 1733–38.
Lewis Morris (3d), Borough of Westchester, 1769.
Jonathan Odall, Westchester, 1715–16.
John Pell, Westchester, 1691–95.
Adolph Phillipse, Westchester, 1722–26.
Fred. Phillipse, Westchester, 1726–50.
Fred. Phillipse (2d), Westchester, 1751–75.
Daniel Purdy, Westchester, 1739–43.
Joseph Purdy, Westchester, 1695–99, 1701–5, 1709.
Joseph Theale, Westchester, 1691–94, 1697.
John Townsend, Westchester, 1745–75.
Pierre Van Cortlandt, Manor of Cortlandt, 1768–75.
Philip Verplanck, Manor of Cortlandt, 1734–68.
Edmund Ward, Westchester, 1705–09, 1710–12.
Isaac Wilkins, Borough of Westchester, 1772–75.
Gilbert Willet, Borough of Westchester, 1728–32.
Isaac Willet, Borough of Westchester, 1772–75.
William Willet, Westchester, 1701–9, 1710–15, 1716–33.
William Willet, Westchester, 1738.

Of these members, Adolph Philipse and Lewis Morris, Jr., were elected Speakers. There were thirty-one Assemblies,—terms of service from two months to ten years. The compensation of the representatives from Westchester County and Manor of Cortlandt was six shillings (seventy-five cents) a day; that of the representative of the borough of Westchester, ten shillings ($1.25.) These allowances were paid by their constituents.

Delegates to the Provincial Convention of April 20, 1775.—This convention was summoned by the Committee of Sixty, because the General Assembly refused to comply with the recommendation of the Continental Congress to choose delegates to the

[1] Civil List, 1880, page 259.

Continental Congress. The Westchester County elected

Samuel Drake.	Jonathan Platt.
Robert Graham.	John Thomas, Jr.
James Holmes.	Philip Van Cortlandt.
Lewis Morris.	Stephen Ward.

PROVINCIAL CONGRESS.—The last session of the Colonial Assembly was held April 3, 1775. These conventions were four in number. The first Provincial Convention met May 22, 1775. The apportionment varied. Some of the members were elected for one year, others for six months. The vote was taken by counties. The First, Second and Third Congresses met in New York, while the Fourth was migratory,—meeting at White Plains, Fishkill and Kingston. The deputies were chosen from the counties in the same manner as representatives to the Colonial Assembly.

Deputies from Westchester County.

Name.	No. of Congress.
David Dayton	1st.
Gilbert Drake	2d, 3d, 4th.
Joseph Drake	1st, 2d.
Peter Fleming	3d.
Lewis Graham	1st, 2d, 3d, 4th.
Robert Graham	1st, 2d.
Samuel Haviland	3d, 4th.
James Holmes	1st.
Ebenezer Lockwood	2d, 3d, 4th.
Zebadiah Mills	4th.
Gouverneur Morris	1st, 3d, 4th.
Lewis Morris	4th.
William Paulding	1st, 2d, 3d, 4th.
Jonathan Platt	4th.
Benj. Smith	4th.
John Thomas, Jr	1st, 2d.
Jonathan G. Tompkins	3d, 4th.
Philip Van Cortlandt	1st.
Pierre Van Cortlandt	2d, 3d, 4th.
Stephen Ward	1st, 2d.

COMMITTEE OF SAFETY AND COUNCIL OF SAFETY.—During the recesses of the Congresses, a Committee of Safety from its members was entrusted with executive functions. After the formation of the Constitution of 1777 a temporary form of government, called the Council of Safety, was appointed until a Governor and Legislature should be elected.

Members from Westchester County.

Gouverneur Morris. Jonathan G. Tompkins.
Pierre Van Cortlandt.

The latter was the presiding officer.

STATE CONVENTIONS.—The Fourth Provincial Congress, which assumed the name of the Convention of Representatives of the State of New York, resolved itself into a convention to frame a Constitution for the State. August 1, 1776, a committee[1] of thirteen members was appointed to prepare a form of government. This committee reported March 12, 1777, and the first Constitution was adopted April 20th, following. It is saturated with the principles for which the people had contended for more than a century. The three distinct functions of government were recognized. A Legislature, consisting of a Senate and Assembly, was the law-making body. The executive officer was called the Governor. The appointing power was vested in a Council of Appointment, which consisted of one Senator from each of the four Senatorial Districts. These members of the Council were appointed annually by the Assembly. The Governor, who presided over the Council of Appointment, was to have "a casting voice, but no other vote." The elective officers were Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Senators, Assemblymen and the clerks, supervisors, constables and collectors of the several towns. All other officers—civil and military—were appointed by the Council of Appointment. Male resident owners of freeholds of one hundred pounds' value elected the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor and Senators; while owners of freeholds of twenty pounds in value, etc., were entitled to vote for Assemblymen.

The Second Convention convened in Poughkeepsie June 17th, 1788, pursuant to an act of Legislature, to consider the Federal Constitution. On July 26th the convention ratified it by a vote of thirty to twenty-seven, seven not voting. The following were the delegates from Westchester, all of whom showed their good sense by voting to ratify:

Thaddeus Crane.	Lewis Morris.
Richard Hatfield.	Lott W. Sarls.
Philip Livingston.	Philip Van Cortlandt.

The Third Convention is that of 1801, which was held at Albany October 13th to 27th, pursuant to an act passed April 6th of that year, to settle the controversy which had arisen regarding the relative powers of the Governor and Council of Appointment respecting nominations for office, and to consider the expediency of altering the Constitution in regard to the number of Senators and Assemblymen, with power to reduce and limit the same. The Convention unanimously decided that the Council of Appointment had equal powers of nomination with the Governor; fixed the number of Senators at thirty-two and the Assemblymen at one hundred, to be increased after each census, at the rate of two yearly, until they reached the number of one hundred and fifty.

Delegates from Westchester County.

Thomas Ferris.	Pierre Van Cortlandt, Jr.
Israel Honeywell.	Ebenezer White.
Jonathan G. Tompkins.	

The Fourth Convention was held in Albany August 28 to November 10, 1821. The question of a Convention for the Revision of the Constitution was submitted to the people, It was carried by a very large majority. The burning questions of the day were about the Councils of Revision and Appointment. The former was objected to as exercising its veto power contrary to the ideas for which the colonists contended, and as being beyond the reach of the peo-

[1] For names of representatives of Fourth Provincial Congress, see list above. Gouverneur Morris, of Westchester County, was on the committee.

ple; and the latter, because it had assumed judicial authority. The Constitution of 1821 was ratified by the people February, 1822. The vote was put into the hands of all white male citizens, virtually without condition. The Councils of Revision and Appointment were abolished. Appointments, for the most part, were made by the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The number of elective officers was increased.

Delegates from Westchester County.

Peter A. Jay.[1]	Peter J. Munro.
Jonathan Ward.	

The Fifth Convention met, pursuant to the vote of the people and an act of the Legislature, at Albany, June 1, 1846, and continued in session until October 9th of the same year. The new Constitution was ratified by the popular vote November 3, 1846. Judicial officers were made elective. Members of Assembly in each county had been hitherto elected on a general ticket. The third Constitution of 1846 directed the Boards of Supervisors to divide their counties into Assembly Districts.

Delegates from Westchester County.

John Hunter.[2]	Aaron Ward.

The Sixth Convention, convened in the same manner as the preceding, met in the Assembly Chamber, in Albany, June 4, 1867, and adjourned, *sine die*, February 28, 1868. It consisted of thirty-two delegates at large and four from each Senatorial District. Only the judiciary article was ratified.

Delegates from the Ninth Senatorial District.[3]

Robert Cochran.	William H. Morris.
Abraham B. Conger.	Abraham B. Tappan.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSION.—The Governor was empowered,[4] by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint thirty-two persons, four from each judicial district, as a commission to frame into amendments several provisions contained in the rejected Constitution of 1867. The commission began its work in Albany December 4, 1872, and completed it March 15, 1873. Most of the amendments proposed were submitted to and ratified by the people.

Members of the Commission, Second Judicial District.[5]

Jno. J. Armstrong.	Odle Close.
Erastus Brooks.	Benj. D. Silliman.

STATE LEGISLATURE.—The Legislature of the State of New York is composed of the Senate and Assembly, the members of both bodies elected by the people. *Viva voce* voting was done away with by the act of February 13, 1787, and since that the ballot has been used in elections.

SENATE.—Under the Constitution of 1777 the Senate consisted of twenty-four members, apportioned among the four districts, which bore the designations Southern, Middle, Eastern and Western. The Convention of 1801 increased the number of Senators to thirty-two, and the State was divided into eight districts. Since the adoption of the Constitution of 1846 there have been thirty-two districts, each entitled to one member. The term of office is two years; under the Constitution of 1777 it was four. Westchester County has belonged, successively, to the Southern, First, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth and Twelfth.

List of Residents of Westchester County who have Represented the various Districts to which it has belonged in the Senate.

Names.	Years in the Senate.
Benj. Brandreth	1850–51, 1858–59.
William Cauldwell	1868–71.
Darius Crosby	1815–18.
Samuel Haight	1797–1800.
Richard Hatfield	1795–1802.
John Hunter	1823, 1836–43.
Sir James Jay	1778, 1781–82.
Philip Livingston	1790–93, '95, '98.
Allen McDonald	1832–35.
Lewis Morris	1777–90.
Richard Morris	1778–79.
Henry C. Nelson	1882–84.
William Nelson	1824–27.
Ebenezer Purdy	1801–6.
William Robertson	1844–45.
Hezekiah D. Robertson	1860–63.
William H. Robertson	1854–55, 1872–81.
Edmund G. Sutherland	1866–67.
Thomas Thomas	1805–8.
John Townsend	1820–22.
Philip Van Cortlandt	1791–94.
Pierre Van Cortlandt	1777.
Jonathan Ward	1807–10.
Stephen Ward	1780–83.

ASSEMBLY.—Assemblymen are elected annually. Originally the Assembly consisted of seventy members. The Constitution of 1821 fixed the number permanently at one hundred and twenty-eight. Prior to the adoption of the Constitution of 1846 all the members of Assembly were elected on a general ticket; since then the counties have been divided into districts. The representation from this county has varied from six in 1777 to two in 1836. At the present time it is entitled to three.

List of Members of Assembly from Westchester County, 1777–1885.

1777 to 1847.

Names.	Years in Assembly.
William Adams	1798–99.
Jeremiah Anderson	1825.
Joseph H. Anderson	1833–34.
Benjamin Barker	1807.
John Barker	1796–98.
William Barker	1809–10, 1812–14, 1818–19.
Francis Barrette	1838.
James E. Beers	1847.
Joseph Benedict	1778–79.
Thomas Bowne	1795.
Aaron Brown	1829–30.
Joseph Brown	1789–90.
Nehemiah Brown, Jr	1823–24.
Ebenezer S. Burling	1784–85.
Joseph Carpenter	1796–97.
Joseph T. Carpenter	1841–42.
George Comb	1800.

[1] Mr. Jay did not sign the Constitution.

[2] Did not sign the engrossed Constitution.

[3] Putnam, Rockland and Westchester for the Ninth Senatorial District.

[4] Laws, 1872, ch. 884.

[5] Westchester County belongs to the Second District.

I. Anthony Constant . . . . . 1845.
St. John Constant . . . . . 1823, '31.
Thaddeus Crane . . . . . 1777–79, 1788–89, 1825.
Darius Crosby . . . . . 1811–12.
Edwin Crosby . . . . . 1834–35.
Nicholas Cruger . . . . . 1838.
Lawrence Davenport . . . . . 1829–30.
Nathaniel Delevan . . . . . 1781–82.
Samuel Drake . . . . . 1777–81, '86, '88.
Benjamin Ferris . . . . . 1808, '24.
Samuel B. Ferris . . . . . 1839–40.
Andrew Findlay . . . . . 1843–44.
John Fisher . . . . . 1827–28.
William Fisher . . . . . 1836–37.
Peter Fleming . . . . . 1791.
Joel Frost . . . . . 1806, '08.
John W. Frost . . . . . 1832.
Niles Frost . . . . . 1824.
Abijah Gilbert . . . . . 1779–86, '88, '91, 1800–5.
Robert Graham . . . . . 1777–78, 1800–1.
James Guion . . . . . 1819–21.
Samuel Haight . . . . . 1782–84, 1789–92.
Mordecai Hale . . . . . 1796–97.
Richard Hatfield . . . . . 1794.
John R. Hayward . . . . . 1846.
Samuel L. Holmes . . . . . 1843.
Israel Honeywell, Jr . . . . . 1777–79.
Israel Honeywell . . . . . 1798–99.
Philip Honeywell . . . . . 1806.
Jonathan Horton . . . . . 1788–91.
Joseph Hunt . . . . . 1822.
Benjamin Isaacs . . . . . 1807, 1814–16, '18.
John Lawrence . . . . . 1782–83.
Elijah Lee . . . . . 1798–99.
Thomas R. Lee . . . . . 1745.
Philip Livingston . . . . . 1788–89.
Ebenezer Lockwood . . . . . 1778–79, 1784–88.
Ezra Lockwood . . . . . 1806.
Horatio Lockwood . . . . . 1833–36, 1841–42.
Ezra Marshall . . . . . 1846–47.
Seth Marvin . . . . . 1807.
Abraham Miller . . . . . 1808, 1811–14, 1816–17, 1820–21.
Zebediah Mills . . . . . 1777–84.
Bernardus Montross . . . . . 1837.
Nathaniel Montross . . . . . 1827–28.
Gouverneur Morris . . . . . 1777–78.
Richard V. Morris . . . . . 1814.
Peter J. Munro . . . . . 1814–15.
Thomas Murphy . . . . . 1831.
William Nelson . . . . . 1820–21.
Elias Newman . . . . . 1792–94, '96.
Abraham Odell . . . . . 1800–5, 1807–10.
Jacob Odell . . . . . 1811–12.
Ozias Osburn . . . . . 1808.
Prince W. Paddock . . . . . 1835–36.
William Paulding . . . . . 1779–80.
Philip Pell, Jr . . . . . 1779–81, 1784–86.
Ebenezer Purdy . . . . . 1779–80, 1782–85, '87, '91, '92, '95.
William Requa . . . . . 1814–16, 1818–19.
Nathan Rockwell . . . . . 1780–82, 1787–1800.
Joseph Scofield . . . . . 1825–37.
Walter Seaman . . . . . 1788–90.
Roger Skinner . . . . . 1810.
Abel Smith . . . . . 1794–96, 1798–1802, 1829–30.
John H. Smith . . . . . 1826.
Thomas Smith . . . . . 1822–23, '32.
Joseph Strang . . . . . 1780–81, 1787–88.
Joseph Strang . . . . . 1839–40.
Charles Teed . . . . . 1796–1800.
Thomas Thomas . . . . . 1786–88, 1792–93, 1800–4.
Enoch Thompson . . . . . 1822.
Caleb Tompkins . . . . . 1804–6.
Jonathan G. Tompkins . . . . . 1780–88, 1791–92.
John Townsend . . . . . 1816–17.
Joseph Travis . . . . . 1802–5.
James Turk . . . . . 1828.
Philip Van Cortlandt . . . . . 1788–90.
Pierre Van Cortlandt, Jr . . . 1792, 1794–95.
Aaron Vark . . . . . 1831.
Stephen Ward . . . . . 1778.
Israel H. Watson . . . . . 1832–33.
Ebenezer White . . . . . 1794–95.
Ebenezer White, Jr . . . . . 1816–17.
John White . . . . . 1814.
James Wiley . . . . . 1826.
Charles Wright . . . . . 1844.
Samuel Youngs . . . . . 1796, 1809–10.

1848 to 1885.

District.	Name.	Years in Assembly.
2.	Albert Badeau	1872.
2.	Alfred W. Bartlett	1871.
2.	Theodore H. Benedict	1851.
1.	Orrin A. Bills	1866.
2.	David Ogden Bradley	1879, '80.
3.	George A. Brandreth	1864, '65, '66.
1.	Daniel Clark Briggs	1851.
3.	Benjamin F. Camp	1861.
2.	William H. Catlin	1880–82.
1.	William Cauldwell	1874.
2.	Eli Curtis	1856.
3.	Chauncey M. Depew	1862, '63.
1.	Arnell F. Dickinson	1857.
1.	Claiborne Ferris	1869.
1.	George C. Finch	1853.
1.	George H. Forster	1876.
1.	Franklin W. Gilley	1864.
2.	Newberry D. Halsted	1862.
2.	Abraham Hatfield	1852.
1.	William Herring	1873.
	John Hoag	1883.
3.	Frost Horton	1858.
3.	Gaylord B. Hubbell	1859, '60.
1.	Daniel Hunt	1855.
2.	Lawrence D. Huntington	1866.
3.	James W. Husted	1869–78, '81, '84, '85.
	Samuel W. Johnson	1883–85.
	Edwin R. Keyes	1882, '83.
2.	Harvey Kidd	1849.
2.	Edward D. Lawrence	1869, '70.
1.	Elijah Lee	1854.
2.	Alsop H. Lockwood	1864, '65.
1.	George W. Lyon	1852.
2.	Jesse Lyon	1850.
2.	John E. Marshall	1863.
	Charles P. McClelland	1885.
1.	William J. McDermott	1861.
1.	William T. B. Milliken	1860.
2.	William F. Moller	1877, '78, '81.
1.	James J. Mooney	1870.
3.	Henry C. Nelson	1868.
1.	William W. Niles	1872.
2.	Jacob Odell	1853, '54.
2.	N. Holmes Odell	1860, '61.
	Norton P. Otis	1884.
2.	Jared V. Peck	1848.
2.	George J. Penfield	1867, '68.
1.	Ambrose H. Purdy	1877, '78.
1.	Samuel M. Purdy	1867, '68.
	George W. Robertson	1882.
1.	William H. Robertson	1849, '50.
2.	Charles M. Schieffelin	1875, '76.
	G. Hilton Scribner	1871.
2.	James S. See	1859.
1.	Dennis R. Schiel	1875.
1.	Abram R. Strang	1856.
2.	Edmund G. Sunderland	1857, '58.
1.	Pierre C. Tallman	1862, '63, '65.
1.	Abram B. Tappen	1858.
3.	David W. Travis	1867, '79, '80.
1.	R. M. Underhill	1848.
1.	Augustus Van Cortlandt	1859.
2.	Frederick W. Waterbury	1855.
1.	James Lee Wells	1879.
2.	Amherst Wight, Jr	1873, '74.

RESIDENTS OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY IN THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.—Originally these delegates were chosen by the Provincial Congress. The Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union adopted by the Continental Congress, November 15, 1777, directed the appointment annually of delegates by the State Legislatures. The number from each State was not to be less than two or more than seven. This State usually sent five, occasionally six. The votes in Congress were by States.

Name.	Years in Continental Congress.
Gouverneur Morris	1777, '78.
Lewis Morris[1]	1775.
Philip Pell	1788.

RESIDENTS OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY WHO HAVE REPRESENTED THEIR DISTRICT IN CONGRESS.—This county originally was divided; the northern tier of towns formed, with Dutchess County, one district, while the remainder was, with New York, in another. Later it formed with Richmond a district. Since then it has been in the following districts: Third, Fourth, Seventh, Ninth, Tenth and Twelfth. The term of office is two years.

Name.	Years in House of Representatives.
Joseph H. Anderson	1843–47.
Joel Frost	1823–25.
John B. Haskins	1857–61.
William Nelson	1847–51.
N. Holmes Odell	1875–77.
Jared V. Peck	1853–55.
Clarkson N. Potter	1869, 1875, 1877–79.
William Radford	1863–67.
William H. Robertson	1867–69.
Caleb Tompkins	1817–21.
Philip Van Cortlandt	1793–1809.
Pierre Van Cortlandt, Jr	1811–13.
Aaron Ward	1825, 1829, 1831, 1837, 1841, 1843
Jonathan Ward	1815–17.

COLONIAL SUPREME COURT JUSTICES.—Appointment vested in the Governor; the term of office, his pleasure.

Chief Justices.

Name.	Appointed.
Joseph Dudley	May 15, 1691.
William Smith	November 11, 1692.
Stephen Van Cortlandt	October 30, 1700.
Abraham De Peyster	January 21, 1701.
William Atwood	August 5, 1701.
William Smith	June 9, 1702.
John Bridges	April 5, 1703.
Roger Mompesson	July 15, 1704.
Lewis Morris	March 13, 1715.
James de Lancey	August 21, 1733.
Benjamin Pratt	November 11, 1761.
Daniel Horsemanden	March 16, 1763.

Associate or Puisne Judges of Colonial Supreme Court.

Name.	Appointed.
Thomas Johnson	May 15, 1691.
William Smith	May 15, 1691.
Stephen Van Cortlandt	May 15, 1691.
William Pinhorne	May 15, 1691.
William Pinhorne	April 3, 1693.
Chidley Brooke	April 3, 1693.
John Lawrence	April 3, 1693.
John Guest	June, 1698.
Abraham De Peyster	October 4, 1698.
Robert Walters	August 5, 1701.
John Bridges	June 14, 1702.
Robert Milward	April 5, 1703.
Thomas Wenham	April 5, 1703.
James De Lancey	June 24, 1731.
Frederick Philipse	June 24, 1731.
Frederick Philipse	August 21, 1733.
Daniel Horsemanden	January 24, 1736.
John Chambers	July 30, 1751.
Daniel Horsemanden	July 28, 1753.
David Jones	November 21, 1758.
Daniel Horsemanden	March 26, 1762.
David Jones	March 31, 1762.
David Jones	March 16, 1763.
William Smith, the elder	March 16, 1763.
Robert R. Livingston	March 16, 1763.
George D. Ludlow	December 14, 1769.
Thomas Jones	September 29, 1773.
Whitehead Hicks	February 14, 1776.

STATE SUPREME COURT.—Under the Constitution of 1777 appointment was vested in the Council of Appointment, and the term was during good behavior or until sixty years of age. Under that of 1821 the Governor appointed with the advice and consent of the Senate. The term remained the same. The Constitution of 1846 made the office elective and the term eight years. The amendment to the judiciary article adopted November, 1869, lengthened the term to fourteen years.

Chief Justices of the State Supreme Court.

Name.	Appointed.
John Jay	May 8, 1777.
Richard Morris	October 23, 1779.
Robert Yates	September 28, 1790.
John Lansing, Jr	February 15, 1798.
Morgan Lewis	October 28, 1801.
James Kent	July 2, 1804.
Smith Thompson	February 3, 1814.
Ambrose Spencer	February 29, 1819.
John Savage	January 29, 1823.
Samuel Nelson	August 31, 1831.
Greene C. Bronson	March 5, 1845.
Samuel Beardsley	June 28, 1847.

Associate or Puisne Justices of the State Supreme Court.

Name.	Appointed.
Robert Yates	May 8, 1777.
John Sloss Hobart	May 8, 1777.
John Lansing, Jr	September 28, 1790.
Morgan Lewis	December 24, 1792.
Egbert Benson	January 29, 1794.
James Kent	February 6, 1798.
John Cozine	August 9, 1798.
Jacob Radcliff	December 27, 1798.
Brockholst Livingston	January 8, 1802.
Smith Thompson	January 8, 1802.
Ambrose Spencer	February 3, 1804.
Daniel D. Tompkins	July 2, 1804.
William W. Van Ness	June 9, 1807.
Joseph C. Yates	February 8, 1808.
Jonas Platt	February 23, 1814.
John Woodworth	March 27, 1819.
Jacob Sunderland	January 28, 1823.
William L. Marcy	January 21, 1829.
Samuel Nelson	February 1, 1831.
Greene C. Bronson	January 6, 1836.
Esek Cowen	August 31, 1836.
Samuel Beardsley	February 20, 1844.
Freeborn G. Jewett	March 5, 1845.
Frederick Whittlesey	June 30, 1847.
Thomas McKissock	July 1, 1847.

[1] Signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Circuit Judges (Second Circuit).

Name.	Appointed.
Samuel R. Betts	April 21, 1823.
James Emott	February 21, 1827.
Charles H. Ruggles	March 9, 1831.
Selah B. Strong	March 27, 1946.
Seward Barculo	April 4, 1846.

Justices of Supreme Court (Second District).

Name.	Elected.
Selah B. Strong	June 7, 1847.
William T. McCown	June 7, 1847.
Nathan B. Morse	June 7, 1847.
Seward Barculo	June 7, 1847.
John W. Brown	November 6, 1849.
Selah B. Strong	November 9, 1851.
William Rockwell	November 8, 1853.
Gilbert Dean	June 26, 1854.
James Emott	November 6, 1855.
Lucien Birdseye	August 13, 1856.
John W. Brown	November 3, 1857.
John A. Lott	November 3, 1857.
William W. Scrugham	November 8, 1859.
William Fullerton	August 30, 1867.
Stephen W. Fullerton	November 5, 1867.
John A. Lott	November 5, 1861.
Joseph F Barnard	November 3, 1863.
Jasper W. Gilbert	November 7, 1865.
Abraham B. Tappen	November 5, 1867.
Calvin E. Pratt	November 2, 1869.
Jackson O. Dykman	November 2, 1875.

COUNTY JUDGES.—The Court of Common Pleas was erected by the act of 1691. It was composed of one judge and three justices, who were appointed by the Governor and held office during his pleasure. In 1702 the judge was assisted by two or more justices Under the first Constitution there was one judge and several assistant judges. The act of March 27, 1818, abolished the office of assistant judge and limited the number of judges to five. Under the State government the appointment was at first vested in the Council of Appointment, and the office was held during their pleasure. Later, the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed the county judges, and the term was five years. The Constitution of 1846 made the office elective and the term four years. The amendment of 1869 extended it to six years.

Judges of the Court of Common Pleas and County Court (Colonial).

Name.	Appointed.
Caleb Heathcote	1695.
William Willett	1721.
Frederick Philipse	November 2, 1735.
Samuel Purdy	January 22, 1752.
John Thomas	May 8, 1755.

State Constitutions of 1777 and 1821.

Name.	Appointed.
Lewis Morris[1]	May 8, 1777.
Robert Graham	February 17, 1778.
Stephen Ward	May 6, 1784.
Ebenezer Lockwood	March 15, 1791.
Jonathan G. Tompkins	February 16, 1793.
Ebenezer Purdy	February 23, 1797.
Jonathan G. Tompkins	1798.
Elijah Lee	January 20, 1802.
John Watts	March 29, 1802.
Caleb Tompkins	June 8, 1807.
William Jay	June 7, 1820.
Caleb Tompkins	February 10, 1823.
Robert S. Hart	March 27, 1846.
Albert Lockwood	June, 1847.

[1] Appointed by ordinance of Provincial Convention.

Constitution of 1846.

Name.	Elected.
John W. Mills	November, 1851.
William H. Robertson	November, 1855.
Robert Cochran	November, 1867.
Silas D. Gifford	November, 1871.
Isaac N. Mills[2]	November, 1883.

SURROGATES.—The authority to grant probates was vested in the Governor as the representative of the King, and he was the ordinary of the Prerogative Court. All wills relating to estates in New York, Orange, Richmond, Westchester and Kings Counties were to be proved in New York. In the towns under the Duke's Laws the constables, overseers and justices took charge of the estates of intestates. Under the act of November 11, 1692, this duty was performed by two freeholders appointed or elected for the purpose. Surrogates were appointed by the colonial Governor at a very early date—for Westchester County as early as 1730. They had very limited powers. Since the organization of the State the surrogates have been vested with the authority to grant probates, subject to appeal to the Court of Probates. Counties where the population exceeds forty thousand may be authorized by the Legislature to elect such an officer. Otherwise the county judge acts as such. The office was filled by appointment of the Council of Appointment; later by the Governor and Senate. Under the Constitution of 1846 it became elective. The term was at first during the pleasure of the appointing power. From 1821 to 1846 they were appointed for four years. Since the office became elective the term has been six years.

Colonial Surrogates of Westchester County.

Name.	Appointed.
Gilbert Willet	1730.
John Barton	February 9, 1754.
Caleb Fowler	June 10, 1761.
David Daton	June 9, 1766.

Surrogates of Westchester County under the Constitutions of 1777 and 1821.

Name.	Appointed.
Richard Hatfield	March 23, 1778.
Philip Pell, Jr	March 13, 1787.
Samuel Youngs	October 31, 1800.
Edward Thomas	January 28, 1802.
Samuel Youngs	February 19, 1807.
Ezra Lockwood	March 10, 1808.
Samuel Youngs	February 16, 1810.
Ezra Lockwood	February 12, 1811.
Samuel Youngs	March 19, 1813.
Henry White	March 16, 1815.
Samuel Youngs	July 8, 1819.
Ebenezer White, Jr	February 17, 1821.
Jonathan Ward	March 28, 1828.
Alexander H. Wells	February 7, 1840.
Frederick J. Coffin	May 1, 1844.

Surrogates of Westchester County under the Constitution of 1846.

Name.	Elected.
Lewis C. Platt	June, 1847.
Robert H. Coles	November, 1855.
Silas D. Gifford	February 5, 1862.
John W. Mills	November, 1862.
Owen T. Coffin[3]	November, 1870.

[2] Present incumbent.

[3] Present incumbent.

DISTRICT ATTORNEYS.—By the act of February 12, 1796, the State was divided into seven districts, each of which had an attorney, called assistant attorney-general. The Assistant Attorney-General became, in 1801, district attorney. By the act of April 1818, each county became a district, and had its own district attorney. Under the Constitution of 1777 the Council of Appointment filled the office during pleasure; that of 1821 vested the appointment in the Court of Sessions, while under the present one the office is elective.

District Attorneys—First District[1]*—Act of* 1796.

Name.	Appointed.
Nathaniel Lawrence	February 16, 1796.
Cadwallader D. Colden	January 16, 1798.

Act of 1801.[2]

Name.	Appointed.
Richard Riker	August 19, 1801.
Cadwallader D. Colden	February 13, 1810.
Richard Riker	February 19, 1811.
Barent Gardenier	March 5, 1813.
Thomas S. Lester	April 8, 1815.

Act of 1818.[3]

Name.	Appointed
Robert P. Lee	June 12, 1818.
Aaron Ward	July 8, 1819.
William Nelson	February 21, 1822.
Richard R. Voris	September 27, 1844.
William W. Scrugham	June, 1847.
Edward Wells	November, 1856.
William H. Pemberton	November, 1859.
Pelham L. McClelan	November, 1862.
John S. Bates	November, 1865.
Jackson O. Dykeman	November, 1868.
Daniel C. Briggs	November, 1871.
Robert Cochran	November, 1874.
Nelson H. Baker[4]	November, 1877.

SHERIFFS.—During the colonial period the sheriffs were appointed annually by the Governor, usually in the month of October. The Constitution of 1777 vested the appointment in the Council of Appointment. The term was one year, and no person could hold the office for more than four successive years. The Constitution of 1821 made the office elective and the term three years. No sheriff is eligible for re-election for the next succeeding term.

Colonial—Yorkshire.

Name.	Appointed.
William Wells	March 11, 1665.
Robert Coe	1669.
John Manning	September 7, 1671.
Sylvester Salisbury	December 9, 1674.
Philip Wells	July, 1675.
Thomas Willett	July 1, 1676.
Richard Betts	1678.
John Young	1680.

Westchester County.

Name.	Appointed.
Benjamin Collier	November 9, 1683.
Thomas Statham	December 14, 1689.
Benjamin Collier	March 21, 1691.
John Shute	October, 1698.
Edmund Ward	October, 1699.
Jeremiah Fowler	October, 1700.
Isaac Dunham	October, 1701.
Roger Barton	October, 1702.
Israel Honeywell, Jr.	October, 1709.
Gilbert Willet	October, 1723.
Jacobus Van Dyck	October, 1727.
Gilbert Willet	October, 1730.
Nicholas Cooper	October, 1733.
Isaac Willet	October, 1737.
Lewis Graham	October, 1767.
John De Lancey	October, 1769.
James De Lancey	June 27, 1770.

State—Constitution of 1777.

Name.	Appointed.
John Thomas, Jr	May 8, 1777.
John Thomas	January 6, 1778.
Jesse Hunt	March 29, 1781.
John Thomas	March 8, 1785.
Philip Pell	March 13, 1787.
Thomas Thomas	March 22, 1788.
Samuel Haight	February 21, 1792.
Elias Newman	March 1, 1796.
William Barker	March 26, 1799.
Jonathan Ward	February 17, 1802.
Daniel Delevan	March 19, 1806.
Joseph Hatfield	March 23, 1807.
St. John Constant	March 10, 1808.
Elijah Ward	February 16, 1810.
St. John Constant	February 12, 1811.
Lyman Cook	February 26, 1812.
Zabud June	March 16, 1815.
Lyman Cook	February 25, 1818.
Ward B. Howard	February 14, 1821.

Constitutions of 1821 *and* 1846.

Name.	Elected.
John Townsend	November, 1822.
Allan McDonald	November, 1825.
David D. Webbers	November, 1828.
Aaron Brown	November, 1831.
Joseph H. Anderson	November, 1834.
Amos T. Hatfield	November, 1837.
Joseph Lyon	November, 1840.
William H. Briggs	November, 1843.
James M. Bates	November, 1846.
Benjamin D. Miller	November, 1849.
Alsop H. Lockwood	November, 1852.
Daniel H. Little	November, 1855.
William Bleakley, Jr	November, 1858.
Lieman B. Tripp	November, 1861.
Darius Lyon	November, 1864.
John Bussing	November, 1867.
Robert F. Brundage	November, 1870.
Ziba Carpenter	November, 1873.
Robert F. Brundage	November, 1876.
James C. Courter	November, 1879.
Stephen D. Horton[5]	November, 1882.

COUNTY CLERKS.—"The County Clerk, during the colonial period, was constituted by his commission clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, Clerk of the Peace and Clerk of the Sessions of the Peace in his county. Under the first State Constitution, it was his duty to keep the County Records and act as Clerk of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas and Clerk of the Oyer and Terminer. County Clerks are now likewise Clerks of the Supreme Court in their respective counties."[6] During the colonial period appointment was vested in the Governor; under the

[1] First District included Kings, Queens, Richmond, Suffolk and Westchester Counties.

[2] First District included Kings, Queens, Richmond, Suffolk, Westchester until 1816, and New York until 1815.

[3] Each county became a district.

[4] Present incumbent.

[5] Present incumbent.

[6] Civil List of State of New York, 1880, p. 384.

first Constitution of 1777, in the Council of Appointment; since then the office has been elective and the term three years.

Colonial.

Name.	Appointed.
John Rider	May 11, 1684.
Joseph Lee	September 13, 1684.
Edward Collier	1688.
Joseph Lee	March 14, 1691.
Benjamin Collier	October 17, 1698.
John Clapp	October 4, 1707.
Daniel Clark	1711.
William Forster	1722.
Benjamin Nicoll	May 14, 1746.
John Barstow	April 23, 1760.

State Constitution of 1777.

Name.	Appointed.
John Barstow	May 8, 1777.
Richard Hatfield	September 22, 1777.
Thomas Ferris	January 29, 1802.
Elijah Crawford	March 10, 1808.
Thomas Ferris	February 16, 1810.
Elijah Crawford	February 12, 1811.
Thomas Ferris	March 19, 1813.
Elijah Crawford	March 16, 1815.
William Requa	June 8, 1820.
Nehemiah S. Bates	February 17, 1821.

Constitutions of 1821 *and* 1846.

Name.	Elected.
Nehemiah S. Bates	November, 1822.
Nathaniel Bayles	November, 1828.
John H. Smith	November, 1834.
Chauncey Smith	December 7, 1839.
Charles A. Purdy	November, 1840.
Munson I. Lockwood	November, 1843.
Robert R. Oakley	November, 1849.
John P. Jenkins	November, 1855.
Hiram P. Rowell	November, 1858.
Chauncey M. Depew[1]	May 25, 1867.
William W. Pierson[2]	July 22, 1867.
J. Malcolm Smith	November, 1867.
John M. Rowell	November, 1876.
James F. D. Crane[3]	November, 1882.

COUNTY TREASURERS.—During the colonial period the treasurers from 1701 to 1703 were elected by the justices of the peace in the Court of General or Special Sessions; from 1703 to 1846 by the supervisors. The Constitution of 1846 made the office elective and the term three years.

Name.	Elected.
Elisha Horton	November, 1848.
Robert Palmer	November, 1851.
Lieman B. Tripp	November, 1854.
Henry Willetts	November, 1857.
Gilbert S. Lyon[4]	November 25, 1866.
N. Holmes Odell	November, 1872.
George W. Davids	November, 1875.
David Cromwell[5]	November, 1878.

COUNTY SUPERINTENDENTS OF COMMON SCHOOLS.—The Boards of Supervisors were directed, by the act of April 17, 1843, to appoint County Superintendents of Common Schools. The office was abolished March 13, 1847.

Samuel L. Holmes. John Hobbs.

[1] Appointed *vice* Rowell, deceased.
[2] Appointed *vice* Depew, who failed to qualify.
[3] Present incumbent.
[4] Appointed *vice* Willetts, resigned.
[5] Present incumbent.

SCHOOL COMMISSIONERS.—"Prior to 1857 School Commissioners were appointed by the Boards of Supervisors. Since that year they have been elected on a separate ballot. The first election under the act creating the office (chapter 179, Laws of 1856) was held in November, 1859. Term, three years."[6]

First District.

A. G. Reynolds.	Frranklin W. Gilley.
Jared M. Horton.	Joseph H. Palmer.
Theodore Kent.	Joseph F. Wood.
William Miller.	Jared Sanford.[7]

Second District.

Samuel U. Berrian.	George W. Smith.
William G. Weston.	Casper G. Brower.
Isaac D. Vermilye.	Theodore B. Stevens.
Abel T. Stewart.	James B. Lockwood.[8]

Third District.

James W. Husted.	Isaac C. Wright.
John S. Bates.	Edward N. Barrett.
Henry White.	Platt R. H. Sawyer.
Henry A. Wells.	James F. Williams.[9][10]
Joseph Barrett.	

Census.

1698	1,063	1814	26,367
1703	1,946	1820	32,638
1712	2,815	1825	33,131
1723	4,409	1830	36,456
1731	6,033	1835	38,790
1737	6,745	1840	48,687
1746	9,235	1845	47,578
1749	10,703	1850	58,263
1756	13,257	1855	80,678
1771	21,745	1860	99,497
1782	7,330[11]	1865	101,197
1790	24,003	1870	131,348
1800	27,347	1875	103,564[12]
1810	30,272	1880	108,987

LIST OF SUPERVISORS,[13] 1772–1787.

1772.

William Davis	Philipsburgh.
William Sutton	Mamaroneck.
Ebenenezer Lockwood	Poundridge.
James Holmes	Bedford.
Stephen Ward	East Chester.
Abijah Gilbert	Salem.
Richard Willis	New Rochelle.
William Barker	Scarsdale.
David Daton	North Castle.
Robert Graham	White Plains.
James Van Cortlandt	Yonkers.
Pierre Van Cortlandt	Manor of Cortlandt.

1773.

William Barker	Scarsdale.
Samuel Haviland	Rye.
James Van Cortlandt	Yonkers.
James Pell	Pelham.
James Holmes	Bedford.
James Ferris	Westchester.
—— Morris	Morrisania.

[6] Civil List, 1880, p. 398.
[7] Present incumbent.
[8] Present incumbent.
[9] Appointed vice Sawyer, deceased.
[10] Present incumbent.
[11] Census of North Castle, Bedford, Poundridge, Salem, Manor of Cortlandt, Ryck's Patent.
[12] Towns of Morrisania, West Farms and King's Bridge annexed to New York City by chap. 613 of laws of 1873.
[13] Records of Board of Supervisors.

Abijah Gilbert . . . . . Salem.
William Davis . . . . . Philipsburgh.
David Daton . . . . . North Castle.
Stephen Ward . . . . . East Chester.
William Sutton. . . . . Mamaroneck.
Ebenezer Lockwood. . . . . Poundridge.

1774.

Pierre Van Cortlandt . . . . . Manor of Cortlandt.
James Cronkhite . . . . . Ryck's Patent.
Robert Graham. . . . . White Plains.
Pierre Van Cortlandt . . . . . Cortlandt Manor.
James Holmes. . . . . Bedford.
Samuel Haviland. . . . . Rye.
David Daton . . . . . North Castle.
James Ferris . . . . . Westchester.
William Sutton. . . . . Mamaroneck.
Ebenezer Lockwood. . . . . Poundridge.
William Davis. . . . . Philipsburgh.
William Barker. . . . . Scarsdale.
James Cronkhite . . . . . Ryck's Patent.
Robert Graham. . . . . White Plains.
Stephen Ward. . . . . East Chester.

1775.

Samuel Haviland. — James Van Cortlandt.
William Davis. — William Barker.
Pierre Van Cortlandt. — Ebenezer Lockwood.
Stephen Ward. — Lewis W. Donald.
Joseph Drake. — James Pell.
Samuel Purdy. — Abijah Gilbert.
James Horton. — David Daton.

1778.

Ebenezer Lockwood. — Jacob Purdy.
Joseph Strang. — Abijah Gilbert.
Israel Lyon.

January 5, 1779.

Ebenezer Lockwood. — Israel Lyon.
Joseph Strang. — Abijah Gilbert.
Jacob Purdy.

February 19, 1779.

Jacob Purdy. — Israel Lyon.
Joseph Paulding. — Abijah Gilbert.

March 18, 1779.

Ebenezer Lockwood. — Joseph Paulding.
Joseph Strang. — Jacob Purdy.
Israel Lyon.

May 13, 1780.

Samuel Haight . . . . . Manor of Cortlandt.
Jacob Purdy . . . . . North Castle.
Israel Loon. . . . . Bedford.
William Dancher. . . . . Poundridge.
Abijah Gilbert . . . . . Salem.

October 9, 1780.

Israel Lyon. . . . . Bedford.
William Dancher . . . . . Poundridge.
John Van Tassel . . . . . Ryck's Patent.

1781.

Samuel Haight. . . . . Manor of Cortlandt.
Abijah Gilbert . . . . . Salem.
Samuel Haight . . . . . Manor of Cortlandt.
Israel Lyon. . . . . Bedford
William Fancher. . . . . Poundridge.
Abijah Gilbert . . . . . Salem.

January 28, 1782.

Zebediah Mills . . . . . Bedford.
Samuel Haight . . . . . Manor of Cortlandt.
Ebenezer Lockwood. . . . . Poundridge.
Abijah Gilbert . . . . . Salem.

May 29, 1782.

Peter Fleming . . . . . Bedford.
Ebenezer Lockwood. . . . . Poundridge.
James Cronkhite . . . . . Ryck's Patent.
Abijah Gilbert . . . . . Salem.
Samuel Haight . . . . . Manor of Cortlandt.

1783.

Ebenezer Lockwood. . . . . Poundridge.
Joseph Strang. . . . . Manor of Cortlandt.]
Peter Fleming . . . . . Bedford.
Abijah Gilbert . . . . . Salem.
James Cronkhite . . . . . Ryck's Patent.

1784.

John Thomas. . . . . Rye.
William Paulding. . . . . Philipsburgh.
Jonathan G. Tompkins . . . . . Manor of Scarsdale.
Joseph Strang. . . . . Manor of Cortlandt.
Thaddeus Crane. . . . . Town of Upper Salem.
Benjamin Stevenson. . . . . New Rochelle.
Israel Honeywell . . . . . Yonkers.
William Miller. . . . . Harrison's Precinct.
Ebenezer Lockwood. . . . . Poundridge.
Ebenezer E. Burling . . . . . East Chester.
Abel Smith. . . . . North Castle.
Daniel Horton . . . . . White Plains.
Gilbert Budd . . . . . Mamaroneck.
Abijah Gilbert . . . . . Salem.
Peter Fleming . . . . . Town of Bedford.

1784.

Abel Smith. . . . . Precinct of North Castle.
Thomas Hunt. . . . . Borough Town of Westchester
William Paulding. . . . . Manor of Philipsburgh.
Jonathan G. Tompkins . . . . . Manor of Scarsdale.
Thaddeus Crane. . . . . Town of Upper Salem.
William Miller. . . . . Harrison's Precinct.
Joseph Strang . . . . . Manor of Van Cortlandt.
Ebenezer Lockwood. . . . . Precinct of Poundridge.
Gilbert Budd. . . . . Town of Mamaroneck.
Ebenezer S. Burling. . . . . Town of East Chester.
Daniel Horton . . . . . Precinct of White Plains.
Israel Honeywell . . . . . Yonkers.
John Thomas . . . . . Town of Rye.
Philip Pell . . . . . Manor of Pelham.
Benjamin Stevenson . . . . . Town of New Rochelle.
William Morris . . . . . Manor of Morrisania.
Abijah Gilbert . . . . . Town of Lower Salem.

June 28, 1785.

Gilbert Budd . . . . . Mamaroneck.
William Davis . . . . . Manor of Philipsburgh.
Jonathan G. Tompkins. . . . . Manor of Scarsdale.
Joseph Strang . . . . . Manor of Cortlandt.
Ebenezer Lockwood . . . . . Poundridge.
Peter Fleming . . . . . Bedford.
Abraham Leggett . . . . . Westchester.
Daniel Horton . . . . . White Plains.
Abel Smith . . . . . North Castle.
James Cronkhite . . . . . Ryck's Patent.
James Hunt . . . . . East Chester.
William Miller . . . . . Harrison's Precinct.
Jesse Hunt . . . . . Rye.
Abijah Gilbert . . . . . Salem.

October 4, 1785.

Jesse Hunt . . . . . Town of Rye.
Benjamin Stevenson . . . . . Town of New Rochelle.
William Davis . . . . . Manor of Philipsburgh.
Daniel Hunt . . . . . White Plains.
Lewis Morris . . . . . Manor of Morrisania.
Philip Pell . . . . . Manor of Pelham.
Thaddeus Crane . . . . . Town of Upper Salem.
Peter Fleming . . . . . Town of Bedford.
Abraham Leggett . . . . . Town of Westchester.
James Cronkhite . . . . . Ryck's Patent.
Jonathan G. Tompkins . . . . . Manor of Scarsdale.
Joseph Strang . . . . . Manor of Cortlandt.
Abel Smith . . . . . District of North Castle.
Ebenezer Lockwood . . . . . District of Poundridge.
James Hunt . . . . . Town of East Chester.
William Miller . . . . . Harrison's Precinct.
Abijah Gilbert . . . . . Town of Lower Salem.

May 9, 1786.

William Morris . . . . . Manor of Morrisania.
Lake Hunt . . . . . Town of Westchester.
James Hunt . . . . . Town of East Chester.
Gilbert Budd . . . . . Town of Mamaroneck.
Jesse Hunt . . . . . Town of Rye.
William Miller . . . . . Harrison's Precinct.
Jonathan G. Tompkins . . . . . Manor of Scarsdale.
Abraham Guion . . . . . Town of New Rochelle.
Philip Pell . . . . . Manor of Pelham.
Daniel Horton . . . . . Precinct of White Plains.
Abel Smith . . . . . Precinct of North Castle.
William Hadley . . . . . Precinct of Yonkers.
Jonathan Horton . . . . . Manor of Philipsburgh.
James Cronkhite . . . . . Ryck's Patent.
Joseph Strang . . . . . Manor of Van Cortlandt.
Zebediah Mills . . . . . Town of Bedford.
Ebenezer Lockwood . . . . . Parish of Poundridge.
Hachaliah Brown . . . . . Town of Upper Salem.
Abijah Gilbert . . . . . Town of Lower Salem.

1786.

Jesse Hunt . . . . . Town of Rye.
Gilbert Budd . . . . . Town of Mamaroneck.
Abraham Guion . . . . . Town of New Rochelle.
Philip Pell . . . . . Manor of Pelham.
James Hunt . . . . . Town of East Chester.
William Hadley . . . . . Precinct of Yonkers.
Jonathan Horton . . . . . Manor of Philipsburgh.
Jonathan G. Tompkins . . . . . Manor of Scarsdale.
Daniel Horton . . . . . Precinct of White Plains.
William Miller . . . . . Harrison's Precinct.
Abel Smith . . . . . Precinct of North Castle.
Zebediah Mills . . . . . Town of Bedford.
Joseph Strang . . . . . Manor of Cortlandt.
James Cronkhite . . . . . Ryck's Patent.
Ebenezer Lockwood . . . . . Precinct of Poundridge.
Hachaliah Brown . . . . . Town of Upper Salem.
Abijah Gilbert . . . . . Town of Lower Salem.
Lake Hunt . . . . . Town of Westchester.

1787.

Gilbert Budd . . . . . Mamaroneck.
Theodocius Barton . . . . . New Rochelle.
Philip Pell . . . . . Manor of Pelham.
Jonathan G. Tompkins . . . . . Manor of Scarsdale.
William Miller . . . . . Harrison's Precinct.
Richard Hatfield . . . . . White Plains.
David Hunt . . . . . Yonkers.
Isaac Requa . . . . . Manor of Philipsburgh.
Abel Smith . . . . . North Castle.
Joseph Strang . . . . . Manor of Cortlandt.
Jonathan Ferris . . . . . Ryck's Patent.
Zebediah Mills . . . . . Bedford.
Ebenezer Lockwood . . . . . Poundridge.
Abijah Gilbert . . . . . Lower Salem.
Stephen Ward . . . . . East Chester.
Israel Underhill . . . . . Westchester.

CIVIL LIST FOR 1886.

Representative in Congress—14th District.

William G. Stahlnecker, Yonkers. (District composed of Westchester County and Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Wards of New York City.)

State Senator—12th District.

Henry C. Nelson, Sing Sing. (Senatorial district composed of Westchester and Rockland Counties.)

Members of Assembly.

First District, Charles P. McClelland, Dobbs Ferry. (District composed of Greenburgh, Mount Pleasant and Yonkers.)

Second District, Norman A. Lawlor, Mount Vernon. (District composed of East Chester, Harrison, Mamaroneck, New Rochelle, North Castle, Pelham, Rye, Scarsdale, West Chester and White Plains.)

Third District, James W. Husted, Peekskill. (District composed of Bedford, Cortland, Lewisboro, New Castle, North Salem, Ossining, Poundridge, Somers and Yorktown.)

Surrogate.

Owen T. Coffin, Peekskill; Clerk of Surrogate's Court, William M. Skinner, White Plains; Record Clerk, Benoni P. Platt, White Plains, Special Clerk, Elias P. Purdy, White Plains.

Supreme Court Stenographer.

D. C. McEwen, Tribune Building, room 77, New York City.

County Judge.

Isaac N. Mills, Mount Vernon.

Justices of Sessions.

Stephen Billings, Verplanck's; John H. Baxter, Peekskill.

Stenographer.

Harvey Husted, White Plains.

Interpreter.

A. R. Stainach, White Plains.

District Attorney.

Nelson H. Baker, Sing Sing; Assistant District Attorney, David VerPlanck, White Plains.

County Clerk.

John M. Digney, Yonkers; Deputy County Clerk, Franklin Couch, Peekskill; Record Clerk, M. James Mooney, Yonkers.

County Treasurer.

David Cromwell, White Plains; Deputy County Treasurer, Thomas R. Hodge, Mount Vernon.

Register.

Joseph O. Miller, New Castle; Deputy Register, B. Frank Palmer, Mamaroneck; Searcher, Benjamin S. Dick, White Plains.

Sheriff.

John Duffy, White Plains; Under Sheriff, William Ryan, Rye; Jailer and Deputy Sheriff, Frank G. Shirmer, White Plains; Clerk and Deputy Sheriff, Charles E. Johnson, Mount Vernon; Deputy Sheriffs: John C. Verplanck, White Plains; Stephen A. Marshall, Port Chester; Alfred Lawrence, Tarrytown; William H. Sommers, Mamaroneck; Erastus R. Finch, Purdy's Station; John T. McGrath, Yonkers; James Mabie, Peekskill; Mark Skennion, West Chester.

Stenographer to Grand Jury.

Warren C. Brown, Tarrytown.

Court Crier.

James E. Campbell, White Plains.

Librarian.

Harold T. Kinch, Pleasantville.

Chaplains to County Almshouse.

Rev. Lawrence H. Van Dyke, Rev. Patrick Egan, Tarrytown.

Physicians to County Almshouse.

Dr. N. C. Husted, Tarrytown; Dr. R. B. Coutant, ——.

Watchman Court-House.

Alexander Jones, White Plains.

Janitor Court-House.

Thomas Zimmerman, White Plains.

Keeper County Almshouse.

Charles Fisher, East Tarrytown.

Keeper Pelham Bridge.

David Blizzard.

Coroners.

Edward J. Mitchell, Yonkers; Leonard D. Tice, Mount Vernon; Elijah Purdy, White Plains; George H. Sutton, Sing Sing.

Superintendents of the Poor.

Aaron F. Read, Armonk; James E. Hoyt, Katonah.

School Commissioners.

Jared Sandford, Mount Vernon; James B. Lockwood, White Plains; John W. Littel, Peekskill.

Loan Commissioners.

Isaac B. Noxon, Sing Sing; Jonathan Vail, Yonkers.

Town Clerks.

Bedford	T. Elwood Carpenter, R.
Cortlandt	William H. Pierce, R.
East Chester	John Bowden, D.
Greenburgh	Frank Wiley, D.
Harrison	Charles C. Haviland.
Lewisboro	Frederic Howe, R.
Mamaroneck	William H. Lange, D.
Mount Pleasant	J. Benedict See, D.
New Castle	Elijah Crossman, D.
New Rochelle	James Consadine, D.
North Castle	William H. Creemer, R.
North Salem	Samuel B. Clark, R.
Ossining	Henry Austin, R.
Pelham	Thomas K. Morrill.
Poundridge	William Jones, R.
Rye	Purdy G. Sands, D.
Scarsdale	Peter M. Dobbs, D.
Somers	Jacob W. Tompkins, R.
Westchester	Alexander Devlin, D.
White Plains	Francis H. Hessels, R.
Yonkers	William H. Doty, R.
Yorktown	Theodore T. Tompkins, R.

List of Supervisors.

Towns.	Names.	Politics.
Bedford	Timothy C. Adams	Rep.
Cortlandt	William Mabie	Dem.
East Chester	David Quackinbush	Dem.
Greenburgh	John Besson	Dem.
Harrison	George T. Burling	Rep.
Lewisboro'	John C. Holmes	Rep.
Mamaroneck	Mathias Banta	Dem.
Mt. Pleasant	Moses W. Taylor	Dem.
New Castle	Francis M. Carpenter	Rep.
New Rochelle	Henry D. Phelps	Rep.
North Salem	Odel Close	Rep.
North Castle	Joseph B. See	Rep.
Ossining	Gilbert M. Todd	Dem.
Pelham	Sherman S. Pell	Dem.
Poundridge	Miles Adams	Dem.
Rye	William Ryan	Dem.
Scarsdale	Chauncey T. Secor	Dem.
Somers	James P. Teed	Rep.
West Chester	Daniel J. McGrory	Dem.
White Plains	Lewis C. Platt	Dem.
Yonkers	Jacob Read	Dem.
Yorktown	William James Horton	Dem.

Democrats . . . . . 14; Republicans . . . . . 8.

W. J. Cumming

TOWN HISTORIES.

CHAPTER XV.

SCARSDALE.

BY ALLAN M. BUTLER, M.D.

THE town of Scarsdale is in its general outline rhomboidal, the long diameter running nearly due north and south and extending from a point about a mile south of the county court-house in White Plains in a southerly direction for two miles. The shorter diameter runs nearly due west from Scarsdale Station, on the New York and Harlem Railroad, for about a mile and three-quarters, until it meets "Branch Brook," a small stream forming part of the western boundary of the township. The area of the town is about six thousand acres, and the general regularity of its outline is broken just west of the southern angle by a projecting portion of the town of New Rochelle, nearly a mile in length and ranging from one-half to one-quarter of a mile in breadth. The town is bounded on the northeast by White Plains and a small part of Mamaroneck; on the southeast, by Mamaroneck and New Rochelle; on the southwest by New Rochelle and East Chester and on its entire northwest border by Greenburgh. In the centre of the town rises the Hutchinson River, which flows in a southerly direction, and on the east, another stream, the "Shelldrake,"—or as it appears on the old records, "Branch Brook,"—both flowing into the Sound, the latter being a tributary of the Mamaroneck River.

Along the northwest border of the town flows the river Bronx or Brunx, into which empty several smaller streams which drain the western portion of the town. The Bronx lies entirely within the township of Greenburgh, Scarsdale extending only to its eastern bank.

In its general topography the township is rolling country, though the eastern portion is comparatively high land, while the western portion forms one slope of the valley of the Bronx. The aspect of the town is relieved from monotony by many gentle undulations, frequent small ponds and streams and many tracts of wooded land. In former times the eastern angle of the town was heavily wooded and was known as the "Saxton Forest," from Wm. Saxton, whose name appears on a map of the town bearing the date 1779 as proprietor of a saw-mill in this locality. Although this forest once covered from twelve to fourteen hundred acres, most of it has been cleared, and, except for a few inconsiderable portions, the "Saxton Forest" remains only in name. Bolton, in his history of the county, says: "The most prominent features of Scarsdale, however, are the extensive tracts of woodland which completely cover its wild and romantic hills on the west, displaying themselves to great advantage from every part of the surrounding country. The *Saxton Forest*, which forms a large portion of this woody district, abounds with foxes, rabbits and other wild game, and retains much of its ancient grandeur." This description, however, is incorrect, for although the eastern bank of the Bronx is wooded almost continuously throughout its course along the border of the town, these portions of woodland never formed part of the Saxton Forest, which was on the far eastern side of the town. The brooks were formerly well stocked with trout and small fish, and the woods abounded in game,—the name "Fox Meadows" apparently having been given from the abundance of these animals,—but now there are few fishes in the streams and only an occasional rabbit or quail in the woods.

The Bronx, though unnavigable, was formerly a stream of some magnitude, furnishing water-power for a saw and grist-mill, which stood from before the days of the Revolution until the Rebellion near Scarsdale Station, but now fully one-half of the volume of water has been diverted to the new aqueduct or pipe-line which skirts the town on the Greenburgh bank of the river, contributing to the water supply of the city of New York. The general character of the soil of the town is light and sandy loam, but in former years there were many acres of swamp and marsh, most of which has now been drained and improved, furnishing large tracts of rich black loam. Only about half of the acreage of the town is under actual cultivation, the remainder consisting of meadow, pasture and woodland. The ownership of the town, according to the last State census (1875), is divided among ninety-four proprietors, few of whom hold over fifty acres. There is no farming on a large scale, the greater part of the farm product being devoted to home consumption.

The facts in relation to the first settlement of the part of Westchester now included in Scarsdale township are very meagre. It appears, however, that the town was once part of a large tract ceded by the Indian owners to one John Richbell, a native of England, about whom little is known. This tract formed part of the Indian district of "Quaroppas," then occupied by the Mohegans or Mohicans. This was in the year 1660, and Richbell was probably the first white man to settle in the town. For this purchase Richbell received a grant and confirmation from Francis Lovelace, Governor of New York, in 1668, and it had already been confirmed by the government of New Netherlands in 1662. In his patent Richbell received possession of "the three necks bounded on the east by Mamaroneck River, and on the west by Stony Brook, together with the land lying north of these bounds, twenty miles into the woods." Hence, afterward, arose the question as to the ownership of Quaroppas, in the time of Colonel Heathcote. Thirty-six years after this, Richbell's widow, Anne, granted to Caleb Heathcote, of New York, the right to purchase portions of the land included in the above mentioned purchase from the Indians. In 1701 the sale was concluded between Richbell's widow and Colonel Heathcote, the deed dating from March 30th of that year, and being signed by four Indians,—Patthunck, Beaupo, Kohawney and Wapetuck, representing the Mohegan tribe, and by a corresponding number of witnesses.

In this deed, which is still in the possession of the descendants of Colonel Heathcote, the said Indians, "for and in consideration of a certain sum of good and lawful money,"—the amount of which is not stated,—sold to Colonel Heathcote, free of all encumbrance or limitation, "a certain tract of land lying and being in the county of Westchester, bounded as follows: To begin on the west side, at the southernmost end of a ridge known by the name of Richbell's or Horse's ridge, at a great rock and so to run a Northwest line to Bronck's River and on the Eastern-most side with Mamaroneck River and from the head thereof to Bronck's River." This he and his assigns were to hold forever, and the Indians faithfully performed their part of the contract, for there is no record of the settlers being molested by them in any way. This tract, together with the other large purchases of Colonel Heathcote—an exception being made of White Plains, to which Colonel Heathcote had a claim which he afterwards raised—was, on March 21, 1701, by royal patent of William III., John Nanfan, Lieutenant-Governor of the province, subscribing to it, erected into the "Lordship and Manor of Scarsdale," to be holden by Colonel Heathcote of the King in free and common soccage, "Paying therefore yearly and every year forever at our city of New York, . . . five pounds current money of New York upon the Nativity of our Lord." By the terms of the royal patent, the lord of the manor was permitted at his pleasure to hold "one court-leet and one court-baron," all fines and assessments going to himself, and it was furthermore granted that "ye tenants of him, ye said Caleb Heathcoate, within ye said manor, shall and may at all times hereafter meet together and choose assessors within ye manor aforesaid," according to the laws prescribed by the General Assembly of the province for cities and towns, "for defraying the public charge of each respective city, town and county aforesaid, and all such sums of money so assessed and levied, to collect and dispose of for such use as any act or acts as the said General Assembly shall exhibit or appoint, to have, hold, possess and enjoy all and singular the said Lorship and Manor of Scarsdale and premises, with all and every of their appurtenances, unto the said Caleb Heathcote, his heirs and assigns forever." [1]

The entire Indian history of Scarsdale, so far as it is known, is summed up in the account of the transactions of Richbell and Colonel Heathcote with the Indian proprietors. There is no account of any disturbance from them since the town was settled, nor are there any Indian remains of any account, nothing more than a few arrow-heads and similar relics having been found to mark the former proprietorship of this territory.

Town Statistics.—The first recorded census of the town was taken in 1712, the inhabitants numbering 12, of whom but 5 were white. The next figures are for 1740, when the population had increased so rapidly that there was a total of 255 persons. During the next fifty years the population remained almost stationary, the census of 1790 giving a total of 281 persons; this was lowered within the next ten years, and in 1800 the inhabitants numbered 258. Of these, 224 were whites—107 being males, 117 females—and

[1] A sketch of Colonel Heathcote is inserted in Mr. De Lancey's chapter on the "Manors in Westchester County," in this volume.

the remainder were colored, of whom 24 were slaves. In 1810 the population was 259 and in 1814, 292. The next ensuing United States census, in 1820, gives the population as 329, including 42 colored. The State census of 1825 shows a decrease of 8 persons, the total in 1830 being again slightly reduced, the returns showing 317 inhabitants. In 1835 the number of the inhabitants was the same as in 1820, being 329. Of these, 162 were males and 167 females, among these being included 39 colored persons. The number of births this year was 10, and of deaths there were 4. It is interesting to note that up to this time, a constant rivalry had been going on between Pelham and Scarsdale in point of population. In 1790 Pelham was the smallest town in the county in this respect, and from then to 1835 the varying populations of the two towns put first one and then the other ahead in the census reports. Finally, in the census for this year Pelham took the precedence, and Scarsdale has ever since remained the smallest town in the county in respect to its population. Within the next five years the number of inhabitants fell off greatly, and in 1840 but a total of 255 was recorded—a smaller number than any recorded in the censuses of the last hundred years. In 1845 the number had again reached a higher limit than ever before, and 345 inhabitants, including 33 colored, were recorded on the census books. Of these, 170 were males and 175 females. The families of the town numbered 57, with 297 natives of the United States. The foreign born numbered 44, of whom 26 remained aliens. In 1850 the population had risen by one, while the next five years saw a rise of over a hundred, the census of 1855 showing a population of 445, including 28 colored. Of these 205 were males and 240 females; the total of foreign born was 123, of whom 87 were aliens. The families numbered 74, and of the total 322 were native born, 301 being born in the State and 285 in the county. There were 286 single and 138 married persons, 10 widowers and eleven widows. During the period from 1855 to 1865 the population was again increased by more than a hundred persons, reaching the figure of 557, of whom 22 were colored. There were 256 males and 301 females, the foreign born numbering 156. There were 91 families, of whose members 401 were natives of the United States, 377 of New York State and 237 of Westchester County.

As respects their civil condition, 352 were single, 171 married, 11 were widowers and 23 widows. In 1875 the population had dropped to 529, including a colored population of 35. The foreign born numbered 131 and the natives 398, of whom 344 were natives of the State, and 226 of the county. The males in the town numbered 244 and the females 285 and their civil condition was: single 346, married 153, widowers 13, widows 17, the number of families in the town being 91.

In respect to the finances of the town, the first record in relation to them is dated 1788, and is entered in the book of town records. It reads thus—"This may certify that on the 9th day of December, 1788, William Fisher, Collector of the Town of Scarsdale for the year 1788, produced a receipt from Johnathan G. Tompkins, in behalf of Abijah Gilbert, County Treasurer, for the sum of ten pounds, twelve Shillings and six pence, to bring the Town's proportion of money towards the Completion of the Court-House. Bearing date of October 4th, 1788. Entered by Benj. Cornell, clerk."

The taxes for the previous year, 1787, had amounted to £61 35*s*. 1*d*., but there is no record of the valuation upon which those taxes were assessed. In 1875 the town valuation amounted to $588,850, and the town debt was $29,109, of which $3689 had been contracted on the account of war bonds and bounties, and $25,500 for roads.

In 1880 the town valuation was $620,084, of which $560,284 was real and $53,800 personal property. Thirty years ago there were in the town sixty-two dwelling-houses, valued at $84,550. Ten years after, in 1865, the dwellings numbered eighty-four and their valuation was put at $163,910. The next ten years witnessed a decrease in the number of the dwellings, but at the same time more than a doubling of the valuations. Thus the number of houses was seventy-seven, while their valuation was $438,230. It is hard to understand this apparent conflict of the returns under any other supposition than that the figures given by the census takers in respect to values are entirely erroneous. The owners of land in 1855 numbered forty-five; in 1865, sixty-one; and in 1875, eighty-four.

In regard to a problem which has agitated many a town deeply, the care of the poor, Scarsdale has had little anxiety. The number of paupers has been invariably small and the poor tax correspondingly low. Apparently this was greatest in the early days of the county, when Scarsdale's proportion of the poor tax amounted to £28 10*s*. This was in 1789. In 1785 overseers of the poor had been chosen for the first time, and the positions were afterwards filled at each annual election. In succeeding years the amount raised by the town for the support of the poor was much diminished, $25 being voted for this object in 1800, and $35 in 1804. This amount reached $100 in 1818, $130 the next year and $150 in 1822, but in the intervening years it was much less. Of late years the amount has been hardly noticeable, $50 being voted in 1876, while in 1882 the overseers of the poor were limited in their expenditures for the benefit of vagrants and tramps for that year to $15.

SLAVERY.—It is of considerable interest to note the conditions in which slavery has existed in the town, our first information dating back to 1712. This was eleven years after the formation of the Manor of Scarsdale; so it is probable that the figures apply to the whole manor, and not to the town in its present extent. At this date the inhabitants numbered only

twelve, of whom four were whites, all being males and over ten years of age; the remaining eight were slaves, of whom two were females over sixteen years of age, two males under sixteen and the remaining four males over sixteen.

Our next information is forty-three years later, and is gained from a "list of slaves taken April ye 5th, 1755, by Joseph Sutton, Cap^{tn}." This information is, of necessity, inaccurate, as the names given are chosen from a list including inhabitants of other places beside Scarsdale, to which some of them may belong, although these names are all familiar in Scarsdale,—David Barker, one male slave; Richard Palmer, one female slave; Jonathan Cornell, one male and one female slave; Jonathan Griffin, one male and one female slave; Richard Cornell, two males and one female slave; Richard Cornell, Jr., one male and one female slave; Benjamin Griffin, one female; and William Griffin, one male and three females, giving a total of sixteen. Thus, in nearly half a century the number of slaves in the town (or manor) had but just doubled. In the town records are many interesting records of inquiries in accordance with the law into the age and condition of certain slaves, to determine whether they should support themselves or rely on the town. The following bears the date of August 10, 1791: "To all whom it may concern, this certifies that a negro man named Prime and a negro woman named Bell, belonging to Ferris Cornell, of the town of Scarsdale, in Westchester County, appears to us to be under the age of fifty years, and of sufficient ability to provide for themselves." This is signed by Jonathan Griffin Tompkins and Benjamin Cornell, poor masters. In another such document, dated three years later, a negro woman named "Sibb," the property of Abigail Cornell, was adjudged capable of maintaining herself without the assistance of the town. According to the census of 1800, the total number of slaves in the town, which then only included Scarsdale proper, was twenty-four, showing even a smaller ratio of increase than before for the half-century, while there were at the same time in the town twenty free colored persons.

About this time, 1799, the Legislature took steps for the gradual abolition of slavery, and shortly afterwards the following document appears in the town records, followed by others of a similar nature: "I, Bartholomew Ward, of the town of Scarsdale, County of Westchester, farmer, in conformity to an Act of Legislature of the State of New York, entitled An Act for the gradual abolition of slavery, do hereby certify to the town clerk of said town that I am now possessed of a female negro child named Doroty, being now of the age of five days, and born of a slave since the fourth of July, 1799. Bartholomew Ward, Scarsdale, October 27, 1801." From this time onward the slaves in the town slowly diminished until, in 1820, there remained but seven, while the free colored population numbered thirty-five souls. This was nearly the end of slavery in the town, and in 1835 not a slave remained.

Industries.—Although Scarsdale has never contributed largely to the supply of the markets, the chief industries of the town have always been agricultural. There are no statistics in relation to agricultural products in the early days of the town, but from the records of the town-meetings we may infer—from the number of times the animals are mentioned—that much of the farm live-stock consisted of swine, and also that they caused considerable trouble. The following one of many instances sufficiently indicates: "Also it is the vote of this town-meeting that it shall be lawful, if any hogs are found on the highway not ringed or snouted, to drive them to pound, and the owner of said hogs shall pay the poundage." This appears on the minutes of the meeting of April 6, 1784, and was followed by many similar votes, as well as others in respect to the fencing of the roads to guard against the straying of swine. In the town-meeting of 1790 it was voted that all fences must be four feet six inches high and that they were "not to exceed six inches under the bottom rail, except well underpined with stones, nor to exceed six inches betwix rails until it comes to the fift rail." Even as late as 1837 we find that the office of "Hog Howard" was continued, the duties of the office presumably relating to the management of roving swine. By the State census of 1835 there were 3039 acres of improved land in the town and on the farms were 472 neat cattle, 84 horses, 624 sheep and 464 hogs. This is all we know of the agricultural interests of the town until 1845, the census for this year giving full and interesting particulars. The improved land aggregated 4391 acres, the inhabitants numbering 341 at this time. The acreage devoted to the principal products, together with the amount of the crops, was as follows: Buckwheat, 75 acres, 784 bushels; corn, 229 acres, 8200 bushels; oats, 186 acres, 4495 bushels; rye, 119 acres, 1452 bushels; potatoes, 104 acres, 5265 bushels. The same year 262 yards of homespun cloth were made and the dairy products amounted to 18,635 pounds of butter. The live-stock on farms consisted of 78 horses, 420 neat cattle, 416 swine, 386 sheep, yielding 730 pounds of wool. No returns are given in respect to the value of farm stock or of farm produce, but the latter, so far as the outside market is concerned, was probably inconsiderable, most being devoted to home consumption.

In 1855, when the next State census was taken, the population numbered 445, of whom 45 were landowners. The value of farms was estimated at $427,140 and the acreage of the town was classed thus: Improved, 2801 acres; unimproved, 1132 acres; pasture, 977 acres; and meadow-lands, 786 acres. The yield of hay was 1225 tons. The amount of the principal crops was as follows: Corn, 5982 bushels; oats, 2376 bushels; wheat, 1054 bushels; potatoes, 2080 bush-

els; turnips, 1395 bushels. The dairy products were: 17,339 pounds of butter and 19,540 gallons of milk, the latter being exclusive of that consumed at home; 435 pounds of honey were gathered this year, and poultry were sold to the value of $1853. The farm stock consisted of 116 horses, 375 neat cattle (including 213 milch cows and 68 working cattle), 325 swine and 261 sheep, yielding 636 pounds of wool.

The census for 1865, some of the statistics, however, referring to the previous year, gives the following figures: The population amounted to 557 persons, of whom 61 were land-owners. The farm valuation was $712,800, and the acreage divided thus: Improved, 3168 acres; unimproved, 948 acres; pasture, 1264 acres; meadow, 993 acres. The yield of the principal crops was as follows: Hay, 1436 tons; corn, 6435 bushels; oats, 4898 bushels; rye, 1850 bushels; potatoes, 7872 bushels; turnips, 2570 bushels. In the orchards were 5512 apple-trees, giving a yield of 13,663 bushels, and the cider product aggregated 450 barrels. The honey gathered amounted to 730 pounds, and the value of poultry and eggs sold was $1325. The dairy product was: Butter made, 12,143 pounds, and milk sold, 2800 gallons. The live-stock consisted of 142 horses, 322 neat cattle (including 190 milch cows and 60 working oxen), 219 swine (199 being slaughtered and yielding 32,440 pounds of pork), and 214 sheep giving a clip of 363 pounds.

The last State census, that of 1875, gives the following statistics, which, in general, show a falling off from previous figures. The population was 529, of whom 94 were land-owners. The farms of the town were put at a valuation of $630,500, and the acreage was described, thus: Improved, 2566 acres; unimproved, 875 acres; woodland, 531 acres; pasture, 503 acres; and meadow, 1207 acres. The crops were as follows: Hay, 1635 tons; corn, 5145 bushels; oats, 2490 bushels; rye, 2668 bushels; potatoes, 5275 bushels. The apple orchards contained 9950 trees and yielded 37,975 bushels of fruit. Grapes were produced to the amount of 6375 pounds. The value of poultry and eggs sold was $3358, and the dairy product was 9790 pounds of butter made and 4925 gallons of milk sold. The live-stock consisted of 131 horses, 259 neat cattle (including 149 milch cows), 177 swine (140 slaughtered and yielding 28,360 pounds pork), and 67 sheep giving a clip of 321 pounds. The gross receipts from farm produce during the previous year amounted to $32,945.

Although these figures are the latest official returns in regard to the agricultural interests of the town, it is very probable that the decrease in farm products mentioned for 1875 has been continued with little interruption ever since, and that the capital invested in farming in the town is not as large as in former years.

The figures in relation to the raising of sheep show the most marked decline. In 1835 there were six hundred and twenty-four sheep owned in the town, but in the ensuing ten years the number had decreased to three hundred and eighty-six. It is very probable that before the first-mentioned date the number was even greater; but the decrease has been steady, and at the present date the industry is practically extinct. The principal reason for this has been the havoc made by stray dogs. No exact figures are to be had in relation to their depredations among the flocks until the year 1874, when they killed at least twelve sheep. By 1884 they had thinned down the flocks so that they were but a small fraction of their original size, and in that year twenty sheep fell victims to them, thus practically putting an end to this branch of farming.

The following extracts relate to the number and size of the farms existing at the time of the last State census: The farms in the town aggregated forty; of these, two contained from three to ten acres, two from ten to twenty acres, five from twenty to fifty acres, eighteen from fifty to one hundred acres and thirteen from one hundred to one hundred and fifty acres.

Manufactures and Other Enterprises.—Manufacturing has always occupied a very secondary place in Scarsdale, but little capital being devoted to it and almost all capital going to farming. Just above and a short distance to the west of Scarsdale Station, on the Bronx River, and within the limits of the Popham estate, are the ruins of a grist-mill and its dam. This was built prior to the Revolutionary War and was used as a grist and saw-mill, a dam about fifteen feet high intercepting the river at this point and furnishing good water-power. This belonged to the estate of the Honorable Richard Morris, whose house was not far distant, and one Crawford by name was employed as miller. Here was the timber sawn out of which the Morris house and several others of the old mansions were built, but the mill has not survived as long as they. For many years it was put to its original purposes, but some time previous to the War of the Rebellion it was used for the manufacture of axles, and in 1862 it was converted into a manufactory of shoddy. As no mention appears to have been made of it in either the town records or census reports its output in either capacity was probably not great. Within a year from this time, in 1863, it took fire and was burned to the ground and has never since been rebuilt.

Nothing but a few ruins and several fragments of machinery remain to mark the site of this venerable mill, which was probably one of the first in the county. The dam, also, has almost entirely disappeared, having slowly fallen into ruin.

The building now known as "The Scarsdale Opera-House," but formerly the "Fox Meadow Chapel," was originally used as a carriage factory, but only for a comparatively short time, as in 1856 the building was added, together with the neighboring property, to the Fox Meadow estate and converted into a chapel. There are no figures to show the extent of the manufacturing interest carried on here, but it was doubt-

less of very limited proportions. Almost opposite this building, and about four hundred rods to the north of it, on the bank of the Bronx River, formerly stood a powder-mill, the property of a German named Haubold. This was erected about the year 1847, when the Hudson River Railroad was in process of construction, and furnished much powder for this work. Near the main building stood a magazine and a cooper-shop and other outbuildings. Although the manufacture of powder was successfully carried on here for a time, it was finally abandoned, as the works were ruined by several destructive explosions. Both the magazine and the cooper-shop were thus destroyed at different times, and although the mill has been partially repaired and used for other purposes, nothing remains of either cooper-shop or magazine.

About the year 1880 this property came into the hands of Mr. Leggo, who has erected several small buildings there and started an establishment for the manufacture of lithographic stones and plates, which is now most successfully carried on.

Political History.—The present township of Scarsdale was organized on the 7th of March, 1788, but previous to this meetings had been annually held for the election of town officers, under the acts of the Legislature as early as 1783, and before that even, by the terms of the royal patent granted to Colonel Heathcote, though no records are extant so far as we know of meetings or proceedings of the town prior to the latter date. The first entry in the town records is as follows, given verbatim:

"By order of the Council of Appointment, by the Act of the Legislature, Intitled an Act to provide for the temporal government of the Southern parts of the State, whenever the enemy shall abandon or be dispossessed of the same, and until the Legislature can be convened,—Passed Oct. 23d, 1779. And by virtue of direction, Jesse Hunt, Esq., Sheriff of Westchester County, Appointing Jonathan Griffin Tompkins, Thomas Cornell and Stephen Cornell to Superintend the town-meeting att the Manner of Scarsdale, on the 22d Decr., 1783, then and there to choose town officers until the next annual meeting. The town met on the said day at the house of Jonathan Griffin, near the usual place of holding said meetings; then and there the inhabitants proceed to choose town officers by a majority of votes,—Benjamin Cornell, clerk; Jonathan G. Tompkins, supervisor; Stephen Cornell and Thomas Cornell, assessors; Israel Herriott, constable and collector; Ferris Cornell and Samuel Fisher, overseers of highway; Ferris Cornell, pounder; John Compton and Thomas Cornell, fence and damage viewers. Extracted from the Original by Benjamin Cornell, clerk."

The second meeting was held on the 6th of April, 1784, "att the School house in Said Manner, near Capt. Jonathan Griffin's," this probably being the usual place for the town-meetings to be held, referred to in the minutes of the previous year. In 1785 the offices of overseers of the poor were instituted, John Barker and Francis Secor being the first incumbents. In the town-meeting of 1789 it was enacted that the "Fence and Damage Viewers" should receive for their services at the rate of six shillings per diem, this being the first mention of any remuneration for town officers. The next year three "Commissioners of Highways" were chosen in addition to the other officers, Jonathan G. Tompkins, John Barker and John Cornell being selected to fill the positions. In 1792, nine years after the first recorded town-meeting, the following officers were chosen: Caleb Tompkins, town clerk; Jonathan G. Tompkins, supervisor; J. G. Tompkins, John Barker, John Cornell and William Popham, commissioners of highways; William Popham and Jonathan G. Tompkins, poor masters; Elijah Cudney, constable and collector; John Barker, Caleb Tompkins and Thomas Cornell, assessors; Benjamin Underhill and Caleb Angevine, overseers of highways; Ferris Cornell and Elijah Purdy, Jr., fence and damage viewers; and Bartholomew Griffin, pounder. Up to this year Jonathan G. Tompkins and Benjamin Cornell had held the offices of supervisor and town clerk respectively since the first meeting. On April 5, 1796, commissioners of schools were chosen for the first time, as before mentioned. In 1801 and for several succeeding years Caleb Tompkins was chosen to the offices both of supervisor and of town clerk, thus being created a precedent which was frequently followed in subsequent town elections. In 1809 he was succeeded as town clerk by his brother Enoch, and held no local office of importance until 1822, when he was for the third time chosen supervisor, and that year Enoch Tompkins was succeeded in the town clerkship by Richard M. Popham. In 1823 William A. Popham held his first town office, that of school commissioner, and in 1825 he was chosen town clerk to succeed his brother Richard, holding the office for the next five years. In 1829 we find that the meeting was held on April 7th at "the house of James Varian, Innkeeper in said town," now known as the "Wayside Cottage." In 1830 the town clerk was Samuel Tompkins, and he was in turn succeeded, in 1831, by Caleb Tompkins, of a younger generation than the former one of that name. In 1832 the first mention is made of the election of justices of the peace in town-meeting, the following being chosen: Nathaniel Brown, Elijah Purdy and John Bennett, Jr., and in 1835 the first tax was laid upon the owners of dogs. For the next succeeding years the office of town clerk was held by the following persons: 1838, Francis Losee; 1839–40, Caleb Tompkins; 1841-42, George B. Varian; and 1843, Elias A. Travise. In 1848 the town-meeting was held for the first time in the "Fox Meadow" school-house, which had replaced the old building which had been burned early in the century.

In 1860 the following were chosen officers of the town: Francis Secor, supervisor (for the tenth time); James F. Palmer, town clerk; David Underhill, assessor; Elijah Tompkins, James F. Palmer, Lawrence Dobbs and Elias G. Drake, path masters; James Willetts, James D. McCabe and Elias G. Drake, pound masters; James Willetts, commissioner of highways; James F. Palmer, justice of peace; Richard Palmer, and Lawrence Dobbs, overseers of the poor; Richard Palmer, James Willetts and Jonathan G. Tompkins, inspectors of elections; Orrin A. Weed, constable

and collector; and William H. Boda, constable. At the next town-meeting it was voted "that the Rail Road depot, the School-House and the apple tree near and West of —— house, in the town of Scarsdale, be and hereby are designated as proper places for posting legal notices."

During the years of the Rebellion a number of measures were passed in relation to the encouragement of volunteering and the payment of substitutes. In September, 1863, it was voted to pay three hundred dollars each to those citizens that were conscripted or to their substitutes, and early in the next year it was voted to raise thirty-two hundred dollars for this purpose, this amount being afterward raised to four thousand dollars. In January, 1865, at a special meeting of the town, it was voted that seven hundred dollars should be paid for each substitute or volunteer, of which, in the case of substitutes, the town provided six hundred dollars and the person conscripted the remainder.

In 1867 an attempt was made to change the southern boundary of the town so as to include a part of the township of East Chester, but this was unsuccessful, and, although subsequent attempts to obtain this have been made, the boundary of the town remains unchanged. The next year the place of meeting was changed from the "Fox Meadow School-House" to the residence of James F. Palmer, near the centre of the town, on the Mamaroneck road, and this continued to be used for town-meetings, and, after 1872, for general elections, until the town voted, in 1879, to occupy the basement of the new school-house for town uses, which has since been known as the "Town Hall."

In 1870 the following town-officers were elected: Francis Secor, supervisor; James F. Palmer, town clerk; Benjamin Archer, Francis Secor, John Read and Elias G. Drake, pound masters; Oliver A. Hyatt, assessor; Elijah S. Tompkins, commissioner of highways; Alexander Taylor, collector; Robert C. Popham and Hiram K. Benedict, justices of peace; Benj. Archer and Gilbert Ward, overseers of poor; Alexander Taylor, Stephen Disbrow and John Forkle, constables; and Peter M. Dobbs and James F. Palmer, inspectors of election. In 1870 and the next succeeding years the town was obliged to put itself under a great burden of debt on account of the so-called improvements in the post road. Extensive and unnecessary alterations were made then under the management of the "ring" which was then in power in New York, and the debt of the town was thereby largely increased. In 1872 it was voted to raise four thousand and sixty-five dollars to pay principal and interest on the town road bonds, thus reducing the town indebtedness in part, and also to raise $569.30 to pay principal and interest on the town bounty bonds issued during the war. The next few years were very quiet in respect to the history of the town, the building of the new school-house being the chief object of interest. In 1880 the town met for the first time in the basement of this building, in accordance with the vote of the preceding year, and the following officers were chosen: Oliver A. Hyatt, supervisor; Gilbert W. Dobbs, town clerk; Charles Carpenter, assessor; George J. Willetts, commissioner of highways; John G. Sweet, collector; Chauncey T. Secor, Charles Griffin and Lewis C. Popham, justices of the peace; George H. Morse, Daniel Dows, John McNulty and William Drewry, constables; John H. Carpenter and Charles V. McNulty, inspectors of election; Lawrence Dobbs and Charles Griffin, overseers of poor; Francis Secor and Isaac Lepugy, town auditors, and C. Bayard Fish and Benj. J. Carpenter, commissioners of excise.

On the 11th of September, 1882, a town health board was organized for the first time, Charles Nordquist, M.D., being chosen town physician and Francis Secor health officer. In 1883 Dr. Nordquist was again chosen town-physician and C. Bayard Fish replaced Francis Secor as health officer.

Although in the main, the local and general elections of the town have been harmonious and unattended by undue friction, they have seldom failed to awaken interest, especially of late, and as a result a full vote has usually been polled, especially in presidential years. Our earliest ideas of the political leanings of the township are gathered from the result of the elections for governor of the state in 1822 and 1824. In the first mentioned year the election lasted for three days, but the vote polled was exceptionally small, aggregating but eighteen out of a population of more than three hundred persons. 1823 also proved to be an "off year," but six votes being polled in the election for members of the State legislature. In 1824 a total of twenty-eight was reached in the election for governor, De Witt Clinton receiving seven votes, Samuel Young nineteen, and Aaron and Stephen Ward, each a single vote. Two years afterward the total fell to nineteen votes in the election for governor, Clinton receiving eleven and Rochester eight. In the election for governor in 1828 Van Buren received twenty-four and Thompson twenty votes, and the same year in the choice of presidential electors Jacob Odell received twenty-four votes and John Odell twenty-one. In the next eighteen years the town-records are silent upon the subject of elections, and it is not till 1846 that we have any further returns. In this year the town voted unanimously in favor of "No License," but by a vote ridiculously small, considering that the males of voting age numbered more than sixty, but *six* votes were cast. That so little apparent interest was manifested in so important a question is explained by the fact that the town has always been opposed to liquor selling,—but one licensed inn having ever existed within the boundaries—so that there could have been no doubt as to the result and consequently the vote was light.

During the next decade the population increased

by one hundred and four souls, the number of votes rising to eighty-two in the same time. The next ten years saw the population again increased by more than one hundred souls, and the number of voters at the end of this period (1865) was one hundred and nine. In 1875 the total of voters had fallen to one hundred and three, but the population had likewise decreased by twenty-eight.

In the general election of 1840 Scarsdale gave Van Buren a majority of eight, Harrison receiving twenty-five votes to his opponent's thirty-three. In the next presidential election Polk's majority over Clay was fifteen in Scarsdale. For the election of 1848 the returns are wanting, but in 1852 the town gave Scott twenty-four votes and Pierce twenty-nine. In 1856 the vote of Scarsdale was as follows: Fremont twenty; Fillmore, thirteen; Buchanan, twenty-seven. In 1860 the town gave the Fusion candidates thirty-six votes against thirty-one for Lincoln and Hamlin, and the same year, in the gubernatorial contest, gave Morgan thirty-one votes, Kelly thirty-five and Brady one. In 1864 the presidential vote of the town stood for McClellan fifty-two votes and Lincoln thirty-nine. For the elections of 1868 the returns are more complete. For president, Grant, the Republican candidate, received forty-six votes against Seymour's forty-one. For governor, Griswold (Republican) received forty-five votes and Hoffman (Democrat) forty-three. For Congress, Potter (Democrat) received forty-four votes and Haggerty (Republican) forty-one. At the next general election the town went strongly Republican, giving Grant forty-eight votes for president against twenty-four for Greeley, and at the same time Dix (Republican) received fifty votes for governor and Kiernan but twenty-one. For congress Forman (Republican) received forty-seven votes and Cox (Democrat) twenty-four, and for Assembly Wright (Republican) received fifty-nine votes against eleven for Dusenberry (Democrat). In the election of 1876 Scarsdale gave Hayes sixty-four votes and Tilden fifty-three, and in 1880 Garfield received seventy-four votes,—the largest vote given in the town for any candidate,—and Hancock fifty-five. In the last general election, 1884, Scarsdale was greatly stirred by the questions at stake and the fight was very bitter, though without any undue manifestation of feeling. In the end the scale was turned by the independent vote, Cleveland receiving a majority of three over Blaine.

From the above it will be observed that Scarsdale has come out on the winning side in all but three of the presidential contests there recorded, whence it has been said—as of many other towns also, however,—"As Scarsdale goes, so goes the country."

Military History.—Although the scene of no battle or famous military exploit during the Revolution, Scarsdale was situated in the midst of the tract known as the "Neutral Ground," which was the scene of many a dark and inhuman deed at the hands of the prowling "Cow Boys" or "Skinners," as the guerrilla bands of the British and Americans respectively, were called, and so the town of Scarsdale came in for a full share of their depredations. Many of the inhabitants were Tories. It is stated that only three families in the town were in favor of the patriot cause, and although this may not be strictly true, it sufficiently indicates the drift of feeling in the township. What few patriots there were suffered severely for their patriotism. The Varian family, who occupied what is now known as "Wayside Cottage," after enduring for some time the importunate demands of the guerrillas fled to Connecticut for refuge, not returning till the end of the war; while Caleb Tompkins was obliged to leave his home and flee for his life, before the British. In the "Spy," Cooper treats of this time and locality with great force and interest, but of less romantic and more matter-of-fact details there is great lack. In regard to the troops furnished by the town of Scarsdale, Baird in his "History of Rye," says, "New York was required by the Continental Congress to contribute her quota of three thousand men. Four regiments were raised in the province. The call for soldiers was promptly responded to by this town (Rye). Three companies were formed, mostly within the limits of Rye, which as yet included Harrison and the White Plains. These companies were embraced in the 'Second Battalion of Westchester County.' The second company included the men from Scarsdale, White Plains and Brown's Point. The number furnished by Scarsdale is unknown, but the name of James Verian (Varian) appears as first-lieutenant of the company. Of him, we find that during the war, he rendered service under the Colonial flag, and his possessions were despoiled by the human wolves infesting this part of Westchester County during the war, and who were known as 'Skinners' and 'Cowboys.' For twenty years prior to his decease he was a helpless paralytic, caused by exposure in the patriotic cause."

Michael Varian, a brother, likewise moved to Scarsdale in 1775 and took an active part on the patriotic side, but returned to New York at the close of the war. At one time during this troublesome period Judge Caleb Tompkins, who had rendered himself obnoxious to the Royalists, and whose residence formerly occupied the site where now stands the house of Charles Butler, was obliged to gather together what he could of his household goods into an ox-cart and flee before the advance of the British. When he arrived at the swamp just northeast of the village of White Plains he was so closely pursued that he abandoned his cattle, sending them on into the woods near Kensico, while he himself descended into the swamp and hid in the water, his head only above the surface. In this way he managed to escape from his pursuers and afterwards was able to return to his home. Scarsdale was the scene of the movements of the patriot and royal troops prior to the battle of White Plains,



RESIDENCE OF C. W. DICKEL,

SCARSDALE, N. Y.

as well as again when the British were commanded by General Howe.

It is said that the old Fish house was occupied by Sir William Howe for some time as his headquarters, and that near by are the graves of several of his officers who fell in service. It is probable that the British army was for some time within the limits of Scarsdale previous to the battle of White Plains, for they moved but slowly after their landing near New Rochelle. Speaking of this battle, Baird says, "Meanwhile the enemy had advanced from Scarsdale, and after a skirmish near the present village of Hart's Corners, a little more than a mile south of the lines, had arrived in view of the American forces."

Still another account is as follows: On the 21st the British removed and encamped on New Rochelle Heights, north of the village and on both sides of the road leading to Scarsdale. This camp was broken up on the 25th, and the army moved forward to a position upon the high grounds of Scarsdale, on the site of the late John Bennet's farm, and there remained till the morning of the 28th of October. Then they moved from camp in two columns, the right under command of General Clinton and the left under that of General de Heister, and coming in sight of the Americans by 10 A.M., there followed the battle of White Plains.

After this, Scarsdale was the scene of but few military movements, unless we except the uninterrupted ravages of the marauding parties, but in 1781 it is unimportantly mentioned in a letter from Captain Marquand to Sir Henry Clinton, dated July 15th. He says: "Waterbury (a British Captain) re-inforced by some militia arrived the 13th, at Van Hart's, at Scarsdale, a district between White Plains and Mamaroneck." At this time the whole county was more or less occupied by the British, who were watching the movements of Washington on the hilly country further north. A few relics relating to this period which are now in possession of James McCabe, are some bullets and a cannon-ball found in the vicinity of his residence, as well as a silver ornament from the front of a cap—presumably that of a British officer.

During the second war with England, or the War of 1812, Scarsdale varied its peaceful routine little if at all. It furnished the State, however, with its War Governor, Daniel D. Tompkins, who so thoroughly identified himself with his work that the history of these times in New York is the history of his own life. Besides Governor Tompkins, Scarsdale furnished the country with another brave man, Colonel Jonathan Varian, a son of the James Varian who fought so well in the Revolution. At one time the peace of the town was threatened, when it was announced that the British forces would attempt a landing at Mamaroneck, and many volunteered to repel the threatened attack. Among them was William S. Popham, who died June 18, 1885.

At the time of the outbreak of the Rebellion there were eighty-one persons in the town returned as liable for military duty, of whom twenty-four were members of various regiments of the National Guard as follows: belonging to the Seventh Regiment, three; to the Fifty-first, one; to the Seventy-first, two; and to the One Hundred and Thirty-fifth Regiment, seventeen; while one is enrolled quarter-master. There are no accurate records of the exact number volunteering from the town of Scarsdale, and of those sent as substitutes or drafted, but the most reliable figures give the number credited to Scarsdale during the Rebellion as follows: Serving in the army, thirty-eight, and in the navy, eleven. Fourteen of those credited to the army were enlisted as follows: Fifty-first Infantry, one; Ninety-fifth Infantry, one; One Hundred and Thirty-fifth Infantry, four; One Hundred and Seventy-eighth Infantry, one; Fifth Artillery, one; Second Kansas Regiment, one; Seventh Militia Regiment, one; and Navy, one. But one citizen of Scarsdale died in the war, he being a member of the Sixth Artillery.

CHURCHES.—According to Bolton, Scarsdale, under the Provincial government, constituted one of the seven districts of Rye parish in 1763, contributing twenty-five pounds four shillings and sixpence to the vestry tax and the poor of the parish. He further says: "The parochial clergy appear to have officiated here at a very early period, as the Rev. Robert Jenney, writing to the Bishop of London in 1724, says: 'I officiate eight times per annum at Mamaroneck for Scarsdale and Fox's Meadows.' In 1727 there were thirty persons in Scarsdale upon whom the parochial tax was levied. Mr. Wetmore, writing to the Gospel Society in 1744, observes: 'I have a considerable congregation at the White Plains and Scarsdale, above seven miles west of the parish church, which I also attend once in two months." By far the oldest religious organization actually settled in the town is the Society of Friends, who have had a meeting-house of their own here for more than a century, but their history is chiefly connected with Mamaroneck, where they held their first meeting in the county in 1702. In six years they had built a meeting-house in Mamaroneck, and we find that a "monthly meeting" was appointed to be held there in April, 1725, by order of the "Yearly Meeting" of Friends in Flushing, L. I., at that time the centre of the sect in the colonies. In 1728 the Mamaroneck meeting was constituted a "Preparative" meeting, and in 1739 a new meeting-house was erected. The records in the possession of the Scarsdale meeting are very voluminous, but scarcely refer to the Society as it exists here, being chiefly occupied with the past. The meeting-house was moved "to a central location" between the years 1768–1770, and this probably refers to the first meeting-house in Scarsdale. This meeting-house dated from about this time, being set down on the site of the present structure upon a map "of the White Plains constituting part of Scarsdale,"

bearing the date 1779. Two buildings are now used by the Society—one by the Orthodox Friends and the other by the Hicksites, both being of comparatively recent construction, occupying the site of the former venerable structure. The house and church is a plain frame building of two stories, about forty feet square, with a porch in front into which open the doors. Both meeting-houses are quite unpretending, of the plainest type of architecture, and painted in quiet drab colors quite devoid of ornamentation. They stand in the far southeastern corner of the town, at the junction of Lincoln and Griffin Avenues, and are surrounded by a small grove of handsome trees. According to the census of 1845 the Society possessed two buildings valued at one thousand one hundred and fifty dollars, and twenty years later the value of the buildings and lot was put at three thousand dollars. At the latter date the seating capacity of the buildings was three hundred and eighty, and the usual attendance seventy persons.

But while on the eastern side of the town the Society of Friends was slowly growing and becoming firmly established, the western side, and in fact all the rest of the town, had no religious organization of any kind. At odd times the services of the Episcopal Church were held in private residences by visiting clergy, and an occasional visitation was made by the rectors of neighboring churches, but beyond this there was nothing.

The Episcopal Church was incorporated September 3, 1849, under the name and style of "The Rector, Church Wardens and Vestrymen of the Church of St. James the Less, in the township of Scarsdale," and steps were at once taken towards the building of a church edifice. Pending the completion of this, services were held for some months in the former residence of Hon. Richard Morris, then occupied by William S. Popham, son of Major Popham of Revolutionary fame, at which the Rev. Dr. Morton, of Philadelphia, and others of the clergy officiated.

The corner-stone of the first church was laid on the 29th of June, 1850, by the Rt. Rev. W. R. Whittingham, D.D., bishop of Maryland. The consecration of the completed edifice took place on the 28th of June, 1851, the services being conducted by the Rt. Rev. W. H. De Lancey, bishop of Western New York, acting in the disability of the bishop of New York. The first wedding in the new church was celebrated on the 27th of May, 1852, and the first confirmation service took place on the 12th of September of the same year, seventeen persons receiving the rite.

Owing to the small population of the parish the building of the church had been no easy task, but all gave as they could, and heartily seconded the efforts of the original movers, and the result was the possession of a church building that proved a great blessing to all. To quote from a sermon of the present rector of the parish, Rev. Francis Chase, which was delivered the Sunday after the destruction of the church by fire: "Doubtless few churches have ever been erected into whose walls have been built more self-denial and sacrifice. Even children, I am told, used to go without their customary indulgences in order to have something to contribute toward the structure or its appropriate furniture. The poor gave freely of their labor, or else, to bring a money offering, deprived themselves of things which they could ill have spared for any other cause. Seeing the goodwill and earnestness shown by the initiators of the enterprise, others outside became interested, and came forward with gifts and helpful deeds, so that a great many persons not immediately connected with this church had a substantial investment in it." In June, 1850, the grounds immediately surrounding the church, to the amount of about three and a quarter acres, were conveyed to the parish by William H. Popham in the form of a lease for a thousand years upon the following terms: "Yielding and paying therefor unto the said party of the first part and his heirs yearly and every year during the said time hereby granted the yearly rent or sum of one silver dime, lawful money of the United States of America, on the Festival of St. Philip and St. James in each and every year; and, also, the parties of the second part, or their successors in office, shall not at any time during the continuance of the time hereby granted, let, underlet, assign, sell or convey the whole or any part of said premises to any person or persons, sole or corporate whatever, except the right or privilege of burial in said ground; and upon the further condition that religious services in said church during said time shall be performed according to the form prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer, or the administration of the sacraments and other rites and ceremonies as prescribed in said book for the use of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America, and of the doctrine and discipline therein set forth, and the canons of said church by a duly and regularly ordained minister of said Protestant Episcopal Church, or by one allowed by the canons of said church to officiate, or by a duly ordained minister of the Church of England as now by law Established, and none other; provided always, nevertheless, that if the rent above reserved shall not be demanded by, or paid to, the said party of the first part, or his heirs on or before the Feast of St. Andrew in every year, after the same shall have been due, that then said parties of the second part shall forever thereafter be discharged from the payment of the same."

The church is situated upon a slight eminence, a quarter of a mile from the Bronx River and the Harlem Railroad, and about the same distance from the old Boston turnpike, in a convenient location, while to the south and west of the building is the portion of the grounds set apart as the parish burying-place. Bolton gives the following concise and interesting description of the first church edifice: "The style of

the building is early English, or first pointed, according to Riskman's Nomenclature. It is constructed of native stone, with dressings of the white dolomitic marble, and consists of a nave, chancel, with sacristy attached, and porch. The nave, which is 50 feet by 24 feet in the clear, with sittings for about 211, is divided into four bays, the flank walls of which are pierced with couplets, excepting the first bay from the west end, on the south side, which contains a door leading to the porch. The roof is open, with rafters diagonally traced. The pulpit is in the northeast corner of the nave. A font of the largest size (2 feet 6 inches across the bowl) stands in the southeast corner of the nave. It is circular, supported on a central octagonal stem, surrounded by four detached pillars of white marble, and was presented by the sisters of the first rector of the parish. The seats are open and entirely free of any charge for rent or use—the church being supported by voluntary contributions at the offertory. The organ, presented by a member of the vestry, is situated at the west end of the nave. The chancel, 20 feet by 16 feet, in the clear, is separated from the nave by the chancel arch. The choir is raised two steps above the nave and has two stalls on the south side. On the north it opens, by a door, into the sacristy. The sanctuary, elevated above the choir by two steps, is about 8 feet in depth, containing an altar 6 feet by three feet, on a foot pace, a credence-shelf on the south side and bishop's seat on the north. The chancel is lighted by a triplet of richly-stained glass, the middle lancet of which contains a cross within the *Vesica piscis;* the south, a dove and font; and the north, a paten and chalice. The rest of the glass (excepting the west end of the nave, which is richly grisailed, and the southern windows of the chancel, which have colored borders) is plain enameled. The whole of the stained glass was manufactured by Mr. John Bolton, of Pelham. Over the central lancet, in the chancel, and in the middle of the west gable, are triangular, trifoliated lights, with colored glass." Frank Wills, of New York, was the architect, and the cost of the entire edifice is put by Mr. Bolton as about five thousand dollars; but this is probably too small, as much labor and material were contributed by individuals which are probably not included in the above estimate. The following description of the communion service is likewise taken from Bolton's "History of Westchester:" "The communion service, presented on the day of consecration, consists of the following articles: A flagon, inscribed 'The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all Sin;' two silver chalices, each having the following inscription: 'I will receive the cup of Salvation;' a paten, with the legend 'I will offer unto Thee the Sacrifice of Thanksgiving;' and a silver alms-basin." The bishop's chair, bearing on the back the symbol of the episcopal office—the bishop's mitre—was the gift of the builder, Henry Cornell, while the altar-cloth and linen, as well as the service-books, were likewise presented by friends. The triplet, which lighted the chancel, was subsequently filled with beautiful, stained-glass windows, in memory of Miss Cornelia H. Guion.

The central lancet contained a representation of the Saviour holding in his arms the Sacramental Loaf. The glass of the left lancet represented St. Philip, and that of the right, St. James the Less. The large bell, cast by Meneely, of Troy, was a present to the parish, and, as it was found to be too large for the small belfry at the summit of the west gable, it was put in position near the porch, upon the ground. On October 15, 1864, William Sutley Lang, a resident of the parish, communicated to the vestry the offer of a chapel, to be attached to the church. This offer was promptly accepted, and the chapel, being a memorial of the lately-deceased wife of the donor, was erected shortly thereafter. The structure was to the north of the chancel and communicated directly with the sacristy. It was lighted by a couplet at the east end, facing which was the entrance-door and the reading-desk. In the north wall, and facing the entrance to the sacristy, was cut a tablet to the memory of Susan Bailey Lang. This edifice contained sittings for about thirty-three persons, and was chiefly used for the Sunday-school and for week-day services.

On the evening of Palm Sunday, April 2, 1882, the beautiful little church was almost totally destroyed by fire,—owing apparently to a defective flue,—and the chapel and almost all the furnishings were involved in the general destruction. The ruin was nearly complete, nothing but a small portion of the walls remaining.

Fortunately, there was an insurance on the building, and, although much difficulty and delay were experienced in settling matters with the insurance companies, who preferred to rebuild themselves rather than pay the insurance, work on a new church was finally begun, and after many months of anxiety and trouble the new building was completed, services being meanwhile held in private houses.

The services of re-consecration took place on the 4th of November, 1883, just nineteen months after the conflagration, and were conducted by the Right Rev. H. C. Potter, assistant bishop of New York, aided by several others of the clergy. Of these ceremonies the *Churchman* for November 17th has the following account: "This church was re-consecrated on Sunday, November 4th, by the assistant bishop of the diocese, aided by the Rev. Francis Chase, rector; the Rev. Dr. Olsen, a former rector; the Rev. W. W. Montgomery, of Mamaroneck; the Rev. F. B. Van Kleeck, of White Plains; and the Rev. Messrs. Forbes and Drisler. The church, repaired and rebuilt after the fire of last year, and adorned with many gifts from parishioners and friends, was bright and cheerful. A large congregation was in attendance and the music, though simple, was perfect. The bishop delivered the sermon, which was worthy to be heard in

every quarter of the commonwealth. Three persons were confirmed. In the afternoon the Rev. Dr. Olsen preached to his former flock. It was a day to be long remembered in Scarsdale."

In external appearance the new church is very like the first building, differing in no essential particular, although the workmanship in parts is inferior to that of the former. Within, also, the church is little changed, the arrangement and construction of chancel, nave, roof and windows being as before. The tone of the walls and woodwork is, however, much lighter than in the former building, while the stained glass is but a parody upon the beautiful chancel windows of the old church. The font has been almost exactly restored, and stands just outside of the chancel, on the right. The new furniture, consisting of altar, chancel-chair, double stall, reading desk, pulpit and brass lectern, is quite different in style from that which it replaces,but is handsome,and harmonizes well with the surroundings. It is the gift of friends of the parish, in memory of Mrs. Valeria Baugess, a former parishioner, whose remains lie in the little churchyard. Other gifts include a full set of lesson-books, and pulpit-lamp, altar-cover, altar-vases and alms-basin, all in brass. The organ,—of one manual,—from the shops of Hood & Hastings, Boston, is very prettily decorated, and was purchased with the insurance money of the former organ, occupying the same position,—at the western end of the nave. The chapel is nearly an exact counterpart of the one it replaces.

Belonging to the church is a commodious rectory, situated on a pleasant spot nearly due north of the church, and about five minutes' walk from it.

Following is a list of all the rectors of Scarsdale:

Election or Acceptance of Call.	Resignation.
January 31, 1850, Rev James F. Le Baron	
April 1, 1851, Rev. William M. Olsen	October 1, 1871.
December 3, 1871, Rev. Stephen F. Holmes . .	May 1, 1872.
July 1, 1872, Rev. Henry Webbe	August 31, 1873.
January 28, 1874, Rev. William A. Holbrook . .	October 8, 1877.
February 1, 1879, Rev. Francis Chase.	

In 1853, two years after the consecration of the church, the following were the published statistics of the parish: Families, 20; souls, 115; baptisms, 4; communicants, 50. In 1855 the church building and lot were valued at $6500, and the seating capacity of the former was for 211 persons. The attendance was 120 persons, and the communicants numbered 53. In 1865 the valuation of the property had risen to $8000. There were 60 communicants and an average attendance of 40 persons. The following are the latest parish statistics: Families, 45; souls, 214; baptisms, 7; confirmations, 3; marriages, 3; burials, 6; communicants, 74; Sunday-school scholars, 44; teachers, 7. Total amount collected for all objects, $2555.02.

The following were the original officers of the parish: William S. Popham and Mark Spencer, church wardens; Charles W. Carmer, William H. Popham, Francis McFarlan, Joshua Underhill, Edmund Ludlow, Samuel E. Lyon, Augustus Bleecker and Orrin Weed, vestrymen. The following are the present officers of the parish, the senior wardenship being now vacant on account of the recent death of the Honorable William S. Popham, who had held the office of senior church warden continuously since the foundation of the parish, viz.: Lewis C. Popham, church warden; Alexander B. Crane, James Bleecker, Charles K. Fleming, Oliver A. Hyatt, S. Bayard Fish, Lewis B. Atterbury, Henry W. Bates and Cornelius B. Fish, vestrymen.

The interments in the parish graveyard number one hundred and ten. To the southwest of the church are the vaults of the Bleecker, McFarlan and Popham families, and in the last-named repose the remains of the late William Popham, of Revolutionary fame, and his son, William Sherbrooke Popham. In this churchyard lie the remains of several unknown persons who died within the town limits, and so were given burial here. The following curious epitaph,—the only peculiar one in the little burying-ground,—appears on the tombstone of James Bell. The stone was prepared by him and the lines were presumably of his own composition,—

> "All you friends who are gathered here to weep,
> Behold the grave wherein I sleep;
> Prepare for death while you are well,—
> You'll be entombed as well as Bell."

At the northwest corner of the Fox Meadow estate, and within a few rods of Hartsdale Station, stands a small two-story frame structure formerly known as the "Fox Meadow Chapel." This building was first used as a carriage factory, but soon after the estate passed into the hands of Charles Butler, in 1856, it was converted into a private chapel under the above name. The first floor contained seatings for about a hundred persons and at the south end of the room was a dais with a small pulpit. The second story was merely used as a loft. For many years the chapel was used by no organized society, but its pulpit was occupied, upon invitation, by various Presbyterian clergymen, among others, by the Rev. Drs. Lyman Abbott and Irenæus Prime. At a later period the chapel was used by the Methodist Society of Hartsdale, who held there their Sunday-school and afternoon services,—their own church being inconveniently situated. This was continued until the building of a new church by the society rendered the use of the chapel unnecessary. Since then the chapel has not been used for religious purposes beyond the holding of an occasional prayer-meeting within its walls. For some time thereafter the upper floor was occupied by a local temperance club as its meeting-room, and in 1875 and again in 1882 the lower floor was used as a theatre for the presentation of amateur performances, under the name of the "Scarsdale Opera-House." The building is now arranged for such purposes, with a stage, etc., on the ground floor, the auditorium

having a seating capacity for about one hundred and twenty-five persons.

Although, until the building of the Church of St. James the Less, Scarsdale had no place of worship besides the Friends' Meeting-House, services were held in the town for many years previous to that date. For this purpose use was made of the old "Fox Meadow" school-house, which formerly stood on Fish's Hill, the Methodists and Presbyterians holding services on alternate Sundays. The Rev. George Donovan, a clergyman of the former denomination, who contributed so much to the early success of the public school, often officiated here as pastor as well pedagogue. Again, during the Rebellion, when there appears to have been some interruption in the services at Fox Meadow Chapel, services were frequently held in the house of Dr. Bruen, on the former Cooper estate.

Schools.—Although the early records of the Scarsdale public school have entirely disappeared, there appears to have been such a school in existence at the end of the last century, for the town-meeting of 1784 was held "att the School-house in said Manner near Captain Jonathan Griffin's." The building here mentioned was probably the first one in the town and stood at the top of the steep bank to the west of the White Plains road, just north of the road to Hartsdale Station. Nothing now remains to mark the spot but a portion of the foundations, the building itself having been destroyed by fire early in the present century. In 1796 the offices of "Commissioners of Schools" were first instituted in the town, J. Barker, William Popham and Caleb Angevine being chosen to fill the position for the first year.

In 1809 was built a new school-house to replace the one destroyed, and this still remains, but is now occupied as a dwelling. It formerly stood part way up Fish's Hill to the north of the roadway, but was moved many years ago to its present site, to the north side of the Hartsdale road. There is much of interest connected with this old school-house, though in itself it is quite unpretending. It is a small frame building of two stories, measuring about twenty-five by twenty feet in the ground plan, and unpainted. The school-room was on the ground floor and above was a loft. Soon after the erection of this building the school acquired considerable prominence from the scope of its curriculum, and it is related that people living in New York sent their children to board in the town that they might enjoy the advantages of its public school. This prominence was largely due to the ability of the Rev. George Donovan, before mentioned, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, who, on becoming a resident of the town, in 1802, at once interested himself in the school, and introduced there the study of the ancient languages, in addition to the common-school branches. In 1817 we find that he was elected "Inspector of Schools," his colleague being William Popham, their offices being in addition to the school commissioners before mentioned. During these early days of the century the school came to be known as the "Scarsdale Academy," from the high grade of its instruction. Later on, however, when the conduct of the school passed into other hands, much of its reputation was lost, and it is stated that two of the old time pedagogues came to untimely ends from their fondness for strong drink. One was drowned, while intoxicated, in the deep spring on the west side of Dobb's Hill, just south of the site of the birth-place of Governor Tompkins and the other in a drunken frenzy committed suicide in a field nearly opposite the present school. This second building was known as the "Fox Meadow School-House" and we find it thus mentioned as a frequent place for holding town meetings. The State census of 1845 gives figures in relation to the school as follows, Value of building, one hundred dollars; Number of pupils, 35; average attendance, 18.

The present school records only cover a period of about twenty years, and are very brief. In 1870 the school trustees were Philip Waters, James McCabe and John Carpenter, Benjamin Palmer being clerk. In this year five hundred dollars was voted for the expenses of the school, and the teacher was Miss Eliza Algood, who occupied the position for a number of years.

In 1874 it was determined to erect a new and more suitable building for school purposes, and a thousand dollars was voted by the town for procuring the necessary land, while in the following year twenty-five hundred dollars was appropriated for the building itself and nine hundred for furnishing it suitably. The building committee consisted of Benjamin F. Butler, Benjamin Carpenter, Peter Dobbs, James McCabe and John Read. The building was begun early in February of the centennial year, and was ready for occupancy the following September. In 1880 the school-tax amounted to $796.25, being assessed at the rate of $1.86 per thousand dollars. For that year the statistics were as follows: There were one hundred and twenty-six children in the school district between the ages of five and twenty-one, and sixty between the ages of eight and fourteen. School was held during forty-two weeks of the year. The trustees were John H. Carpenter, Peter M. Dobbs and James D. McCabe, Gilbert W. Dobbs being clerk. The teacher was Miss Ameigh. At this time the library contained one hundred and fifty volumes.

The following are the statistics for 1884: Trustees, David A. Weed, Benjamin J. Carpenter and F. W. Brooks; Clerk, Gilbert W. Dobbs; Teacher, Miss Marsland; number of weeks of school, forty-three; children in district between the ages of five and twenty-one, one hundred and thirty-six; between the ages of eight and fourteen, sixty-six. Books in library, two hundred and fifty. The school-tax for the year amounted to $841.25, being assessed at the rate of $1.92 per thousand.

The new school-house is situated at the junction of the old and new White Plains post roads, just at the foot of Fish's Hill, a little north of the Hartsdale road, and faces due west. It is about fifty by thirty feet on the ground plan, with two stories and a basement, the entrance to which is on the east. The latter is now used by the town as a place of meeting and for the holding of elections. In its external aspect the building is very pleasing, the basement being of stone and the upper part frame, clapboarded, and a slate roof. The front gable is surmounted by a small open cupola, in which hangs the school bell. The building is neatly painted in a light shade of gray, with darker trimmings. The ground floor proper is occupied by a commodious and well-arranged school-room, fitted up with modern school furniture, and adjoining are the vestibule and cloak-rooms, the former opening upon a small porch. The loft above is unfurnished, but the basement is fitted up for the uses of the town with benches and a small dais at the west end of the room, the walls being finished in plaster.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the percentage of illiteracy in the town has of late years been very low, as is evidenced by the following figures, taken from the State census reports: In 1855 it was 1.10 per cent.; in 1865, 1.07 per cent.; and in 1875, 1.51 per cent.

Shortly after the erection of the Church of St. James the Less the organization of a parish school was undertaken, and the first notice of this is found in the report of the convention of New York for 1853, which says, "A small building for the purposes of a Parochial School is now being built." This stood in a pleasant situation a few hundred yards to the northwest of the church, and on a private road leading through the Popham property to Scarsdale Station. The next year the convention records contain no report of the parish school, but in 1855 we find the following: "Daily Parish Schools, One, part free—Males, 6; Females, 11." That year eighty dollars was contributed by the church toward the parish school building. The next year the number of scholars had risen to twenty—males, fourteen; females, six—and one hundred dollars was contributed by the parish towards the support of the school. Two years after, there were thirty scholars in the school—males, seventeen; females, thirteen—and the reports say of the school, "Teacher boarded free of charge; otherwise self-supporting." In 1859 the number of scholars was largely increased, the average attendance being, males, twenty-five; females, seventeen; and the total number of those who had attended at least one quarter was sixty-four. The parish contribution towards the school this year was seventy-five dollars. The following year, 1860, is the last in which mention is made of the school in the convention reports, and it shows a great falling off in the attendance,—namely: males, twenty; females, ten. During the winter a night-school had been held for three months, which probably accounts in some measure for the decrease. The attendance at the night-school aggregated twenty-one, thus giving a total of fifty-one scholars. The parish contribution had fallen to fifty dollars for this year. Shortly after this last report the school was given up, apparently from lack of support, and the school-building was used for other purposes. It was moved from its original situation to a position nearly adjoining the rectory of the church, which was built in 1860.

Of private schools there have been several in Scarsdale at different times, but none of them have been sufficiently successful to remain. The census report of 1845 makes brief mention of two private schools, but this is the only record that remains of them. Another was started about the year 1871, but proved unsuccessful, and shortly after was closed. Thus the public school is the only one now in existence, but, owing to the excellence of its management, it leaves little to be desired by the townspeople.

Leading Residents and Families.—Among all the natives of the town, past or present, no one has been more prominent in the history of the county than Daniel D. Tompkins,[1] Governor of the State, and afterwards Vice-President of the nation. His ancestors were among the first to settle in the town, and they have at all times figured conspicuously in its history. It is said of him that he embodied in himself, besides the noble virtues, the more commonplace, but none the less important ones of activity, energy and perseverence, while his talents, no matter how tried, were always equal to an emergency. The reputation he gained at the bar and in the gubernatorial chair, was one of unflinching integrity combined with an uncommon charm of manner and the greatest consideration for the feelings of all. His administration of the office of Governor during the trying times of the second war with Great Britain was unimpeachable, while his generous and entirely unsolicited financial aid to the government was especially noteworthy. In the capacity of military commander he likewise succeeded admirably, being especially thanked for his services by the President. Governor Tompkins died on Staten Island June 11, 1825, and his remains are interred in the vault of the Tompkins family, at St. Mark's "in the Bowerie," New York City.

Jonathan Griffin Tompkins, father of the Governor, though not as distinguished in the history of the nation, was more identified than his son with the history of the town. But besides holding very many town offices, he was a member of the State Convention which adopted the Declaration of Independence and the first Constitution of the State. Mr. Tompkins was one of the inspectors of the first town meeting held under the national government, and was chosen first supervisor of the town. This office he

[1] A full sketch of Vice-President Tompkins and his father and brothers will be found in the first volume, in the chapter on the Bench and Bar.

held for ten years, from 1783 to 1792, by annual re-election, besides other minor town offices. After the death of his adopted father Mr. Tompkins removed from the house where his son Daniel was born to the Griffin homestead, now known as the Sedgwick house, on the northern crest of Dobb's Hill, and the old mansion was afterwards torn down.

The Tompkins family were of English extraction, and emigrated from the north of England to Plymouth, Mass., during the times of religious persecution. According to Bolton's narrative, from Plymouth they went in turn to Concord, Mass., Fairfield, Conn., and East Chester, N. Y., and thence finally to Scarsdale. It is probable that the family was represented in the town as early as the beginning of the last century, for as many as six generations have lived here. Of the sons of Jonathan G. Tompkins, several settled permanently within the town, and proved useful and worthy citizens. The first of these was Caleb, the oldest of the Governor's brothers, who was born in 1759, and he left a son, J. G. Tompkins, Jr. The former held the offices of poor master, town clerk and supervisor in the town, being chosen to the last-named office at three different times, while his son was twice elected supervisor. Another of the brothers, Enoch, born in 1771, held this office for ten years continuously, besides at other times holding numerous minor offices. Another brother still, George Washington Tompkins, likewise made Scarsdale his home for a time, and here was born to him a son, Warren Tompkins, who afterwards took up his residence in White Plains.



HON. DANIEL D. TOMPKINS.

The Popham Family.—About one-half mile from the railroad depot at Scarsdale, and shadowed beneath the branches of huge trees, whose leaves entirely obscure its inmates from the gaze of the curious, stands the ancient homestead of Chief Justice Richard Morris. It is one of the oldest houses in the county, and although it has from time to time been altered and extended in order to meet the requirements of modern life, it still retains, in its sloping roof and ample chimney, a general appearance of antiquity. It is now in the possession of the Popham family, of whom we subjoin a sketch.

The Pophams trace their English ancestry as far into the past as the beginning of the thirteenth century, when their records show that one Gilbert Popham, of the Manor of Popham, married Joan, a daughter of Robert Clarke, also of that manor. Members of the family held high offices during the reigns of Henry III. Edward III. and Henry IV. Sir John Popham, Knight, was lord chief justice in the reign of Elizabeth, and so popular had the family become that Charles I. made John Popham, one of its members, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber upon the occasion of his coronation. The family was also represented at the coronation of Charles II. by Sir Francis Popham, who was a Knight of the Bath.

At the time of the civil war in England the family became divided, and Sir Francis, who was sixth in descent from the chief justice, rendered himself so obnoxious to Charles I. by his course at that time, that his son John, who was colonel in command of a cavalry regiment, was forced to remove into Ireland, where he purchased the estate of Bandon. Mindful of the family reverses, he named his oldest son Ichabod.

John Popham, the son of Ichabod and father of William Popham, from whom are descended the family so long identified with the history of Scarsdale, was a linen draper, of Cork, and was widely known for his learning, intelligence and piety.

His three children were James, William, and Elizabeth, who married the architect, John Cook.

William Popham, the second child, married a daughter of Rev. William Millet, a Presbyterian clergyman of Bandon, whose family numbered nineteen daughters and three sons. Of their children, Alexander, John and William, the last only, who was born at Bandon, September 19, 1752, came with his father to this country.

He was but nine years of age at the time, and was left in the care of two maiden aunts living in New Jersey. By them he was entered at Princeton College, from which he graduated just as the Revolution was breaking out. Joining the Continental army, he almost immediately rendered himself famous by the capture of the notorious Captain Rugg and eighteen others at the battle of Long Island. As a reward for his bravery, he received a captaincy, which was subse-

quently supplemented by a major's commission, in recognition of distinguished services rendered at the battles of White Plains and Brandywine.

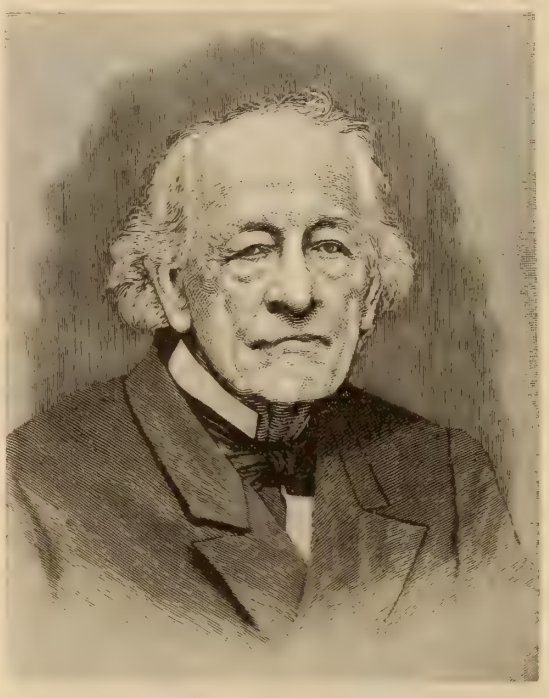
At the close of the war Major Popham resided for a few years at Albany, New York, where he studied law. While there he met and became enamored of Miss Mary Morris, daughter of Chief Justice Richard Morris, with whom, being forced by her father's hostility, he eloped.

In 1804, having meanwhile effected a reconciliation with his father-in-law, he established a legal practice in New York City and became in time clerk of the Court of Exchequer. He retired in 1811 to his farm in Scarsdale, where he resided till the death of his wife, in 1836. His own death occurred in New York eleven years later, in 1847.

While Major Popham was yet a young man his father, journeying a second time to this country, was taken sick upon the voyage and died. He was buried by his son at Perth Amboy, N. J.

The major at the time of his death was president of the New York State Society of the Cincinnati. He was also its president-general by virtue of his right as oldest member. Upon the occasion of his decease his name received honorable mention in general orders and his loss was lamented by many who had been his warm friends and acquaintances.

Major Popham left six children—Richard, William S., John, Charles W., Sarah, wife of Leonard Bleecker, and Elizabeth.



Wm. J. Popham

William Sherbrook Popham, the second child of this family, was born at Scarsdale, May 9, 1793. In 1815 he entered the Bank of America as clerk, having previously served as a soldier in the War of 1812. In 1832 he established himself in the coal business in New York City, continuing the same till 1857, when he retired to the ancestral farm in Scarsdale. Here he led the life of a retiring and respected citizen. To his efforts was mainly due the organization of the Episcopal Church of St. James the Less, of which he was senior warden at the time of his death. He married Eliza, daughter of William Hill, of East Chester, and after her decease was united to her sister Jane.

Mr. Popham closed a long life of quiet usefulness June 18, 1885, in the same room in which he was born more than ninety years before. His unassumed humility and his simplicity of manner charmed all with whom he came into contact, and made his loss both to his family and to the county in which he lived an irreparable one.

He had eight children; William Hill, Mary Morris, wife of Charles W. Carmer; Alethia Hill, wife of Augustus Bleecker; Laura Sherbrook, wife of Lewis C. Platt, Esq., of White Plains; Gertrude, wife of Allen S. Campbell; Richard Morris, Robert C. and Lewis C. Two of these, William Hill and Richard M., he survived.

William Hill Popham, oldest child of William Sherbrook Popham, was born at Scarsdale, October 7, 1817. His education was partly obtained in the old town school of his native place and partly in New York City.

His inclination led him at an early age to enter as a clerk the office of a firm in New York which was heavily interested in the iron trade. In 1857, however, upon his father's retirement, he took his business in charge and for some years conducted it successfully. He was finally induced by his father-in-law to enter the oil business with him, and in this he was engaged at the time of his death, June 27, 1880.

While in the oil trade he was also associated with William C. Haxton, now vice-president of the Washington Life Insurance Company.

Mr. Popham was a gentleman of peculiarly cordial disposition, and his genial manner made him many warm and enthusiastic friendships both in business and social life.

He was a member and for the last ten years warden of the Episcopal Church of St. James the Less at Scarsdale, for which he gave the ground. At the time of his death he was a property holder in New York City and a director of the Mutual Life Insurance Company. He had also been a member of the Produce Exchange from its organization. Mr. Popham married Miss Sarah Spencer, daughter of Mark Spencer, of New York.

Their children are Harriet Spencer, Mark Spencer,



RESIDENCE OF THE LATE WM. H. POPHAM,

SCARSDALE, N. Y.



Wm. N. Topham

Eliza Hill, William H. Jr., George Morris, Lewis T., Sallie and James Lenox.

Lewis C. Popham, youngest child of Wm. Sherbrook Popham and brother of the preceding, was born in the old homestead at Scarsdale, April 15, 1833. Receiving his education at the well-known school of Rev. Dr. Harris, at White Plains, he joined his father in business, and in due time succeeded to it and the family estate. Beside carrying on his large business interests in New York City, he has been for the last sixteen years justice of the peace of the town of Scarsdale. Like his brother, William H., Mr. Popham is of an exceedingly social disposition, and he is justly reckoned among the most popular citizens of Westchester County. He married Annie J., daughter of Alexander Flemming, of Bellows Falls, Vermont. Their children are Emma A., (wife of Cornelius B. Fish), Alice H., Annie F., Alexander F. and Louise C.

Mr. Popham still resides in the old homestead, which was built by his grandfather Major Popham, in 1783. It adjoins the Morris property and is rich in its collection of antiques, bric-a-brac and old paintings. A portion of the tea-set presented to Major Popham by General Washington is still in possession of the family.

Another distinguished citizen of the town in the early days was the Hon. Richard Morris, son of the Hon. Lewis Morris, and father-in-law of Major Popham, whom we have mentioned. He resided at the Morris homestead, now occupied by Mrs. William F. Popham, and owned considerable land in the vicinity, in which was included the former mill-seat on the Bronx River near Scarsdale Station. Mr. Morris was commissary or judge of the Court of Admiralty, as well as at one time chief justice of the State, and filled both these offices with much distinction. The Morris house stands on the eastern slope of the ridge, running parallel to the post-road on the west, and is a few hundred yards to the south of the Popham mansion. Although more than a century and a half old, the house shows few signs of age, for though old-fashioned in appearance and construction, it still stands firmer and stancher than many a more modern building.

The mansion was constructed about the middle of the last century by a man named Crawford, the material used being prepared at the old saw-mill heretofore mentioned. The frame is composed of oak and locust, with oaken joists, and is covered with cedar shingles put on with wrought-iron clinched nails. The mansion presents a very picturesque appearance with its low slanting roof and broad veranda running along the eastern and southern sides. Being on the side of the hill, the house presents three full stories on the east and two on the west, and, with the lawns and flower-beds which surround it makes a most pleasing picture. It is stated that here General Washington halted and lunched on the march to White Plains, some days previous to the engagement with the British at that place. Prominent among the families of the eastern side of the town in former years were the Secors, the Angevines, the Griffins and the Palmers. The first-named family has always figured prominently in the town's history. In 1809 and for the next two years James Secor held the office of supervisor, while Francis Secor, lately deceased, of a generation later, held the same office at different periods for a term of twenty-nine years and extending from 1849 to 1878. Chauncey T. Secor, the present incumbent, son of the preceding, is now serving his third term in the same office. The family is supposed to be of French origin, and probably settled in the town some time prior to the Revolution, for the name "Secord" appears in documents relating to that period. The old Secor homestead, known as the "Hickories" is in the far eastern side of the town. The Angevines, originally tenants under Colonel Heathcote, have almost disappeared from the town, and the Griffins, who formerly were scattered throughout the township, are almost entirely confined to the eastern part. Of the Palmer family, Richard served as supervisor of the town for thirteen years, between 1831 and 1837 and again from 1839 to 1844, and James F. Palmer, besides holding other offices, was town clerk in 1860. In the house of the latter, on the Mamaroneck road and in a central location, town-meetings and elections were held for a number of years until the erection of the new schoolhouse, and the occupation of its basement for town purposes.

The Drakes, whose name has been associated with Scarsdale for over a century, are of English descent, and the first to emigrate to this country, according to Bolton's account, was John Drake, who came to this continent early in the seventeenth century. On his death, he left several sons, one of whom, Samuel, settled in East Chester, and a grandson of the latter, also Samuel, was probably the first to settle in Scarsdale. The only record in connection with Scarsdale pertaining to this member of the family is that of his death, showing that Samuel Drake, son of Joseph Drake, of East Chester, "died at the Fox Meadows in 1774, aged seventy-five years." The present head of the family in Scarsdale is the venerable Elias G. Drake, now in his eighty-sixth year, having been born just before the close of the last century, December 9, 1799. Mr. Drake is the great-grandson of Benjamin Drake, a brother of the Samuel just mentioned, and settled within the town about thirty years ago. Although of late years not taking an active part in town politics, he has figured in many of the older records as the holder of various offices in the town.

Another of the prominent families of the town in former days were the Varians, of Huguenot descent, who occupied the house now known as the "Wayside Cottage" just north of the Popham estate. Of this

family, the first of the name in this country was Isaac Varian, who "appears as a butcher in the city of New York in the year 1720, located in the 'Old Slip' market." He was admitted as a "freeman" of the city of New York January 23, 1733. In 1737–38 he was a member of the military company of Captain Cornelius Van Horne. He accumulated considerable property and died at his residence in Bowery Lane, about the year 1800. He left five sons, of whom three—James, Richard and Michael—were ardent patriots and warmly espoused the Revolutionary cause. Of these, however, only James and Michael appear to have been identified with Scarsdale. In the "Book of the Varian Family" the following record is given of these members: "James Varian, second son of Isaac, born in New York City, January 10, 1734; died Scarsdale, N. Y., December 11, 1800; was a butcher in New York until the capture of that city by the British during the War of the Revolution, at which time, in company with other patriots, he removed. He withdrew to a farm at Scarsdale, in the Neutral Ground, where he remained until his decease." Both he and his family were subsequently driven from their farm by the British, and took refuge in Danbury, Conn., whence they returned after the peace was proclaimed. He married, February 25, 1759, Deborah Dibble, of Connecticut, by whom he had seven children, five of whom were born in Scarsdale. "Michael Varian, butcher, born in New York City, December 9, 1738, and was in that vocation for many years at that place. At the time of the Revolution (1775) he moved to Scarsdale, Westchester County, N. Y., but returned at the close of the struggle, in which he took an active part on the patriot side." He left two sons, but neither they nor their descendants were connected with this town.

Of the family of James Varian, Jonathan, the eldest, was born in New York, November 13, 1763, and died February 14, 1824, being by occupation a drover. In 1811 he married into the Angevine family, and had four children, of whom one, Andrew J. Varian, served during the Rebellion as sergeant in the New York Volunteer Engineers. Jonathan Varian appears to have kept the old homestead as a tavern and inn from very early in the century until his death. His brother James was born in Scarsdale, November 22, 1765, shortly after his parents settled in the town, and died December 26, 1841. He was engaged in transporting the Boston mail on the first stage of the route,—from New York to New Milford, Conn. This was performed in the old-fashioned four-horse mail-coaches, and a stop was made at the old Varian tavern. He married a daughter of John Cornell, by whom he had nine children. On the death of Jonathan, in 1824, the estate in Scarsdale appears to have been occupied by James, and after his death, in 1841, by his son, James, from whom it passed into the hands of Charles Butler in 1853. Another son, William A. Varian, is now living at Kings' Bridge, being a practicing surgeon, and in his possession is the old family Bible mentioned below. Of the remaining children of the original James Varian, three left descendants, one of them, Deborah, having married Caleb Tompkins, brother of Governor Tompkins, and for forty years county judge of Westchester County.

Six of the ten town officers chosen at the first election after the Revolution in the Manor of Scarsdale bore the name of Cornell[1]—then the most numerous and one of the most respectable families in the manor; and some record should be made of them here. The Cornells of Scarsdale and vicinity were descended from Richard Cornell, a member of the Society of Friends, who came from Hempstead, in Queens County, to Scarsdale in 1727. But Richard Cornell's grandfather, Thomas Cornell, more than eighty years before that date, had a plantation, long called Cornell's Neck, in what is now the town of Westchester. Thomas Cornell, of Cornell's Neck, was also an ancestor of the Westchester Willets, once a prominent family in the county and in the province—and also of the Woolseys, of Bedford and elsewhere, and therefore should be named here. Cornell's Neck was situated on the East River and was granted to Thomas Cornell in June, 1646, by the Dutch Governor, Kieft, who described it as running "from the Kill of Broncks land, east southeast along the River."[2]

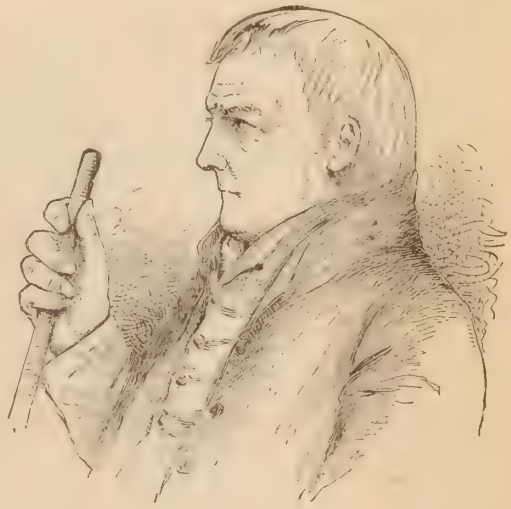
[1] Prepared and inserted by the publishers.

[2] Thomas Cornell, of Cornell's Neck, was from Essex, England, born about 1595, and emigrated to Boston about 1636. In interesting illustrations of the rigorous self-watchfulness of the infant Boston Colony, then only eight years old, it was voted at town-meeting on the 20th of August, 1638, that "Thomas Cornell may buy brother William Balstone's house and become an inhabitant." He was in Rhode Island in 1641, with Roger Williams, and came to New Amsterdam in 1642, with John Throckmorton, seeking shelter among the Dutch from the rigors of Massachusetts orthodoxy. Throckmorton, for himself and thirty five associates, obtained in 1643, from Governor Kieft, the original grant of what is now, in abbreviation of his name, called Throgg's Neck, and he and Cornell, and some of their associates, immediately began settlements, for the Dutch records relate that in the massacre of October, 1643, the Indians "killed several persons belonging to the families of Mr. Throckmorton and of Mr. Cornell." Probably the slain were servants, and Thomas Cornell and his family were then in New Amsterdam, where his eldest daughter, Sara, married, on the 1st of September, 1643, Thomas Willett, of Bristol, England, the ancestor of a distinguished family. William Willett, the eldest son of Thomas Willett and Sarah Cornell, was baptized in New Amsterdam on the 6th of July, 1644, and their second son, Thomas, on the 26th of November, 1645. Thomas Willett, the father, died about the time of the birth of his second son, and his widow, Sara Cornell, in 1647, married Charles Bridges, well known in New Amsterdam, where the Dutch translated his name into Carel Ver Brugge, and the Willett children were brought up in their stepfather's house. William, the elder, inherited Cornell's Neck through his mother after the death of his grandfather, Thomas Cornell, but ultimately died without issue. Thomas, the younger son, became the distinguished Colonel Thomas Willett, of Flushing—long prominent in colonial affairs, and member of the Governor's Council from 1690 to 1698, where he sat with Colonel Caleb Heathcote, Frederick Philips, Colonel Van Cortlandt and other magnates of the province. He was colonel of the Queens County militia, then the most numerous regiment in the province, and was publicly thanked by the Governor, Lord Cornbury, in November, 1704, that, on an alarm of an invasion by a French fleet, he had in ten hours brought a thousand men to within an hour's march of New York. Colonel Thomas Willett's cousin, Colonel John Cornell, of Rockaway, subsequently commanded the Queens County militia until his death, in 1745. After his brother's death, Colonel Thomas Willett, of Flushing inherited his grandfather's plantation of Cornell's Neck, and in 1709



Lewis C. Popham

Richard Cornell, grandson of Thomas Cornell, of Cornell's Neck, and eldest son of John and Mary (Russell) Cornell, of Cowneck, in Hempstead, was born about 1670, and died at Scarsdale in 1757. He married, in 1701, Hannah Thorne, of Flushing, and brought her and their ten children to Scarsdale in 1727. He early became a Friend, and most of his descendants have been of that faith. Friends had settled early in Scarsdale, and the "Mamaroneck Meeting-house" is now within the Scarsdale borders. Richard Cornell was a diligent and prosperous man, and his will, dated in 1756, divides among his children much land in Scarsdale, Mamaroneck, and New Rochelle, besides other property and slaves. For even Friends then held slaves, although influences were already at work which abolished slavery in the Society before the American declaration of the inalienable right to liberty in 1776, and even required Friends to continue to maintain the negroes who had grown old or infirm in their service. Richard Cornell, the patriarch of his family in Scarsdale, like the ancient patriarch, had a special regard for his "youngest son Benjamin," and his will, after providing him a competence, adds the special bequest, "to my son Benjamin, my Clock."



Of Scarsdale, Æ. 80, born 1761, died 1841.

Richard, Jr., the eldest son of the first Richard

conveyed it to his eldest son, William Willett, who had removed to the county of Westchester and made the Neck his home. He sat in the Provincial Assembly as one of the representatives of Westchester County, with but brief intermissions, from 1702 to his death, in 1733, and was appointed "Judge of the Common Pleas in the County" in 1721. But this is not the place to pursue the history of the Willetts of Westchester, further than to show their descent from Thomas Cornell, of Cornell's Neck. The Neck has sometimes been called Willett's Neck.

Rebecca Cornell, a younger daughter of Thomas Cornell, was with her sister Sara, in New Amsterdam, and there married, in 1647, George Woolsey, of Yarmouth, England, said to have been of the family of Cardinal Woolsey; and their descendants are numerous in Westchester County and elsewhere, several having obtained eminence, one of them being Theodore Dwight Woolsey, president of Yale College from 1846 to 1871.

Ezra Cornell, the founder of Cornell University, was born at Westchester Landing, between Cornell's Neck and Throgg's Neck, on the 11th of January, 1807, and was descended from Thomas Cornell, of Cornell's Neck, through his son Samuel and grandson Stephen, who settled in Swansea, Massachusetts, where Elijah Cornell, the father of Ezra, was born in 1771. Elijah Cornell married Eunice Barnard, born in Dutchess County, but of a New Bedford family. He, however, had been but a short time in Westchester when his son Ezra was born, and soon after removed to Tarrytown, and thence in 1819 to De Ruyter, so that neither Ezra Cornell nor his son, Governor Alonzo B. Cornell, can be called Westchester County men.

Thomas Cornell, of Cornell's Neck, had eleven children—six sons (Thomas, Richard of Rockaway, William, Samuel, John of Cowneck and Joshua) and five daughters (Sarah, Ann, Rebecca, Elizabeth and Mary). Several of his children settled in the Eastern States, and he subsequently returned to Rhode Island and died there about 1657. Two of his sons settled in Queens County. The first, Richard Cornell, was in New Amsterdam under the Dutch, and was one of the patentees of Flushing, in the first English charter of 1665 and was long justice of the peace there. He had an estate at Little Neck, and subsequently removed to Rockaway, where he died in 1694. He is hence usually distinguished as Richard Cornell, of Rockaway. He left a widow, Elizabeth, and five sons,—Richard, William, Thomas, Jacob and John. His grandson, Thomas Cornell, long represented Queens County in the Provincial Assembly, sitting from 1739 till his death, in 1764. A little later, Sarah Cornell, daughter of his grandson Samuel, married General Matthew Clarkson, of New York, and her sister, Hannah, married Herman Leroy, and their sister, Elizabeth, married William Bayard. One of the grandsons of Thomas Cornell, of the Provincial Assembly, was Whitehead Cornell, who represented Queens County in the State Assembly in 1788–98, and lived in dignity in the old homestead of his grandfather, while his elder and his younger brothers, who were Royalists in the Revolution and officers in the British Army, were glad, after the war, to take refuge in Nova Scotia. One of Whitehead Cornell's grandsons is John B. Cornell, now for many years the head of the well-known iron-works of New York.

John Cornell, of Cowneck, another son of Thomas Cornell, of Cornell's Neck, and the ancestor of the Scarsdale Cornells, had been in Dartmouth, Massachusetts, perhaps also on the Penobscot, but came in 1676, with his wife, Mary Russell, and several small children, to Hempstead, under the protection of Governor Andros, having been driven, the records say, from his home in the East by the Indians. This was the date of King Philip's War. Governor Andros granted to John Cornell, in 1677, a tract of land on Manhassett Bay, a couple of miles south of Sand's Point, on which he spent the remainder of his life, and on which some of his descendants are still living. In a sheltered valley of his grant, John Cornell set apart a burial plot, where are interred the remains of himself and of his wife and of many of their descendants. His children were: 1. Richard of Scarsdale, born 1670; married Hannah Thorne. 2. Joshua, married Sarah Thorne. 3. Mary, born 1679; married James Sands. 4. John, born 1681; married Mary Starr. 5. Caleb, born 1683; married Elizabeth Hagner. 6. Rebecca, married —— Starr.

John of Cowneck, always wrote his name Cornwell, and many of his descendants still retain that form. The name of Richard of Rockaway was often written Cornhill, and these forms, as well as Cornwall, Cornell and some others, appear on the tombstones in the family burial plot.

The early English name was written Cornewall. Two generations before Thomas, of Cornell's Neck, "Richard Cornewall, Citizen and Skynner of London" (as it stands in his will), who died in 1585, left a portion of the wealth he had made in hides to found and endow "a free grammar Schole in New Woodstock, the town where I was born," and the school stands there yet, near the handsome church of Woodstock. Some of the English branches of the family still write the name Cornewall. Burke's "Landed Gentry of Great Britain" gives two branches, the senior one writing Cornewall and the other Cornwall. Burke's "Peerage and Baronetage" adds a third branch, a family of Baronets in Hereford, who retain Cornewall, and Burke traces the lineage of the whole family up through the Barons of Burford to Richard de Cornewall, son of Richard, Earl of Cornewall, second son of King John, younger brother of Richard Cœur de Lion. Richard long remained a family name.

Cornell, of Scarsdale, was born in 1708. He settled near his father and has had many descendants, esteemed among their neighbors in Scarsdale and elsewhere. One of them, Thomas Cornell, now of Rondout, born in White Plains in 1814, removed to Ulster County, where he was elected, in 1866, to the Fortieth Congress of the United States, and in 1880, to the Forty-seventh Congress, in each case a Republican elected by a large majority in a strongly Democratic district. He is president of the First National Bank of Rondout, of the Cornell Steamboat Company, etc., and has long been prominent in political and financial circles.[1]

The second son, Joseph, also left many descendants. The third son, John, lived to be sixty years old, but left no issue. The youngest son, Benjamin, above mentioned, married in 1743, Abigail Stevenson, and, like

[1] The four sons and six daughters of the first Richard Cornell, of Scarsdale, were as follows :

I. Mary, born at Cowneck, 1703, died 1762; married Rev. Henry Sands.

II. Deborah, born at Cowneck, 1705, died 1772; married Matthew Franklin, a Quaker preacher.

III. Richard Cornell, Jr., born 1708; married Mary Ferris, and had Peter of Mamaroneck, born 1732, died 1765, married 1751. Sarah Haviland, born 1734, died 1787, and had :

First—Mary, born 1753; married Nathan Palmer and had many descendants.

Second—Thomas of Scarsdale, born 1754, died 1817. His name often appears among the town officers of Scarsdale. He married, 1779, Hannah Lynch, born 1762, died 1813, and had :

(1.) Peter, named after his grandfather, born 1780; married Margaret Gedney, and had :

(*a.*) John G., born 1812, died 1834.

(*b.*) Thomas Cornell, of Rondout, born 1814; married Catharine Ann Woodmancie—member of Congress etc., named in above text.

(*c.*) Hannah, born 1816.

(*d.*) Nathaniel, born 1818.

(*e.*) Anthony, born 1820.

(*f.*) Elizabeth.

(*g.*) Mary, born 1824.

(*h.*) Charlotte, born 1826.

(*i.*) Margaret, born 1828.

(2.) Sarah, born 1782; married John Bates and had many children.

(3.) Hester, born 1787; married Timothy Haviland.

(4.) Samuel, born 1792, died 1823.

(5.) Thomas Lynch Cornell, who changed his name to Thomas Wildey Cornell, born 1802, died 1884; married Emeline Lawrence, of Tarrytown, and removed to Ulster County, where he acquired wealth and position.

Third—Richard, born 1760; married 1st, Elizabeth Angevine; married 2d, Ann Purdy.

Fourth—Ebenezer, born 1761, died 1794; married Elizabeth Purdy.

Fifth—Haviland, born 1764; married 1st, Mary Gale; married 2d, Lavinia Storms—left several children.

IV. Joseph, born in Cowneck, 1708, died 1770; married, 1734, Phebe Ferris, daughter of Peter Ferris, and had :

First—Joseph, of Mamaroneck, who married Sarah Hadden and had : Susannah, born 1757; married Newberry Fowler. Deborah, born 1760; married John Fowler. Richard, born 1762, died 1795. Jonathan, born 1764, died 1834; married 1st, Lydia Carpenter; married 2d, Jemima Acker, and left several children. Willett, born 1770; married Mary Cocks, and had a number of descendants.

Second—Hannah, born 1736; married James Fowler.

Third—Richard, born 1738; died a child.

Fourth—Sarah.

Fifth—Mary, born 1741; married Jonathan Merritt.

Sixth—John, of Mamaroneck, born 1743, died 1817; married Alice Williams, and left Isaac, born 1767, died 1832, who married Sarah Bennett, and had a number of children; and John L., born 1781, who married 1st, Margaret Williams; married 2d, Hannah Anderson, and left a family.

Seventh—Ferris Cornell, born 1748, whose name appears among the officers of the manor. He married 1st, Anne Cornell; married 2d, Hannah Quimby; married 3d, Sarah Cox, and left Thomas I., born 1779; married 1st, Amy Fisher; married 2d, Gulielma Wood, and had several children—and Samuel, born 1782; married Martha Bonnett, and left a family.

V. Hannah, born 1711; married Joshua Quimby.

VI. Phebe, born 1715; married Ebenezer Haviland.

VII. John, born 1717; died 1781, without issue.

VIII. Rebecca, born 1718; married Edward Burling.

IX. Elizabeth, born 1720, died 1795; married 1st, Aaron Palmer; married 2d, Aaron Quimby.

X. Benjamin, born 1723, died 1771; married 17th of 9th month, 1742, Abigail Stephenson, daughter of Stephen Stephenson, of Rye, and Jane Clement, of Flushing, his wife, and had :

First—Hannah, born 1774: married John Burling.

Second—Jane, born 1746; married Joseph Griffen.

Third—Stephen Cornell, of Mamaroneck, born 1749, died 1802. His name also appears among the officers of the manor about the time of the Revolution, and later. He married Margaret Haviland, and had :

1st. William H., born 1776, died 1856; married Dorcas Carpenter, daughter of Joseph Carpenter, of Harrison, who represented the county in the New York Legislature in 1796–97. William H. Cornell lived near Mamaroneck Meeting-house, in Scarsdale, and had :

(*a.*) Deborah, born 1809; married Henry M. Carpenter.

(*b.*) Mary, born 1812; married Jacob Miller.

(*c.*) Stephen, born 1815, died 1852; married Rachel Tompkins, and left William H., Jr., Charles W. and Albert.

(*d.*) William, born 1818; was supervisor in 1845–62; married 1st, 1842, Sarah Theall, who died, 1848, leaving: I. William T., born 1845; married Lucinda V. Rushmore and has three children : Lily Rushmore, born 1880. Florence S., born 1883. Thomas R., born 1885. He lives in Mamaroneck, and is cashier of the Union Bank in Wall Street. II. Edwin T., born 1848; married Mary Robinson. William Cornell married 2d, Elizabeth Theall and has : III. Frank S., born 1857. IV. Frederick L., born 1860. V. Ella Louise, and VI. Howard M., twins, born 1863.

2d. Richard, born 1781, died 1798.

3d. Stephen, born 1785, died 1815; married Anna Titus, and left Richard and Titus.

4th. Deborah, married John Schurman.

5th. Benjamin, born 1788; married Sarah Titus.

6th. Mary, married Henry Griffin.

7th. Abigail.

8th. Samuel, born 1796; married Hannah Carpenter and left Richard, Stephen G., Henry, Rebecca, Jane and Elizabeth.

Fourth—Deborah, born 1751; married Willett Browne.

Fifth—Anne, born 1753; married Benjamin Haviland.

Sixth—Phebe, born 1755; married John Gibbs.

Seventh—Sarah, born 1755, died 1764.

Eighth—Abigail, born 1758, died 1834.

his father, had ten children, three sons,—one of whom died in infancy, and seven daughters. His eldest son, Stephen, of Mamaroneck, is now represented by his grandson, William, who was supervisor of Scarsdale in 1845–46 and in 1862, and by William's son, William T. Cornell, of Mamaroneck, now cashier of the Union Bank in Wall Street. Benjamin gave to his youngest son, born in 1761, his own name, again the "youngest son Benjamin," of his father, and specially bequeathed to him the old clock of his grandfather. The younger Benjamin also inherited the ample farm, and the ancient low-beamed shingled house of his grandfather, in which he had been born; but in the early part of the present century he built the "new house" on the Mamaroneck road, where he lived in dignity and ease until indorsements for his friends left him poor in his old age. His name appears in early manhood as town clerk, about the time of the Revolution and for some years after, and then as supervisor. Like his father and his grandfather, he was in dress and manner a strict member of the Society of Friends, of high character and fine personal appearance, nearly six feet in height, and bearing himself with grace and dignity. The only portrait of him is here copied from a pencil sketch, said to have been a good likeness at the time, made when he was eighty years old, in 1841, by his grandson, Thomas C. Cornell, now of Yonkers, to whom the old gentleman then promised the inheritance of the family clock, which had now come down to him from his grandfather; and the old clock, now, for at least five generations in the family, has been standing for the past twenty years in Mr. Cornell's house in Yonkers.

Ninth—Benjamin, born 1760, died 1760.

Tenth—Benjamin, born 1761, died 1841; married 1st, 19th of 3d month, 1783, Alice Sutton, daughter of William Sutton and Dorcas Clapp; married 2d, on the 9th of 5th month, 1804, Pamelia Farrington, and had ten children, as follows:

1st. John, born 1783, died 1864; married Sarah Matthews; 2d, Mary Ann Porter, and had: William H., of Newtown, Elizabeth, Andrew J., Jesse, Arvin Alice, Anna Maria, Sarah and Emily and John H.

2d. Jesse, born 1785, died 1805.

3d. Jane, born 1787, died 18 ; married David Arnold.

4th. Silas, born 1789, died at Rochester, 1864; married, 1815, Sarah Mott, born 1791, died 1872, daughter of Adam and Annie Mott, and had:

First—Thomas Clapp, of whom further mention is made in our account of Yonkers, born 1819; married, 1850, Jane E. Bashford, born 1829, daughter of John and Esther A. (Guion) Bashford, of Yonkers.

Second—James Mott, born 1820, died 1868; married Eliza Leavens, of Kingston, Canada.

Third—Richard Mott, born 1822, died 1823.

Fourth—Anna Mott, born 1824; married, 1847, Aaron Barnes, of White Plains.

Fifth—Sarah Alice, born 1830, died 1874; married, 1859, Ebenezer Walbridge, of Toledo, and left Carlton H., Silas Cornell and Ebenezer Franklin Walbridge.

5th. Phebe, born 1791; married Stephen Underhill.

6th. Thomas, born 1794, died 1797.

7th. Dorcas, born 1796, died 1878; married Joseph Arnold.

8th. Thomas Tom, born 1807, died 1823.

9th. Mary F., born 1809, died 1874; married Edmund Field.

10th. Benjamin, born 1813, died 1814.

The name of the Secor[1] family has been variously spelt Sicard, Secord and Secor. In 1690 Ambroise Sicard came to this country. He was a French Huguenot, and was forced to the step in consequence of the persecution to which he was subjected at home. He married Jennie Perron, and the first entry upon the records of the Huguenot Church in New York City (now the French Church Du St. Esprit) is that of the baptism of a daughter of Ambroise Sicard, the exile.

Five children were named in his will, as follows: Ambroise, Daniel, Jacques or James, Marie, wife of Guillaume Landrian, and Silvie, wife of Francis Coquiller.

Ambroise Sicard settled with his sons at New Rochelle, N. Y., and on the 9th of February, 1692, purchased one hundred and nine acres of land in that place from one Guillaume Le Count, for which he paid thirty-eight pistoles and eight shillings, current money of New York, equal to about one hundred and fifty dollars in gold.

It is from the second son, Daniel, that Francis Secor is descended. How many children Daniel had is not certain. James, his son, born in 1700, married Mary A. Arvon in 1724, and had seven sons and three daughters. Their fourth child, Francis, was born in 1732. He purchased the present homestead at Scarsdale in 1775, the original deed of which is still in possession of the family. He married Sarah Horton in 1761, and had three sons and five daughters. His oldest son, Caleb, born in 1763, married Anna Tompkins, sister of Daniel D. Tompkins, Governor of New York in 1806.

He had one son and three daughters. The son Francis, subject of this sketch, who was also the oldest child, was born June 5, 1810. He spent his early life upon the farm, from which, as a result of his labors, he accumulated a considerable property. He was a man of fixed and unswerving principle, quick to decide, and ever ready to perform any labor to which his conscience pointed him as a duty. In 1849 he was elected supervisor of the town of Scarsdale, and the office remained in his hands for twenty-six years.

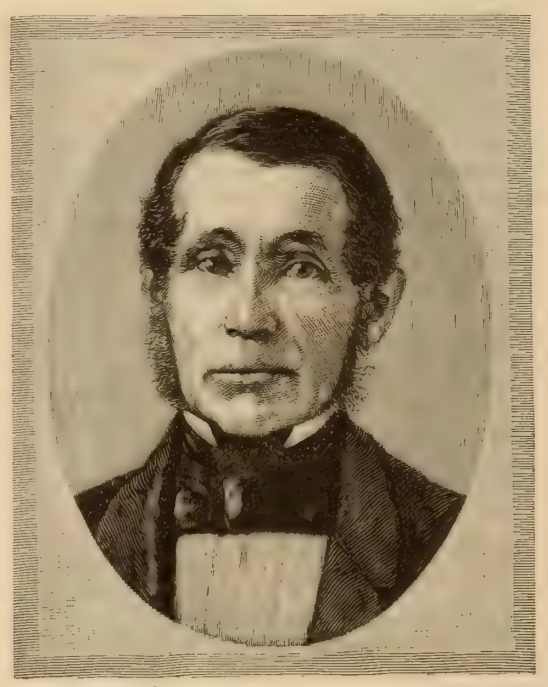
For thirty years he was an active and consistent member of the Presbyterian Church of White Plains, and the confidence of his brethren in his integrity was manifested by their election of him to the eldership. Ten years afterward, when the church adopted the rotary system, he was re-elected, but two years previous to his death, feeling that his strength would not admit of a longer service, he declined the honor

[1] Prepared and inserted by the publishers.

which was for the third time proffered him. His death took place at his home, May 8, 1885. He was connected with all the laudable enterprises of Scarsdale and was lamented by a large circle of acquaintances and friends.

His son, and only child, Chancey T. Secor, still lives at the old homestead and is its owner. He is a prominent Democrat, and was formerly justice of the peace in Scarsdale. For three years he has held the office of supervisor.

The family from which Green Wright[1] is descended were early settlers in Putnam County, N. Y. His grandfather, Caleb Wright, a resident of Carmel, married Mary Cunningham. Their children were Sarah, wife of David Travvis; Polly, wife of Budd Sloat; Eunice A., wife of Newell Bayley; Green, Stephen T. and Gilbert. Gilbert married Eliza, daughter of Solomon Wright, and they were the parents of ten children—Green; Elizabeth, wife of Lewis Travvis; David; Jackson, who married Sarah A. Hall, and is now living at White Plains; Susan, wife of Ampelias Youmans; Zilphia, wife of David Parent; Simon, who married Eliza Hance, and resides in New York; Pheda, wife of Nathaniel Springsteel; Amanda, wife of Fletcher Adams; and Mary A., wife of Fields Hall, of Mount Pleasant.



Francis Secor

Green Wright was born in Carmel, Putnam County, N. Y., April 24, 1824. Until reaching his twentieth year he remained at home with his father, who was a farmer and contractor. Seeking a wider sphere, he then went to Morrisania and commenced business as a contractor, and followed it for many years with great energy and success. In the prosecution of this pursuit he entered largely into the building of mason-work, grading streets, excavating rock and building sewers, having very extensive contracts with the Port Morris Company. A very large part of the grading of the streets of Morrisania was done by him. In 1854 he built the dam on Bronx River at West Farms, and, in addition to his public work, performed extensive contracts for private individuals, including improvements on the estates of Colonel Richard M. Hoe, William Fox and many others. The grading of Third Avenue was one of the most important of his works. About 1861 he became connected with the Morrisania Steamboat Company, and was made a director in 1876. This company ran freight and passenger boats to Fulton Slip, and in 1881 he purchased the boats and organized the North and East River Steamboat Company the following year. Of this company he was elected president, and still holds the position. The new company runs three boats—the "Morrisania," "Harlem" and "Shady Side"—and charters boats from other companies.

Mr. Wright became an extensive owner of real estate in Morrisania at an early date, his city residence being at One Hundred and Fiftieth Street and Westchester Avenue, where he owns twenty-three lots. He is the possessor of extensive tracts in other portions of the Twenty-third Ward of New York. His country residence is an extensive farm, east of the post road and near the north bounds of the town of Scarsdale. It is a part of the estate formerly owned by Thomas Cornell, and the old Cornell mansion stood very near the site of the present elegant residence which was erected by Mr. Wright in 1878. For picturesque elegance this is excelled by few places in the county. As a man of business he is well known and respected throughout this section of country, and his skill and ability are attested by his success.

He married Elizabeth, daughter of Moses Hall, of Mount Pleasant. They have five children—Moses G. (who married Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. M. D. C. Van Gasbeeck), Sarah A. (deceased), Gilbert A. (who married Louise, daughter of John Prophet), Etta and Alma.

Solomon Wright, mentioned above, married Zilphia, daughter of Elisha Baldwin, whose family are very prominent in Putnam County. Their children were Baldwin, Eliza (who married Gilbert Wright). Mary, Emiline, Elisha, Cornell and William, who is now living in Putnam County. At the age of seventy, Solomon Wright, with three of his sons and one daughter, removed to Illinois and settled near Elgin.

THE HALL FAMILY.—William Hall, whose ancestors are said to have been of Dutch origin, was an old resident of Mount Pleasant, and a tenant of a farm in

[1] Prepared and inserted by the publishers.



Green Wright

the Manor of Phillipsburg, which he afterwards purchased. His son, Isaac Hall, who married Elizabeth Fields, was the father of Moses Fields, who married Mahala Fowler. Their children were Nathaniel F., Tamar J., Sarah A., Aaron, Daniel, Mary A. and Elizabeth, who married Green Wright, as mentioned above. The old homestead of the Hall family is now owned by Fields Hall (brother of Moses Hall), and his son Jackson is now of the fourth generation on the inheritance.

About a half-mile from the northern limit of the town, and just west of the post road, among a group of trees, stands a pleasant old house dating from the end of the last century. This was formerly the residence of George Washington Tompkins, a brother of Governor Tompkins, who built the mansion in 1799, and here was born his son, Warren Tompkins, afterward a resident of White Plains. In 1802 the building came into the possession of the Rev. George Donovan, elsewhere mentioned in connection with the public school. The homestead is now occupied by the venerable Mrs. McCabe, a daughter of the former, together with several of her family,—two daughters and a son, John D. McCabe, well known in the town. Mrs. McCabe has lived in the town, always occupying her present residence, since 1802, and although now in her eighty-fifth year, is possessed of an excellent memory and relates many events of interest connected with the early history of the town. Mr. McCabe has for many years been prominent in the affairs of the town, especially in connection with the management of the school, of which he has for some years been commissioner, besides holding other offices. In the vicinity of this house have been found a few relics of the former Indian proprietors,—arrow-heads and the remains of their primitive utensils—as well as some relics of the Revolutionary War.

About half a mile to the southeast of the McCabe mansion, and at the top of Fish's Hill, on the Mamaroneck road, stands another building of an even earlier date, having been erected prior to the Revolution. For a short time during this war it was occupied by General Sir William Howe as his headquarters, and near by are the graves of several of the British who died at this time. Since the war the house has been successively occupied by Captain De Kay, a Mr. Sherbrooke and the late William H. Fish. The first-named lived here in the early part of the century, and met with a tragic end at the old mill near the station. A lover of fishing, he was accustomed to pursue the sport in that neighborhood, and on the day of his death he had wandered to the old mill, and was sitting upon the dam with his pole, when, by some mischance, he fell from his position to the rocks below, dying shortly thereafter. After him came Mr. Sherbrooke, an eccentric old gentleman, whose constant companion in the ancient house was a fine large dog, who accompanied him everywhere. About the year 1850 the house passed into the hands of Mr. Fish, who made his home there until his death, in 1875, and from that date till 1885 the mansion was occupied by his widow and family—now, however, no longer residents of the town.

On the crest of the hill just south of the schoolhouse, and to the west of the old post road, stands the Sedgwick house, now the residence of Bernard Tone, but before the Revolution occupied by Jonathan Griffin, and celebrated as the place where was held the first town-meeting under the new government of the country in the year 1783. The house has been changed very much of late years, but still preserves in part its original shape and appearance. It stands very near to the road, surrounded by tall locusts and in the midst of pleasant lawns, presenting a picturesque appearance. Upon the death of Jonathan Griffin, Jonathan G. Tompkins, his adopted son and father of Daniel D. Tompkins, moved thither from his old mansion, which was subsequently torn down, and made it his home until his death, when it passed into the hands of the Sedgwick family.

Just west of this, and within a stone's throw of it, stands "Maplehurst," the residence of the late Benjamin F. Butler, originally part of Fox Meadow. The mansion, formerly known as the Travis house, was built about the year 1840. The original building was enlarged shortly after it came into the hands of Mr. Butler, in 1868, and again in 1873, when a large octagonal extension was added. Mr. Butler was one of the comparatively new residents of the town, having made it his home in 1867, and the only town office held by him was that of member of the committee on the new school building. Directly adjoining this residence on the south is the large estate of Charles Butler, an uncle of the preceding, known as the "Fox Meadows," which has so often been mentioned in the town's history. Mr. Butler first made the town his home in 1853, purchasing the original "Fox Meadows" from the heirs of Caleb Tompkins, and has since added largely to its extent by the purchase of the Travis farm on the north and part of the Varian farm on the south.

Previous to this the Vail house, which stood in the midst of a locust grove about midway up the hill, and celebrated as the birth-place of Governor Tompkins, had been entirely dismantled and nothing but the foundations now remain to mark the spot, and they are almost gone from sight. The old roadway, however, still remains, now all grass-grown, and near it a small clear spring,—the scene of the death of one of the old-time school-masters. At the time of the purchase of the estate by Mr. Butler the residence of Caleb Tompkins stood on the rising ground, just west of the site of the old Vail house. This mansion was almost entirely remodeled and rebuilt in 1869, and little remains of the original structure. The present estate of "Fox Meadows" includes nearly four hundred acres, and extends from the post road to the Bronx, and from the Sedgwick property on the north

to the Popham estates on the south. Much of the estate was swamp and marsh when Mr. Butler made his purchase, but nearly all has been reclaimed and the whole estate laid out and beautified with great taste. There are large lawns surrounded with many stately trees and for nearly a mile along the bank of the river Bronx stretch many acres of woodland, through which run several small tributary streams, and a beautiful drive is thus afforded entirely within the limits of the estate. The "Fox Meadow Garden" occupies the low land facing the post road and is very picturesque, with its many long graperies and flower-beds and well-kept lawns and shrubberies. It is an interesting coincidence that the "Fox Meadows" should now be occupied by a brother of the late Hon. Benjamin F. Butler, Attorney-General of the United States under Presidents Jackson and Van Buren, who was one of Vice-President Tompkins' most intimate and valued friends. Just previous to the purchase of the estate, in 1853, the mansion of Caleb Tompkins was occupied by his son, Jonathan G. Tompkins, grandson of the former J. G. Tompkins, who, like his grandfather, was prominent in the town, occupying the office of supervisor during the years 1847 and 1848. Adjoining the "Fox Meadows" on the south is the "Locusts," for almost a century the residence of the late William Sherbrooke Popham and his youngest son, Lewis C. Popham, who now occupies the homestead. The mansion was built in 1784 by William Popham, Sr., who made it his home, with the exception of a few years spent in the city of New York, until 1835, since which date his son and grandson have resided here. The mansion stands a few rods west of the post road, in a small valley surrounded by a grove of locusts, being a few hundred feet south of the Varian tavern. The edifice is one of the most picturesque in appearance and location of any in the town, and, although it has passed its century of existence, still stands almost unchanged, an excellent example of the thorough building of the last century. Both within and without the old mansion is charming in its suggestions of the early days of our national life, and with its near neighbors, the Varian and the Morris homesteads, forms a picture vividly remindful of the past.

Adjacent to the Popham estate on the north, and extending north along the old post road, as far as the southern line of the Tompkins farm, was, in former days, the property of the Varian family. The house, now known as the Wayside Cottage, is one of the oldest in the town, dating from a period prior to the Revolution, and, although considerable additions have of late years been made to it, the old part has changed in no essential particular. It stands in the shade of several handsome trees, close to the road, at the very southeast corner of the property, and was built and owned by a farmer, Haddon by name, from whom it passed into the hands of the Varians. During the Revolution it was occupied by James and Michael Varian, who, with their brothers, Richard and Isaac, were actively engaged on the patriot side. When the British army moved towards White Plains, in October, 1776, from their landing near New Rochelle, the Varians, hoping to secure some of their possessions from plunder, removed a favorite cow from her stable —on a level with the road and under the main roof— to the cellar for safe-keeping. When the British came up, those in search of plunder effected an entrance into the house by hacking at the door with their sabres and afterward in the same way got into the cow-stable, only to find the cow gone. Tradition has it that at this moment the unfortunate cow "lowed," thus disclosing her hiding-place, but in point of fact, the cow, and the family Bible, which was likewise hid in the cellar, escaped observation and were preserved for their owners. It is an interesting fact that the sabre-marks of the British are still to be seen in the woodwork of both the front-door of the house and the door to the stable—vivid reminders of the depredations practiced in the Neutral Ground. After the war the house and estate passed into the hands of Colonel Jonathan Varian, who also brought credit upon the family by his services in the War of 1812, and for many years he kept there an inn. Just south of the house stood a large barn, under which was driven the mail-coach, while the stop was made on its way to the city. This tavern was the favorite resort of the drovers, who, with their cattle, made there the last stop on their journey from the Ohio towns to New York City. Arriving at the Varian farm, they would turn their droves of several hundred head of cattle out to graze and themselves would rest at the tavern for several days, making their sales with the dealers, who would drive out from the city and select their purchases. Then, after this interval of rest, the cattle, much improved after their long march, would be driven directly to their various destinations by their new owners. The pastures of the tavern extended to the north and west of the house, and until of late years the barns, in which were stored large quantities of fodder for the droves, stood, as of old, to the west of the tavern itself.[1]

[1] The following extract from a letter in the New York *Evening Post* for December 6, 1879, is of interest in connection with the Varian family: "In the good keeping of Dr. William Varian, of Kingsbridge, New York City, is now, and has long been, the ancient family Bible of his ancestors, the Varians of Westchester County, New York, the proud lot of which was to be preserved, uninjured, through the War of the Revolution, by being buried in the cellar of their dwelling-house, the old residence in the town of Scarsdale, near the former Morris and Popham Estates, still standing, and occupied by a Varian. Although being much exposed (the family being patriotic) to the depredations of British soldiers, and especially of the 'cow-boys'—those notorious brigands of the period, so well described in Cooper's 'Spy' and Bolton's 'History of Westchester County"—this farm-house escaped both the torch and their pillage, and the dark cellar at the dawn of peace, true to its trust, delivered up the remarkable volume as good as ever, to be the household companion of subsequent generations, whose names are registered therein. This ancient *English* Bible is a large folio, with thick embossed lids, fitted originally with clasps, and bears the date 1715 on the title page, but not the name of the place where it was published. Strangely, too,



"THE LOCUST."

RESIDENCE OF L. C. POPHAM,

SCARSDALE, WESTCHESTER CO., N. Y.



"GREYROCK."

RESIDENCE OF D. J. GARTH,

SCARSDALE, N. Y.

Just below the Varian cottage, and close by the roadside, stands an ancient mile-stone, dating many years back, and being one of the few antiquities of the town. Its inscription, still quite legible, is as follows:

"XXI
Miles to
N. York,
1773."

A short distance southwest of the Episcopal Church stands a spacious stone mansion, formerly the residence of George Nelson, supervisor of the town in the year 1867, now occupied by Henry W. Bates. This mansion was built about a quarter of a century ago by the father of the Rev. Dr. Olssen, for many years rector of the parish, and is one of the two stone residences in the town. The only other one is the former residence of the late Edward Nelson, brother of the preceding, and is now occupied by Charles P. Crane, a lawyer practicing in New York City. The mansion is a spacious structure, with turreted tower on the southeast corner and broad verandas on the south and west, and stands among a number of handsome trees, on the north side of the back road to Scarsdale Station, at some distance from the road.

On the Mamaroneck road, about quarter of a mile beyond the Fish mansion, stands the residence of Dr. Alexander M. Bruen, built upon the site of what was formerly known as "Cooper's Folly." The latter was at one time the residence of the famous novelist, Jas. Fenimore Cooper, who lived within the township for a few years, but never made it his permanent residence. The above name was given to it by the townspeople, from the peculiar nature of its architecture and the wretchedness of the workmanship. In its general appearance it resembled the typical Swiss châlet, and the timber of which it was composed was so unseasoned and so poorly put together that the house had to be taken down within a few years of its erection. The novelist resided here for about three years after the date of building the house, 1840, and upon his departure the property passed into the hands of Dr. Bruen, who, upon the same site as "Cooper's Folly," built the present large mansion. Just north of this stood, till within a few years, a small, weather-beaten cottage of two stories and steep, pitched roof, where, it is reported, Cooper wrote the "Spy," his famous novel, the scene of which is the "Neutral Ground" of the Revolution, of which Scarsdale formed a part. About eight years ago this cottage was torn down to make way for the large and more pretentious dwelling which occupies a site close by, and is the residence of Green Wright.

But a few rods from Hartsdale Station, and just within the town limits, stands a peculiar mansion, which has long been an object of wonder to many, and which is, perhaps, the most unique structure in the town. This was built for a residence, by the proprietor of the powder-works before mentioned, about the year 1847, and is now occupied in connection with the lithographic works near by. The building is situated on the steep hill-side in such a manner that, although it presents two stories in front, behind the roof barely comes above the top of the terrace. The material is stone or brick, stuccoed and whitewashed. The building is of two full stories, nearly square in plan, with flat roof, on which is a square cupola, with a minaret surmounting the whole. The front is deeply recessed to form the porch or veranda, which is two stories and supported by large round pillars. On either side of the building the hillside is terraced and an avenue of shade-trees extends from the main road to the front door. Altogether the building closely approaches the Tuscan style of architecture and presents an appearance of much greater antiquity than really belongs to it.

Nearly opposite "Fox Meadow Gardens," on the post road, stands the residence of George Burgess, who, with his family, settled in the town about thirty years ago. This is an interesting old mansion, built in an old-fashioned, rambling style, and surrounded by shade-trees, while to the north and northeast extend the farm lands of the owner. Another interesting mansion is "Rowsley," formerly the property of William B. Lang. This stands on the north side of the road which runs eastward from the post road from "Drake's Corner," surrounded by handsome lawns and shaded by beautiful trees. The house is a long and roomy structure, but of only two stories, the upper of which is in the mansard roof. A wide verandah skirts the mansion on the east, south and part of the west side, and is covered with creeping plants and vines. One room in particular is especially interesting as being an exact counterpart of one of the rooms of the famous Clûny Palace in France. This room has a large tiled fireplace on the north, opposite the entrance, while on either side of the room are large windows filled with diamond-shaped panes. The floors, walls and raftered ceiling are of polished oak or similar wood, and, together with the mail-clad figures which stand on either side of the fireplace and the ancient furniture and hangings, they lend to the room a quaint appearance, very suggestive of past centuries.

Early Mails and Traveling Facilities—Noted Localities, Etc.—At the beginning of the present century the mail and traveling facilities of the town were of the most primitive kind. Of regular stage lines there were none, while the mail service was limited to a single trip each way during the week. The mail was carried to and fro in saddle-bags by an old man, Calhoun by name, mounted upon a small horse, the down trip being made on Wednesday and the return on Friday. The route at this time was from New York City to Danbury, Conn. Thus the service remained until about 1810, when, in-

the illustrative pictures, of which there are several, are explained in the Dutch language."

stead of on horseback, the mail was transported in a small box-wagon with an arched canvas top, drawn by a single horse. This was in turn superseded by a more suitable conveyance drawn by a pair of horses, and finally this gave way to the regular old-fashioned mail-coach, with its four horses and the typical guard tooting upon his long horn. At this time the service had been increased to a trip each way every day, the coach going down to the city in the morning and returning at night, the route being from New York to North Castle, with a change of horses at White Plains. The stopping-place of the coach in Scarsdale was the Varian Tavern, where the coach drew up at the large barn which formerly stood just to the side of the tavern proper. In these early days of the republic, private as well as public conveyances were few in the town, the respectable vehicles in Scarsdale numbering but three. These were in the possession, respectively, of the Popham, Tompkins and McCabe families, and the impression made by them upon the rustic minds of the population was not inconsiderable. The route of the mail-coach through the town lay along the old "Boston turnpike," or post road, which is about half a mile from the railroad and nearly parallel with it. This has always been the main thoroughfare of the town, and until its doubtful improvement at the hands of the Tweed ring of New York City, in 1872, it was a pleasant and well-shaded country road. In that year the road was broadened, leveled and straightened so as to retain little of its former attractiveness, but the past few years have done much to cover up the traces of the improving hands of thirteen years ago. At this time a short cut was made for the road around the foot of the hill on which were situated the Griffin and Tompkins farms, and a portion of the old road was thus left, which runs over the hill and past the site of the birth-place of Governor Tompkins, the present residence of Charles Butler, at the "Fox Meadows, "Maplehurst," formerly on the "Travis" farm, and the old Griffin and Fisher homesteads, until it again joins with the main road at a point just north of the public school.

The principal offshoots of this road are as follows: At the northern part of its course through the town, the Mamaroneck road, on which are the Fish and Bruen mansions, and from which turn off the "Saxton Woods" road, running in a northeasterly direction; and "Lincoln Avenue," on which, at almost the very limits of the town, stands the Friends' Meeting-House; and at the southern part of its course, a road running to the eastward, past the Drake and Lang mansions; and just south of this, the "Scarsdale depot road," running westward, on which are the old Morris homestead and, near by, the Church of St. James the Less. On this road and just opposite the Morris mansion took place in the time of the Revolution the tragic event described in Bolton's history of the county. It seems that an officer of the French cavalry, accompanied by several companions, went one Sunday to the smithy of Gilbert Vincent to have his horse shod. A son of the smith, alone, was at the house, and he refused to perform the work, partly from religious scruples and also on the ground of lacking the necessary fuel for the forge. The officer, thinking this merely a pretext, or that he was unwilling to do the enemy a service, provoked a quarrel with the young man, which ended in the death of young Vincent. To quote from Bolton: "When his brother, Elijah Vincent, who belonged to De Lancey's refugee corps, heard of the outrage, he vowed revenge on the murderer, and the better to accomplish his purpose, determined to lay in wait and watch the French scouting-parties as they passed to and fro from Scarsdale to their encampment on the Greenburgh hills. For several nights he watched in vain, but at length the opportune moment for revenge arrived. It so happened that a party of the Duke of Lauzun's patrols were passing the very spot where Vincent lay concealed behind the bushes. He immediately rose and fired upon the unsuspecting company, and a captain of the Hussars fell from his horse, mortally wounded." Vincent made his escape and finally went to Canada, where he died.

Within a few feet of this spot, and at the bottom of a small valley, the road crosses a little stream. Here, on one side of the road, is a quicksand of unknown depth, which has remained until the present day, notwithstanding repeated attempts to fill it up, and into this unfortunate cattle have from time to time strayed and been rescued only with difficulty.

On the road to New Rochelle, and just beyond "Castle Cosy," formerly the residence of the late George M. Wheeler, there is another small brook, known as the "Hutchinson," a branch of the Mamaroneck River, and this is spanned by a small wooden bridge. Just at this point the road is closely bordered on either side by dense thickets and small trees, making it rather a lonely spot, and the story in the town is that many years ago a pedlar was waylaid here one dismal night and murdered for his money. There seems to be no actual record of this deed of blood, but the bridge is known as the "Pedlar's Bridge" from the circumstances of the story.

Another legendary tale in which Scarsdale takes much pride is that, during the Revolution, one of the British generals, presumably Sir William Howe, hearing of the existence of the Bronx and imagining it to be navigable, ordered the commander of the fleet, then lying at New York, to sail up the river in time to participate in the battle of White Plains. As the depth of the river at no point in its course along the border of the town was much over three feet, the humor of the legend may be appreciated by all. The following poem, from the pen of William A. Butler, the poet, appeared in the *Scarsdale Gleaner* during the summer of 1875, and fitly expresses the state of the case:



RESIDENCE OF MRS. J. M. FULLER,

SCARSDALE, WESTCHESTER CO., N. Y

"After rockets, and blue-lights, and so forth,
On the night of the glorious Fourth,
At midnight I thought I would go forth
To the Bronx, fairest stream of the North;
There I met the old naval commander
(Or his ghost), in a shocking bad hat,
Who was ordered up here to meander
With his fleet, and his guns, and all that;
He stood where the water was wettest—
It almost came over his shoes—
And he cried, 'O my soul that regrettest
The glory the Fates did refuse,
What a mercy to all these Scarsdalers—
That they in this stream couldn't lie;
For at once with my frigates and sailors
I had blown their rebellion sky-high,
When these shores, which I now have my eye on,
Had been fuller of 'scars' than of 'dales,'
And the unicorn here, and the lion,
Would have roared and erected their tails.
O where this fine sylvan drapery,
Or these villas of wonderful shape,
Or hot-house, or green-house, or grapery,
Had they once got a taste of my grape'!
Because Washington pulled at their trigger
They fancy 'twas up with our jig,
But if only the Bronx had been bigger,
Then hers had not been so big,'
'Then, quoth I, 'this old salt should be throttled,
If his long yarn is false, as methinks,
But if true then the Bronx should be bottled
To mix with Centennial drinks!'"

Another statement, presumably not a legend, in which Scarsdale can justly take great pride, and which is vouched for by excellent authority, is "that no Scarsdale-born person was ever in jail or the poor-house." Considering that the town has had a corporate existence of over a century, this indeed may be a source of just satisfaction to all the inhabitants.

Scarsdale Station. — At the extreme southern portion of the western border of the town the tracks of the Harlem Railroad run within the town limits for about a quarter of a mile, and here, just where the road to Ashford and Dobbs Ferry crosses the line, is situated Scarsdale Station. The building is a frame structure of two stories, with a steep-pitched roof. On the lower floor is a large waiting-room, with ticket and post-office adjoining, while beyond is a freight-room. The building has not been materially altered in its external appearance for many years, but within it has been gradually improved from time to time. The station stands to the west of the line, and near by is the residence of the station-master, one of the celebrities of the town, who has held his position for more than twenty years. The Harlem Railroad was extended slowly from its original terminus at Harlem until it reached Tuckahoe, the station next below Scarsdale, and in 1847 it was finally pushed through to White Plains. At this time it was but a single track line, and there was no station within the town. In consideration, however, of the fact that the company had been given the land required for its roadway through the Popham estate, a platform was built on the grounds of the family, just below the railroad bridge, and trains were stopped here on signal to receive or land members of the Popham family. After a few years a signal station was established in nearly the present location and in the "sixties" the road was double-tracked as far as White Plains, and its course through the town slightly altered.

The distance by the railroad from New York to Scarsdale is eighteen miles, and not many years ago the running time of the "way" trains was a full hour. Of late years a slight improvement has been made in this respect, and the "way" time is now slightly over fifty minutes, while the "express" time is thirty-six minutes. In former days the service on the road was very limited, Scarsdale being ranked merely as a way station; but in 1877, after strong efforts on the part of those citizens who did business in New York, Scarsdale was made a stopping-place for the morning express south and the evening express north, while during the summer still another express stops here on each trip. Besides this, the way service has been improved in time and frequency, and of the fifteen trains that pass each way daily, thirteen stop at Scarsdale, of which two are express trains. The rate of fare was for many years exorbitant, being fifty-five cents for a single trip and no excursion tickets issued; but in 1878 a reduction of ten cents was made in the single fare; excursion tickets were issued, good for three days, for eighty-five cents and within the last year the time of these has been extended to fifteen days. Commutation tickets, good for a year and allowing for two trips each week-day, are sold for sixty-five dollars. The number of commuters from Scarsdale varies from fifteen to twenty-five, and there is, besides, a considerable number of transient passengers. As there are no manufacturing interests in the town, the freight traffic is entirely local, and although formerly a considerable quantity of milk was daily sent to the city over the line, the high freight charges have caused this to be diverted from the railroad, and it is now carried to the city by a daily wagon service.

Recent Town History.—In the year 1878 the town was visited by the most severe wind and rain-storm ever known in the county, which, indeed, almost amounted to a tornado. This occurred on the afternoon of Sunday, July 20th, and although lasting barely over four or five minutes, did a great amount of damage. The path of the storm lay almost directly from west to east, and although the houses in its track escaped with merely the loss of blinds and other trifling damage, many beautiful and valuable fruit and shade-trees were laid low. The scene in the path of the storm was almost indescribable, the sky being of a dark leaden hue, the atmosphere thick with torrents of rain and hail, and in the midst of this huge trees reeling and swirling round in the furious wind and then falling with a terrific crash of boughs, while in all directions were flying fragments of light timber and indeed of anything that lay in the storm's track. On the "Fox Meadow" farm alone over five hundred

fine trees were destroyed, while on other estates the damage, though less, was nevertheless considerable. The storm ceased about as suddenly as it had begun, and in a few minutes the afternoon sun shone gloriously upon the dripping and tangled masses of *debris* that lay scattered everywhere in the path of the storm.

In the year 1882 an innovation occurred in the extension to Scarsdale of the lines of the Westchester Telephone Company from White Plains as centre. Up to 1885 the subscribers in the town numbered but five, but a new central office for Hartsdale, Scarsdale and Tuckahoe has been started at the Hartsdale Station, with over twenty-five subscribers, most of them within the town of Scarsdale.

It is only within late years, also, that Scarsdale has possessed telegraphic facilities. In 1881 the Western Union Telegraph Company established a testing station for their lines on the Scarsdale bank of the Bronx, within a stone's throw of Scarsdale Station. To this run nearly a hundred wires from all parts of the surrounding country and here is established a public telegraph office.

Although so sparsely settled, Scarsdale has been visited by several severe fires, which have invariably run their course, the facilities for fighting them being entirely wanting. In 1863 the old mill which had stood for more than a century just above Scarsdale Station, on the Bronx, was totally destroyed by fire, nothing but the foundations and a few fragments of machinery remaining, and no attempts at rebuilding have since been made. In the fall of 1874 the residence of Benjamin Carpenter, on the high ridge to the east of the post road, was set on fire by an incendiary, and in a short time was burned to the ground, together with numerous out-buildings and barns and some live-stock. Some years after this a house of considerable size, which stood close by Scarsdale Station, on the Popham estate, at one time the residence of Robert C. and afterward of his brother, Lewis C. Popham, was totally destroyed by fire, nothing but the chimneys and foundations remaining to mark the dwelling once a familiar landmark.

The last large conflagration in the town was the burning of the pretty little parish church of St. James the Less, which occurred on the evening of Palm Sunday, 1882. Although the neighborhood was speedily aroused, all efforts to save the building proved unavailing, very little of value being saved of the inside fittings, and soon only the walls and part of the little chapel remained of the church which was so dear to all the inhabitants of the neighboring country.

Scarsdale Lawn Tennis Club.—The only organization of a peculiarly social nature existing in the town is the Scarsdale Lawn Tennis Club, just entering upon its third season. The club was organized early in the spring of 1883, and the first year had a membership of about twenty,—including honorary members. The club had two courts at "Fair View," the residence of Mr. Hamilton, where the members met for practice every Saturday afternoon during the warm months. The season was marked by a handicap tournament open to all the members. In the spring of 1884 the club opened its season with a membership of nearly thirty, ladies being admitted to active membership. The club occupied four courts in Fox Meadow Gardens, which were put at their disposal by Mr. Charles Butler. During the year two tournaments were held, open to members only,—the first, ladies' singles, and the second, doubles, of a lady and gentleman. The last season was inaugurated on the 7th of June, at the Fox Meadow Gardens, the number of courts having been increased to six and the membership aggregating forty-four. The original officers of the club were:

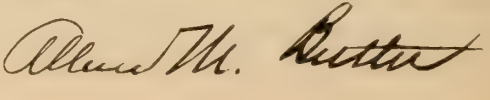
President.
Thomas F. Burgess.
Secretary.
Cortlandt Fish.
Treasurer.
James Bleecker, Jr.

The officers for 1885 were the following:

President.
Allen M. Butler.
Secretary.
James Bleecker, Jr.
Treasurer.
H. Granville Butler.

The club meets for practice every Saturday afternoon, but the grounds are open for the use of members on any week-day. The routine business of the club is entrusted to a governing committee of seven members, including the officers ex-officio. Although of very recent origin, the Scarsdale Tennis Club now forms a prominent feature in the social life of the town, and the scene at the grounds on a bright Saturday afternoon is charming and full of interest.

Amateur Newspaper.—Scarsdale has never been represented by a newspaper of its own except during a few months of the year 1885. In June of that year appeared the first number of *The Scarsdale Gleaner*, a small four-page monthly, devoted to the interests of the town. This was entirely an amateur enterprise, being printed as well as edited within the limits of the township. Although but a modest undertaking, the *Gleaner* proved a great success, the circulation amounting to more than two hundred copies, and the subscription list embracing many outside of the town. With its fifth number the paper was obliged to suspend publication, owing to circumstances beyond the control of the amateur editors, and so, after a short but highly successful career, the only journalistic attempt on the part of the citizens of the town came to a conclusion.



CHAPTER XVI.

NEW ROCHELLE.[1]

BY REV. CHARLES E. LINDSLEY, D.D.

THE settlement of the Huguenots at New Rochelle is believed to have been begun as early as the year 1686–87, by certain refugees from the town of La Rochelle, France. This was the year following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, by which unjust and impolitic act fifty thousand French families were driven from their homes to other countries. Many of them fled first to England, but subsequently found their way to America. Those who came first to New Rochelle were landed, it is thought, by an English vessel at Bonnefoy's Point, now Davenport's Neck. Their exact number is uncertain, but the names of some of the early settlers are found upon the town records, between the years 1695 and 1710, and are as follows:

Allaire.	Gouqeon.
Angevin.	Guerin.
Badeau.	Jouneau.
Bonrepas.	Lambert.
Bongrand.	Le Roux.
Bonnefoy.	Lespinard.
Beignor.	Le Villain.
Besly.	Landrin.
Bolts.	Lavinge.
Bonnett.	Le Count.
Barnard.	Machet.
Bouteillier.	Mastier,
Clapp.	Mercier.
Clark.	Naudin.
Cothonneau.	Neufville.
Caillard.	Palcot.
Coutant (i),	Pemeau.
Das.	Pinckney.
Devean.	Rayneau.
Fannel.	Scurman.
Flandreau.	Sycard.
Fourrestier.	Thevoulde.
Ganyard.	Thaunet.,
Guion.	Thauver.
Girand.	Velleau.

In the year 1710 the population of New Rochelle amounted to two hundred and sixty-one persons, including fifty-seven slaves. This enumeration is from a census of the town supposed to have been taken in that year.[2] The Rev. L. J. Coutant, however, in his sketches of Huguenot New Rochelle, asserts that the total number of inhabitants at this time was three hundred and twenty-five.

The same gentleman, who, in all that relates to the early history of this town is peculiarly well-informed, observes that "the two oldest individuals living in the town at that date, Mary Badeau and Frederick Schureman, were each eighty years old. The family name having the greatest number of representatives (sixteen) was that of Schureman. There were eleven of the name of Le Doof. The next most numerous family names were those of Guion, Bonnett, Sycard, Frederick, Neffveille and Angevine. Of the fifty-four family names existing in the town of New Rochelle when this census of 1710 was taken, only six at the present time survive. These are the Le Counts, Seacords, Badeaus, Renouds, Bonnetts and Coutants. The rest, forty-eight in number, have all disappeared from the town, either by death or removal, or have been merged by marriage into other family names." Many portions of the Huguenot stock came to New Rochelle at a later period.

There is a distinct and unbroken tradition, dating back much more than a hundred years, and handed down through several separate families, notably the Guions and Coutants, that the first settlers of the town landed at Bonnefoy's Point. The fact is perhaps as well established as any other not a matter of written record. An excavation existed, and perhaps still exists, upon that point, which from time immemorial has been designated by those who should know, as the cellar of the first house ever built in New Rochelle.



THE GUION PLACE,
Huguenot Street, New Rochelle.

All we can say is that there are those living now whose great-grandfathers might have helped to dig that cellar. Members of the Guion family have been known to assert that the first child born in the town was born in that house, and was a Guion.

In the early division of the town, that part of it now known as Davenport's Neck is designated as Leisler's and Le Count's Neck. It contains about two hundred acres. This neck subsequently became the property and residence of the Lespinard family, one of whom came to New Rochelle with the Huguenots in 1689.

The Lespinard Cemetery is situated on the south side of the Neck and contains several memorials of this family. In 1786 this piece of land was purchased by Newbury Davenport, father of the late proprietors, Lawrence and Newbury Davenport.

Bonnefoy's Point, situated on the northeast side of the Neck, has already been mentioned as the landing-place of the Huguenots, about 1689. A very different landing was made there on the 22d of October, 1776. On the 18th a huge British fleet had landed rein-

[1] See reminiscences of New Rochelle by Rev. Wm. Hague at the end of the chapter on "Pelham."

[2] See Bolton's Hist. vol. i. p. 670.

forcements for the army in New York. There were, in all, seventy-two sail, having on board four thousand Hessians, six thousand Waldeckers, two companies of chasseurs, two hundred English recruits and two thousand baggage horses. The most of these German troops were at once ordered to join Howe in his march to White Plains. The main body of his army had already crossed from Throg's Neck to Pell's Point, and on the 21st of October was encamped on the Heights, north of the village of New Rochelle, Howe's headquarters being at a house on the White Plains road, about one mile from the village. On the 22d General Knyphausen landed with the Second Division of German hirelings, on Bonnefoy's or Bauffet's Point. He encamped his troops the same day on the E. K. Collins place (now Larchmont Manor), and from there joined the main body in time for the battle of the 28th. The one was a landing of peaceful and persecuted emigrants, seeking in America that religious freedom which was denied them in their native France; the other, a disembarkation of German mercenaries, nearly a century later, to carry war, plunder and desolation to the homes and hearts of the descendants of the Huguenots, the plunderers and the plundered being of the same religious faith.

The village of New Rochelle was situated on a level tract of land, upon the line of the old Boston road, extending from a large pond, now drained, but for many years known as the Ice Pond or Crystal Lake, to a point near to where the Presbyterian Church now stands, being about one mile in extent and constituting what is known as Huguenot Street. The road was only roughly marked out at first, but avoided the steep hill which had to be surmounted by the present Boston turnpike.

In 1693 a road was opened at right angles to Huguenot Street, known as North Street, the same which now extends to Upper New Rochelle.

Centre Street was the first road laid out in a direct line from Huguenot Street to the Salt Water, it is believed, and it was on that part of Huguenot Street, between North and Centre, that the Huguenots erected their first dwellings. The land here is dry and level, and is said to be seventy feet above tide-water. Next to Centre, it is reasonable to suppose that the street now called "Cedar Avenue" was opened, running along in a tortuous course, as close to the creek as possible, from the northeastern part of Huguenot Street to the foot of Centre Street, and then to the line of boundary between New Rochelle and Pelham. This road was the way of approach to Bonnefoy's Point.

The farms or lots were narrow and long,—in some places nearly, or quite a mile in length, and, for the most part, not more than one field wide. Some of these retain their original width and length to the present day, while a few have been subdivided, and others, perhaps, have been doubled, two into one. The road leading from North Street, by the way of the Coutant Cemetery to the Pelham boundary line, which it strikes at what was formerly known as "Newport's Corner," must have been opened at an early period of the settlement of the town, perhaps simultaneously with the opening of North Street, as it would seem to be the only road in those times north of Huguenot Street by which the town of East Chester could be reached. This road runs in a direct westerly course and was the location of several Huguenot families.[1]



A VIEW OF HUGUENOT STREET, NEW ROCHELLE, IN 1798.
Showing the old Episcopal church with the district school-house.

The Huguenots "seem to have been an industrious and order-loving people." What their worldly circumstances were, might easily be inferred from the persecutions they had suffered and from the precipitate manner in which most of them had been compelled to abandon their homes and flee to foreign lands. Their means were small, and it was, no doubt, some years before the lands which they acquired were paid for; and even when this was accomplished, by patient toil and frugal management, the problem still remained of how to extract a living from their small farms. That they found this a work of no small difficulty, we may conclude from the following letters, written shortly after their arrival. On the 20th of September, 1689, they purchased from John Pell a tract of about six thousand acres, the price for which was not far from one dollar an acre. This was divided into lots on the 20th of November, 1693, by a surveyor; each occupant paying his just proportion of the total value. The letters, taken from

[1] These statements as to early localities have been taken, by permission, from an interesting sketch of the first settlement of New Rochelle, by the Rev. L. J. Coutant.

the "Documentary History of the State of New York,"[1] are as follows:

"New Rochelle 20th Oct, 1690.

"*Sir*,— * * * * * * * * * * * *

"Mr. Pinton has delivered me this day, an order to be communicated to the s'd inhabitants (of New Rochelle), relative to the election and nomination of Assessors, Collectors and Commissioners, for laying, imposing and receiving Taxes for his Majestie's service. The time is very short, since it is the twenty seventh instant they must be at W'chester, but they look for some forbearance and delay from your goodness, in case, notwithstanding their diligence, they may not be able punctually to answer. It is not through any unwillingness to exert themselves to meet it, but you know their strength as well as I. Notwithstanding, despite their poverty and misery, they will never lack in submission to the orders of his Majesty, both for the public good and interest. This they protest to me, and I pray you to be persuaded thereof. I am with respect, and pray God for your prosperity,

"Sir,

"Your very humble and very Obedient Servant, D. Bonrepas,
pastor of this French Colony.

"Address: a Monsieur de Leislar, Lieut Gouverneur pour le Roy D'Angleterre, du Fort William, a La Noie York."

Governor Fletcher arrived in New York on the 29th of August, 1692. To him, soon afterwards, probably in 1693, the inhabitants of New Rochelle addressed the following humble petition:[2]

"To His Excellency, Col. Benjamin Fletcher, Governor in Chief, and Captain General of ye Province of New York and dependencies &c.

"The humble petition of ye inhabitants of New Rochelle, Humbly Sheweth.

"That your petitioners having been forced by the late persecutions in France to forsake their country and estates, and flye to ye Protestant Princes. Their Majestyes, by their proclamation of ye 25th of April, 1689, did grant them an azile in all their dominions, with their Royall protection; Wherefore they were invited to come and buy lands in this province, to the end that they might by their labour help the necessityes of their families, and did spend therein all their small store, with the help of their friends, whereof they did borrow great sums of money, having been compelled to sell for that purpose the things which are most necessary for their use. Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray that your Excellency may be pleased to take their Case in Serious Consideration, and out of charity and pity to grant them for some years what help and privileges your Excellency shall think Convenient, and your petitioners in duty bound shall ever pray &c.

"Thauvet Elsi Cothoneau."

The patents of the towns of New Rochelle and Pelham are both of them ancient and curious documents, illustrative of the quaint orthography and prodigious legal verbiage of a past age.

The following is John Pell's grant of New Rochelle in 1689:

"*To all Christian people* to whom this present writing shall come, John Pell, proprietor of the Manor of Pelham, within the County of West Chester, in the province of New York, within the dominion of New England, gentleman, and Rachel, his wife, sendeth greeting in our Lord God everlasting. Know Yee that the said John Pell and Rachel, his wife, for and in consideration of the sum of sixteen hundred and seventy-five pounds and twenty-five shillings sterling, current silver money of this province, to him in hand paid and secured to be paid at the or before the ensealing and the delivery thereof by Jacob Leisler, of the city of New York, Merchant, the receipt whereof they, the said John Pell and Rachel, his wife, do thereby acknowledge themselves to be fully satisfied and contented, and thereof, and of every part and parcel thereof do hereby freely and clearly acquit and Exhonerate and discharge the said Jacob Leisler, his heirs, executors, administrators and every of them, by these presents have granted, bargained and sold, and by these presents do grant, bargain and sell unto the said Jacob Leisler, his heirs and assignees, all the tract of land lying and being within said Manor of Pelham, containing six thousand acres of land and also one hundred acres of land more, which the said John Pell and Rachel, his wife, do freely give and grant for the French church, erected, or to be erected, by the inhabitants of the said tract of land, or by their assignees, being butted and bounded as herein is after expressed, beginning at the west side of a certain white oak tree, marked on all four sides, standing at high water mark at the south end of Hog Neck, by shoals, harbour and runs northwesterly through the great fresh meadow lying between the road and the Sound, and from the north side of the said meadow, to run from thence due north to Bronckes river, which is the west division line between the said John Pell's land and the aforesaid tract, bounded on the south-easterly by the Sound and Salt Water, and to run east-northerly to a certain piece of salt meadow lying at the salt creek which runneth up to Cedar Tree brook, or Gravelly brook, and is the bounds to Southern. Bounded on the east by a line that runs from said meadow north-westerly by marked trees, to a certain black oak tree standing a little below the road, marked on four sides, and from thence to run due north four miles and a half, more or less, and from the north side of the said west line, ending at Broncke's river, and from thence to run easterly till it meets with the north end of the said eastern most bounds, together with all and singular the islands and the islets before the said tract of land lying and being in the sound and salt water, with all the harbors, creeks, rivers, rivulets, runs, waters, lakes, meadows, ponds, marshes, salt and fresh, swamps, soils, timber, trees, pastures, feedings, enclosures, fields, quarries, mines, minerals (silver and gold mines only excepted), fishing, hunting, fowling, hawking and also the messuages, houses, tenements, barns, mills, mill dams, as they were at the time of the ensealing and delivery of the articles of agreement of sale for said land, bearing date the second day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and eighty seven. As relation being thereto had, doth more fully and at large appear, as also the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders of a certain lott of land and meadow now in the tenure and occupation of John Jefferd and Olive, his wife, being part of the aforesaid six thousand acres of land, with all the privileges belonging thereto, or in any wise appertaining or therewith now used, occupied and enjoyed, as all the right, title, interest, reversion, remainder, property, claime and demand whatsoever, of, in, and to the same, and any part thereof as hereafter expressed.

"To have and to hold the aforesaid tract of land, with all other the above granted premises, unto the said Jacob Leisler, his heirs and assigns, for ever, to his and their own sole and proper use, benefit and behoof, for ever yielding and paying unto the said John Pell, his heirs and assigns, lords of the said Manor of Pelham, to the assigns of him or them, or their or either of them, as an acknowledgment to the lords of the said Manor, one fat calf on every four and twentieth day of June, yearly and every year forever—if demanded.

"The said John Pell and Rachel, his wife, for themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators, respectively, do hereby covenant, promise and grant to and with the said Jacob Leisler, his heirs and assignees, in manner and form following, that is to say, at the time of the ensealing hereof, they, the said John Pell and Rachel, his wife, do avouch themselves to be true, sole and lawful owners of all the aforebargained premises, and that they are lawfully seized of and in the same and every part thereof in their own proper right of a good and indefinable estate of inheritance in fee simple, and have in themselves good right, full power and lawful authority to sell and dispose of the same as aforesaid; and the said Jacob Leisler, his heirs and assignees, shall and may from henceforth and forever, peaceably, quietly, have, hold, occupy, possess and enjoy the above granted premises, and every part and parcel thereof, free and clear without any charge or intimidation, caused, made, suffered or granted by said John Pell and Rachel, his wife, or either of them, their or either of their heirs in estate, right, title, interest in law or equity, trust, charge or other molestation whatsoever.

"And the said John Pell, and Rachel, his wife, for themselves respectively and for their respective heirs, do covenant, promise and grant to warrant and defend the above granted premises with their appurtenances and every part and parcel thereof, unto the said Jacob Leisler, his heirs and assignees forever, against the lawful charges and demands. In witness whereof, the said John Pell and Rachel, his wife, have hereunto set their hands and seals in New York, the twentieth day of September, in the first year of the reign of our sovereign lord and lady, William and Mary, King and Queen of England, &c., &c., in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and eighty-nine.

"John Pell.
"The Mark of
"Rachel—R—Pell.

Leisler purchased the lands from Pell for the Hu-

[1] Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. ii. p. 304.
[2] Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. iii. p. 926.

guenots, to whom he released them as rapidly as possible during the year 1690, preceding the year in which he was executed on a charge of high treason. The township was surveyed and divided into lots or farms on the 20th of November, 1693, by Alexander Allaire, one of the purchasers from Leisler, and Captain Bond, who was a surveyor.

MILITARY HISTORY.—The town of NewRochelle appears to have suffered somewhat during the Revolutionary War, although by no means so severely as some other parts of the county:

"On the 18th of October, 1776, the British army crossed to Pelham Point from Throg's Neck, and marching northerly, encamped the same night on the high ground between Hutchinson's River (East Chester Creek) and New Rochelle village, where it remained till the 21st. On the 21st the British removed and encamped on New Rochelle Heights, north of the village, and on both sides of the road leading to Scarsdale. During the march of the two armies towards White Plains, frequent skirmishes happened. General Sullivan attacked the vanguard of the British on their road from New Rochelle, and in the fight which ensued, as well as in most of the other smaller engagements, the advantage was with the Americans.

"But their greatest troubles befell the inhabitants after the battle at White Plains was over, and the British army had retired to Dobbs Ferry; for the whole region between the Sound and the Hudson River was overrun and laid waste by a partizan warfare, and became, as it were, the battle-ground of the disaffected, and the prey of both friend and foe. Scenes of cruelty and bloodshed, unknown in civilized warfare, marked these predatory excursions from both lines, and in defense of their homes, the valiant sons of Westchester exhibited frequent instances of personal bravery unexcelled in ancient or modern times." [1]

The following incidents, related in Mr. Coutant's Historical Reminiscences, may serve as specimens of the annoyances and dangers to which the inhabitants occupying a position between two hostile armies were subjected. In many instances, no doubt they were of a far more tragical character.

In 1776, when a portion of Howe's army was encamped upon the high land a few hundred yards east from the old Coutant homstead (upon which is now located the Coutant Cemetery), the surrounding country suffered much from the soldiery and camp followers. Of this kind of annoyance the premises and family of Isaac Coutant, by reason of their proximity to the army, had their full share. The fields were stripped of their fences for fuel, and the live-stock of every kind disappeared, while the granaries and barns were speedily emptied of their contents. But while the soldiery were engaged in this external department of plunder, the Hessian women ransacked the house from kitchen to garret in quest of food, clothing or any article that might seem of use to them. So frequent were their visits, and so importunate and imperious their demands, that even the meat and vegetables were taken from the pot in the process of cooking. At length Isaac Coutant was compelled to apply to General Knyphausen for protection, since his family were in danger of starvation. A stalwart Highlander from one of the Scotch regiments was detailed to guard the premises. Hardly had he entered upon this duty when one of these female harpies entered the house, and, with meat-hook in hand, made her way, as usual, to the dinner-pot suspended over the fire. But as she stooped to raise the lid the Scotchman dealt her a blow with the flat of his sword which materially interfered with her investigations, and when she arose in wrath and advanced upon him with the meat-hook (without giving the countersign) he dealt her another thwack with his broadsword which sent her staggering to the door, from which she retreated in the direction of the camp, hurling anathemas like Parthian arrows at the soldier, by which, however, as they were couched in an unknown tongue, he was not much dismayed.

"As the war progressed it assumed an aspect of increased and continuous peril. Families living between the lines of the two hostile camps were constantly exposed to plunder and violence. One night, as the family at the old (Coutant) homestead were sitting quietly around the hearthstone, the doors were unceremoniously burst open by a company of these unscrupulous plunderers. Isaac Coutant, a man advanced in years, was by them greeted roughly. He and his sons were ordered out into the yard, and their money demanded at the point of the bayonet. What they had about them was given up. Suspecting him of having a concealed horde somewhere, they punched him in the back with their guns at full cock, to induce him to surrender it. Failing to discover what did not exist, they marched the young men across the fields to the north of the house, down to the border of a dense swamp, and tried by means of threats and promises to induce them to confess the locality of the supposed concealed treasure. The boys, however, were no wiser than their father with regard to this imaginary deposit; so that, in the end, their captors seem to have become convinced of their mistake and allowed them to return home. The boys becoming, as may well be supposed, tired of this sort of thing, which was liable to happen at any hour of the day or night, sought concealment on such occasions under the floor of the old kitchen (a detached building, as was commonly the case in the days when slavery prevailed, and as may still be seen on the old Quintard homestead), which was elevated sufficiently above the ground to admit of a person crawling under and lying down between the huge oaken beams. After two or three years of lodgment in this strange dormitory, matters becoming worse and worse, and fearing that they might be smoked out or burnt out, as animals are sometimes from their burrows, they were literally compelled to take to the woods, where, in company with other young men of the neighborhood, they built a hut like an Indian wigwam in a secluded and unfrequented spot. This hut they thatched over with wattles and straw, in such wise as to make it water-tight, and thus had quite a safe and comfortable sleeping place.

"The Beyeau Tavern, an old Huguenot landmark, was situated on North Street, directly opposite where the Paine Monument now stands. It was a popular place of resort for the young people during the Revolutionary War. Dancing and card-playing seem to have been the favorite amusements, in which they indulged at all hours of the night, at the imminent hazard of being caught by prowling bands of refugees and Skinners, who scoured the middle portion of Westchester County in small squads, in quest of forage and indiscriminate plunder. An incident which took place at this tavern, and which was related to Mr. Coutant by his father, may serve to illustrate the character of some of the experiences of those days." [2]

A number of the young men of the neighborhood, who were convened there for amusement, found themselves suddenly surrounded in the midst of their merriment by a troop of light horsemen from the British lines.

Several of the party made their escape from the house through the rear windows and fled across the fields to the woods. The rest were captured and searched. As very little money was found upon them they were accused of having concealed it, and, as a

[1] Tompkins' address at White Plains, October 28, 1845.

[2] Coutant's "Reminiscences."

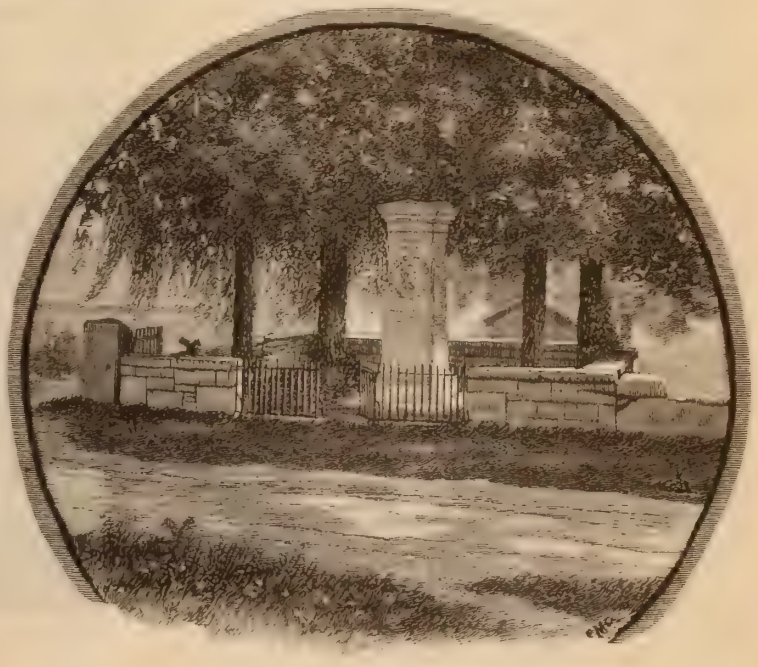
punishment, were lashed to the heels of the soldiers' horses and the animals spurred into violent action, so that the prisoners were dashed about at the peril of their limbs and lives. After this cruel treatment they were compelled to kneel down in the road and repeat after their brutal captors a profane burlesque on the Lord's Prayer. This ceremony ended, they were stripped of their coats, hats and shoes, and left to find their way home as best they could, or, if they preferred it, to return to their merriment in the tavern.

During the War of 1812 a panic took place among the militia who had been stationed upon Davenport's Neck as a guard against the possible landing of a force from the British men-of-war which were cruising in the Sound. It was a false alarm, but their fright was such that they fled in every direction, taking refuge in the neighboring woods and swamps, and some of them failing to report themselves until many hours had elapsed. This was not a victory to be proud of, nor even a masterly retreat, but when we recall the history in more modern times, of the battle of Bull Run, we will not be too hard on the heroes of Davenport's Neck. It requires time, discipline and, above all, active service to make soldiers out of the raw material of farmers, mechanics and business men. The rout was not any more complete or disgraceful than at the battle of Camden, South Carolina, where Gates' new levies ran so fast and so far, that some think they are running still.

THE PAINE FARM AND MONUMENT.—Writers upon the history of New Rochelle have usually referred to the fact that the noted Thomas Paine lived here for some time, upon a farm bestowed upon him by the Legislature of the State of New York for his political services during the War of the Revolution. This farm, said to have consisted originally of about three hundred acres, was, at the commencement of hostilities, in the possession of one Frederic Deveau, called in the records of the Confiscation Act, Bevoe, by mistake, and styled "Yeoman." As the name indicates, he was doubtless a descendant of the Huguenots.

At the close of the war, being a Tory, his property was confiscated and given to Paine. It was called by some "The Paine Farm" and by others "Mount Paine." Thomas Paine came to live upon his property in New Rochelle during the first years of the present century (1801–2). In his "Field-Book of the Revolution," Benson J. Lossing, in referring to this monument, speaks of the inscription, "Thomas Paine, Author of Common Sense," as though no other words had been placed there. If he had taken the trouble to examine more closely, he would have ascertained that his admirers have placed extracts from his work, "The Age of Reason," in the rear. If (as has been stated by those who ought to know) the likeness of Paine placed by his admirers upon the monument is a good one, the one given by Mr. Lossing is not so, for there is very little resemblance of the one to the other. A part of the house in which Paine lived still remains intact, and is thought to be one of the most ancient dwellings in the town.

As he died on the 8th of June, 1809, in New York, Paine could only have lived in New Rochelle four or five years. He was buried in a corner of the Paine farm; but in the year 1819 the remains were disinterred by William Cobbett, and conveyed to England. I once met with an aged man, who informed me that he was living a small boy at the time, in a house almost directly opposite the place where Paine was buried. At a very early hour one morning, when going to the pasture to drive up the cows for milking, he discovered several men hard at work digging near the road. He was alarmed and watched them from a distance. They placed something contained in a box, in a wagon, filled up the empty grave and drove rapidly away. That was the last of the mortal remains of the author of "Common Sense" ever seen in this country. What became of them is not known, and probably never will be. They are supposed, however, to have been taken by Cobbett to England.



THOMAS PAINE'S MONUMENT.

At a much later period a monument was erected near the spot and facing the road to White Plains.

There, on the eastern side of the house, is the little sleeping-room, with its antique "Franklin fire-place, over which the arch infidel warmed his shivering limbs before returning to his bed of straw." During his abode here he was accustomed to make frequent excursions into the surrounding country, calling on the principal families and farmers of the neighborhoods of New Rochelle and East Chester, whose cellars in those days were well supplied with hogsheads of good old cider, which they never failed to serve up in bountiful libations, to the great pleasure of their distinguished visitor.[1] A late resident of New Rochelle stated that his grandfather once called on Mr. Paine to serve him with some legal paper or process. Upon discovering the nature of it, he was greeted with a perfect shower of imprecations from the aged, bleareyed, little old man. But his wrath soon spent itself, and the visitor was invited in. They entered the sleeping-room above mentioned. There was a fire burning in the Franklin fire-place. In the middle of the room stood a small pine table without a cloth or cover of any kind. Upon it were the remains of a loaf of rye bread, a pitcher of milk and a piece of butter, from which Mr. Paine had evidently recently made his frugal breakfast. Another visitor at another time found this table adorned with a cover of old newspapers. The Franklin stove has been removed from the place which it occupied for so many years, and is now (1885) exhibited as a curiosity in the show window of Messrs. Bell & Harmen, of New Rochelle. At the time of the interview above described Mr. Paine was clad in a most extraordinary-looking outer garment, being nothing less than a dressing-gown made out of an old army blanket. The house was originally a small wooden building, one and a half stories in height, with a kitchen attached to the south gable. The removal of the remains of Paine from their burial-place in New Rochelle had its effect, too, upon English literature, for it led to the famous but irreverent epigram of Byron, beginning,—

"In digging up your bones, Tom Paine,
Will Cobbett has done well," etc.[2]

[1] Coutant's "Reminiscences."

[2] *Note by Mr. Coutant,*—"It is naturally supposed by many that the residence of Thomas Paine in New Rochelle must have exerted an injurious influence upon the moral and religious character of the inhabitants, and the presence of a public monument to his memory is calculated to confirm this impression. In so far as this relates to the contempories of Paine, the majority of whom at the time in New Rochelle were of Huguenot descent, it must be acknowledged that the author of the 'Age of Reason' was not entirely destitute of followers and admirers among them; and it is possible, and even probable, that this evil influence might have become more extended and permanent than it ever has become, but for the counteracting power exerted by the early Methodist Church, especially at Upper New Rochelle and along the entire extent of North Street. It is a remarkable fact, and might be regarded by some in the light of a special providence, that immediately subsequent to the death and burial of Paine in this neighborhood, and for over twenty years afterwards, the powerful appeals made to the hearts and consciences of the people by the early itinerant preachers of Methodism, as well as the combined efforts of the whole membership of that church, were attended with extraordinary results, producing a complete change in the religious views and feelings of the community, and dealing to infidelity of the Paine type a blow from which it has never recovered. Nor was this counteracting influence confined to the place where it originated, in the vicinity of the Paine monument, at Upper New Rochelle, but it spread to the adjacent towns of East Chester, Mamaroneck and White Plains. In a word, so general and so popular was this religious reformation in all the localities above referred to, that, for a time, any man thereabouts who should have openly professed himself to be a disciple of Thomas Paine would have been (and in a few cases actually was) regarded as a sort of a moral monster by the general community. This

Other Huguenot Houses.—The dwelling upon Centre Street formerly owned and occupied by the late Mr. Samuel Davis, and still in good repair, although it has been much altered and added to, is undoubtedly one of the oldest in the town. It was the residence for thirty years consecutively of the Rev. Theodosius Bartow, pastor of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who was settled in 1790, and died in New Rochelle, November 12, 1819. The venerable old tamarind tree at the east end of the house is said to have been planted by Mr. Bartow himself. The chimney jambs in this house, in the principal room, are ornamented with the Dutch titles inscribed with Scripture mottoes so much in vogue in the olden time. It is probable that Mr. Bartow was not the first occupant, and that the house dated from long before the Revolutionary War.

The Pintard Mansion also has a pre-Revolutionary history; and yet, notwithstanding its antiquity, it is one of the most desirable residences in New Rochelle. There are eleven rooms in the main build-



THOMAS PAINE'S HOUSE.

ing, with two wings attached, one occupied as a kitchen. The ceilings of all the rooms on the ground floor are fully ten feet in height, and there is an open fire-place in every room in the house, but one. It stands almost directly opposite to the Presbyterian Church.

The front line of this old place, previous to the year 1800, extended through to Huguenot Street. The making of Main Street cut off from it a triangular piece of land, which, lying thus between the two streets, was given by the trustees of Lewis Pintard to the Presbyterian Church, in the year 1827, and forms part of the site of the present edifice.

In digging a deep drain along that portion of Main Street in front of the church, in the spring of 1884, a copper coin was thrown up by the workmen from a depth of ten or eleven feet below the surface. How it came to be buried there is a matter of conjecture. It was in a good state of preservation. The head of George III., King of Great Britain, is faintly discernible. The date is almost obliterated, but seems to be 1780 or 1790.



OLD HUGUENOT HOUSE,
On Mr. Simeon Lester's Place, North Street, New Rochelle.

The grounds adjacent to the house consist of over twenty-three acres, and there is upon them one of the finest springs in the town of clear, cool water, the depth of which never varies at any season of the year. Coins issued before the Revolutionary War have been found there, while ploughing, but none of American origin. In the year 1884 an additional room was built over the front porch, and, while removing a part of the roof for this purpose, a number of papers and letters of Huguenot origin were discovered. The letters are addressed to Mr. Lewis Pintard, of New Rochelle, and some of the papers are in his own handwriting. There were also found a pointed shoe, of ancient make, and a small vial of olive oil, a few drops of which still adhered to the sides and bottom of the glass. One of these papers is a bill against John Pintard for "7 Reemes of paper, and 1 p^{rs} Bukrom;" dated "July 14th 1738 | £6 : 12 : 2."

Another is a bill dated New York, January, 1774,—

"Mr. Louis Pintard to Peter Goelet, Dr.

"To nails, hinges and other hardware, £8 9*s.* 8*d.*

This is signed, "Paid: Peter Goelet." All the bills are in English currency and are dated before the Revolutionary War. They had remained there undisturbed behind the ceiling, where they had accidentally fallen, for the greater part, if not the whole, of a century. The penmanship of some of these documents is of a superior kind. The writing of all of them is quite legible, and, while the paper is somewhat discolored by time, the ink is entirely unchanged.

It was not at first my purpose to print any of these old letters; but, upon further consideration, I have decided to give a translation of the letter addressed to the French Church in New York, as a specimen of the very polite style of a French commercial correspondent of the last century, and also as showingt he communication which was kept up between the old French Huguenot Church in New York, and its sister churches abroad. A copy of this letter may be found among the records of the French Church in New York (so Dr. Baird informs me) at the present time,—

["Copy"] "AMSTERDAM, Oct. 5th, 1764.

"Messrs. Vallad, Daniel Bonnet, Jaques des Brosses and others, heads of the French Church of New York.

"Fearing that Mr. Daller may not be able to reach London in time to proceed thence to Falmouth and take advantage of the packet which should sail from thence for your place on the 13th inst., I think it my duty to communicate to you the preceding, which I have remitted to him and sent yesterday to the Texel in order that you may be informed of the departure from this place of my friend Daller, whom I continue to recommend to you as strongly as possible. He merits it in every respect. Meanwhile, I remain unchangeably and without any restriction whatever, Yours &c."

"Nov. 6th, 1764.

"*Gentlemen:*

"Since the preceding, which I had the honor to write to you on October 5th, which letter I ho, e will have reached you by the Packet that sailed from Falmouth, Oct. 13th, of which your pastor, Mr. Jacob Daller could not take advantage, but has since embarked at London, in the ship Thomas and Waddel, Capt. Chambers, sailing directly for your city, and which sailed October 29th; hoping ardently that you will have had the pleasure of seeing him in good health before the receipt of this letter, which I send to London, whence I flatter myself that it will be forwarded in time to go by the Packet, which ought to sail the 10th inst. This, Mr. Daller will tell you that he received from Messrs. Chabanel and Whithoff, in London, as per his receipt of October 23d,

	£.	*s.*	*d.*	
[the sum of]	59	3	9	
Paid besides which it seems found it necessary		4		for permits Capt. Chambers to procure
	59	7	9	
Provisions in London		12	3	
	60	0	0	sterling @ 37.
				[1] *f*666
		negotiating 4%		26.13
				*f*692.13
"to which I add the amount I remitted you and postage on your letters and mine in London since March 28th, 1764, including several from Geneva, Switzerland &c., Current money of Holland				*f*275 42.7
				317.7
				*f*1010

[1] Florins.

statement is in no respect exaggerated. I am here speaking advisedly, and from my own personal knowledge of the state of things at that time."—*Unpublished Manuscript of Huguenot, New Rochelle.*

"Which I place to the debit of your account, and if I do not shortly advise you of my drafts on you, gentlemen, you will oblige me by remitting the amount, since I have but too frequently to make disbursements for my numerous friends on your place. Thus, instead of my making remittances to them, I have on the contrary to make drafts on them; therefore oblige me by remitting the above sum in £100 sterling Draft on London, upon receipt of this, as, on reflection upon what I have stated to you, I will not draw upon you, Gentlemen, for anything I received, only on October 27th, via. Rotterdam, your above mentioned package of July 15th. I sent the same evening the inclosure to the Church at Haarlem. Mr. Magnet has acknowledged its receipt, and informed me that his church has written to ours, to the sexton of which I have myself just remitted your inclosure. With it I enclosed all the letters of the Sieur Menanteau which you have taken the trouble to copy. I postponed until to-day the delivery of your communication to our Consistory, inasmuch as the second meeting of that body is at present in session. I wish that, at last, there might be due reflection, and that I might have the satisfaction to communicate to you in my next an agreeable result. In this expectation, I continue beyond all expression.

"Gentlemen, your very humble and very obedient servant,

"JACOB HENRY CHABANEL."

While none of these documents are of any special historical value, they show that the merchants of a century and a half ago were careful men. They used good stout paper, without ruling. Many of them wrote their own commercial letters in a clear and distinct hand. There is no mistaking their signatures. The names of old Peter Goelet, Lewis Pintard and the others are their own, and well calculated to last another hundred years.

The lapse of a hundred and fifty years (one of these letters is dated 1738), though passed in a garret, —has not obscured a word, nor obliterated a signature. It will be observed, moreover, that fashions revolve in circles of a century or more. The extremely sharp-pointed shoe which came to light with these papers, and from the same hiding-place—is the very same which has been fashionable in recent years, although from its small size and coarse make, it seems to have belonged to a female servant of those ancient days. But the inquiry arises; if this was the pattern of shoe worn by the servants; did not those of the masters and mistresses of—say 1750–60 "come to the point" still more sharply? The oil found with the shoe may have been intended for "its lubrication," but fate willed it otherwise.

THE HUNTINGTON HOMESTEAD was perhaps the most venerable monument of Huguenot architecture in the town, and there were few, if any, older houses in the county. It is believed to have been built about the year 1690, by Alexander Allaire, one of the first settlers, who, as has been stated, landed at Bonnefoy's Point. It was therefore well on towards the completion of its second century. It was constructed of unhewn stone. Its situation "was highly picturesque commanding a view of the varied scenery of marsh, and creek, and wooded point; and away to the eastward over the islets in the vicinity of Bonnefoy's Point. For a number of years past the woodwork of the interior had been decayed, and the house itself untenantable, until at length it was removed and replaced by a more modern structure. There can be little doubt that some houses built of wood, will outlast others built of stone, because the former can be more readily altered and adapted to modern ideas." But sooner or later all must go.

"Out upon Time! he will leave no more
Of the things to come than the things before!
Out upon Time! who forever will leave
But enough of the past for the future to grieve."

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS.—There is abundant evidence, that the early settlers of New Rochelle loved and valued the Protestant religion, for adhering to which they had suffered so much. Like the New England Puritans, whose situation and circumstances their own almost exactly resembled,—they soon found means in despite of all difficulties to erect a place for Christian worship. It was a harder task to support a preacher. When they had a pastor, the sacrament was administered four times a year. When without one they walked to New York for the sake of enjoying this privilege. Tradition relates that they often set out for the city on communion Sundays at a very early hour, reached the old French Church in Pine Street in time for the service, and returned to their homes on the afternoon or evening of the same day, the distance by the road to New York being fully twenty miles.

Meanwhile, the religious instruction of the children was not neglected. Sabbath-schools, as now conducted, were unknown; but they were taught the catechism of their church, and often received scriptture lessons from the pictures upon the ancient Dutch tiles, which, in the better class of houses, ornamented the mantel-pieces and fire-places. Such were formerly to be seen in the house where the writer of this sketch now resides, the old Pintard place. Unfortionately, in the progress of modern *improvement?* they have now mostly disappeared, like the old stone church on Huguenot Street. But they may still be found in the house for many years owned and occupied by the late Samuel Davis, which stands near by.

The first church edifice was of wood, built in 1692. It stood a little west of the house now occupied by Mr. Stephen Carpenter, which is one of the most ancient dwellings in New Rochelle. The church fronted directly upon the old Boston post-road,—then the main street of the village, and was only a few yards distant from the triangular piece of ground which forms the site of the present Presbyterian Church. This church was burned in the year 1723, and afterwards rebuilt. This first church edifice was used by the Huguenots for many years as a place of worship, and continued to be occupied as such by a number of them, who protested against the transfer of their church and church property to Episcopacy, as without authority of law, and contrary to the wishes of the people. Such is the view still held by many of their descendants, large numbers of whom are now members of other churches. The views of the Rev. Dr. Baird upon this subject, who is one of the highest authorities in this country upon all matters pertain-

ing to Huguenot History, may be found, supported by documentary evidence (in the third volume of) his new work, (two volumes of which have just been issued from the press), "The Huguenots in America." Those of the Rev. L. J. Coutant, a descendant of the original settlers of New Rochelle, and who was personally acquainted with some of the non-conformists are as follows:[1] It is reasonable to suppose, that a people so warmly and conscientiously attached to the principles and forms of a religion for which they had suffered exile, confiscation and almost every imaginable form of persecution, would not willingly submit to be transferred *by law*, and to be swallowed up within the pale of a church, whose rites, ceremonies, form of government and mode of worship, were entirely dissimilar to their own. We are disposed to think, therefore, that the statement,[2] "*All but two individuals* of Mr. Boudet's congregation unanimously conformed to the Church of England," is *misleading* and calculated to convey the impression, (which is certainly a false one) that the *entire body* of the French settlers at New Rochelle, except two individuals gave their cheerful and willing assent to the change. This *may* be true, but it does not state the whole truth by any means.

"Mr. Boudet's congregation may have formed, as we have seen that it did, but a small part of the whole French Colony at the time, and on the occasion referred to; consisting no doubt of the officials and principal men of the town, to whom had been committed in good faith the management of church matters, and the religious interests of the colony in general. This class always has existed, and does still exist in all church establishments; men, who by their pecuniary means and prominence in society, as well as by their official relations to the church and state, exercise a controlling influence. But it is equally certain, that the acts and doings of this class of persons cannot always be held to represent the views and wishes of *a majority of the people*, or even the *unanimous* approval of their own number, since even in the case we are considering, there were at least two dissenting voices. There were doubtless many more. But we have not now the means of ascertaining how many more would have voted against this transfer (which carried with it the whole of their valuable church property, as was proved by the event), had they been allowed and encouraged to deposit their votes. That there would have been a considerable number of these protestants is probable, for this, among other reasons.

"John Coutant, who died in the year 1848, at the age of 96, informed me several years before his death, that there was considerable dissatisfaction among the French Hugenot families in New Rochelle, and many complaints of unfairness, in the course pursued by the conformists in this transaction. By it, not only was their church property taken away from them, under the new charter or grant of Queen Anne, and their ancient form of worship abolished by the adoption of that established in the English church; but, as they could not conscientiously adopt the form of religious service and worship,—they [who decline to conform] were left without any place of worship, and deprived of the ministrations of their own chosen pastors."[3]

Soon after this separation, a new church was built by those who had seceded from the French Huguenot to the Episcopal Church, in the autumn of the year 1710.[4]

This new edifice stood a little east of the present Episcopal Church. It was constructed of stone; was forty feet in length and thirty in breadth, and perfectly plain within and without. The first pastor of the new Episcopal Church was the Rev. Daniel Boudet, who was ordained by the Bishop of London, a minister of the English Church and came to this country in 1686. He died in 1722. During an interval of two years, between his death and the appointment of his successor, services were performed by the Rev. John Bartow, who seems to have had a pretty wide field for his labors, as he says in a letter still extant, that he preached "in *four towns;* East Chester, Westchester, Yonkers and New Rochelle; the last eight miles, Yonkers six miles and East Chester four miles from home;" and "does other occasional offices." The horse of this rector, one would think, must have had a lively time and fairly earned his living, as there were then (1722) very few public conveyances (if any) between these four towns. For his extra services to the New Rochelle Church during these two years, Mr. Bartow received from the English Missionary Society the sum of ten pounds, the purchasing power of which, however, was more than double and perhaps three or four times what the same sum would be at the present time.

Mr. Boudet was succeeded, in 1724, by the Rev. Pierre Stouppe, also a native of France, and ordained in 1723 by the Bishop of London. The conflict between the two branches of the church—the French Huguenot and the Episcopal—was maintained with great severity during his pastorate, as appears from a letter of his to the Secretary of the English Missionary Society, dated 1725, in which he complains bitterly and laments mournfully over the unhealed schism.

He was followed upon his death, in 1760, by the Rev. Mr. Houdin, another Frenchman by birth, who was bred a Franciscan friar. Mr. Houdin died in 1776. The Rev. Theodotius Bartow was called to the church in 1790, they having been without a minister for fourteen years, during the troubles connected with the War of the Revolution. He continued to serve the church until 1819—nearly thirty years—but in June of that year resigned his charge.

The list of ministers and rectors of the Episcopal Church in New Rochelle is as follows:

Rev. David De Bonrepas, D.D	1689
Rev. Daniel Boudet, A.M	1695
Rev. Pierre Stouppe, A.M	1724
Rev. Michael Houdin, A.M	1761
Rev. Theodotius Bartow	1790
Rev. Ravaud Kearny, A.M	1819
Rev. Lewis P. Bayard, A.M	1821
Rev. Lawson Carter, A.M	1827
Rev. Thomas Winthrop, Cirt. D.D	1839
Rev. Richard Umstead Morgan, D.D	1849
Rev. John H. Watson	1874
Rev. Chas F. Canedy, A.M (Present incumbent.)	1876

It appears from the records that those of the French Huguenots who were unwilling to conform to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England,

[1] Contents unpublished manuscript.

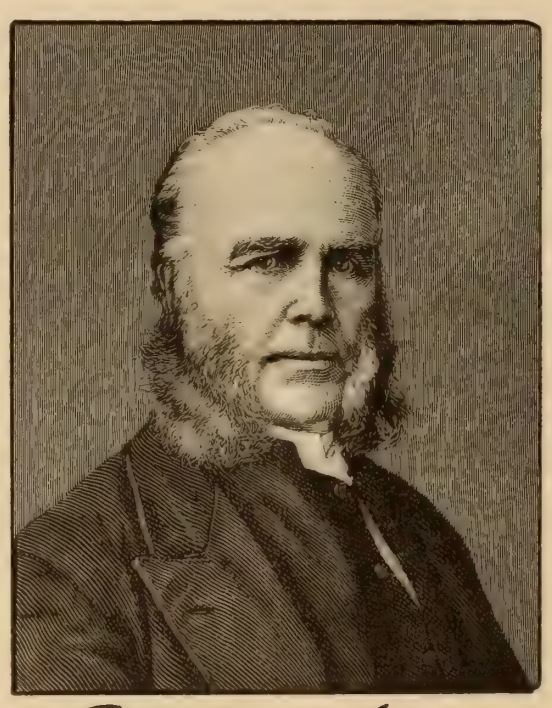
[2] See Bolton.

[3] The views of those who conformed were presented in Bolton's History, vol. i. p. 630.

[4] Badeau's Pen and Ink Sketch.

continued their connection with the old French Church, in New York City, and received their pastors, when they had any, as missionary bishops from that body. This relation existed from the year of the separation (1709), until 1764, as is proved by the records, and probably much longer. But in February 1808, a new church was incorporated, composed partly of the members of this ancient French Huguenot body, and partly of Presbyterians, but still with the title "The French Church in New Rochelle." Matson Smith, John Reid, Thomas Carpenter, Robert Givan, Gideon Coggeshall and James Somerville being trustees. On the 30th of May, 1812, it became a Presbyterian church in name as well as in fact, and was received into the care of the Presbytery of New York. The first pastor of the French Church after the separation was the Rev. Jean Brumand de Moulinars. The first pastor of the New Presbyterian Church was Rev. Isaac Lewis, Jr., 1815, who was succeeded in turn by the following:

Rev. Elijah D. Wells . . .	1823
Rev. J. D. Wickham . . .	1825
Rev. George Stebbins . . .	1828
Rev. John Mason	1835
Rev. Gorman D. Abbot . .	1837
Rev. P. Snyder	1841
Rev. Henry Martyn Scudder	1844
Rev. Chas. Hawley	1845
Rev. Charles E. Lindsley .	1849
Rev. James H. Taylor . . .	1859
Rev. Erskine N. White . .	1862
Rev. David Hopkins	1869
Rev. Edward R. Burkhalter	1870
Rev. Anthony R. Macoubley	1877
Rev. R. Randall Hoes . . .	1878
Rev. William B. Walles (present incumbent).	



Charles E. Lindsley.

The first church edifice erected by the Presbyterians was built of wood, in the year 1815. In 1860 it was removed, to make room for a new building. It was fitted for use as a parsonage, and presented to the trustees for that purpose by the late Albert Smith, M.D., of New Rochelle. The new church, built in 1860–61, is constructed of stone, and occupies nearly the same position as the old one. Its cost when completed was about seventeen thousand dollars. The church edifice of the Episcopalians (one of the finest structures of the kind in the county), is also of stone, and was built under the supervision of the celebrated architect, Upjohn. It stands a few rods to the west of the shop once occupied by the quaint old stone edifice built for their worship by the Huguenots in the year 1710, and which, if it had been allowed to remain would now be one of the greatest curiosities in the country. If anything had to be removed it should have been the road, and not the venerable old church of their forefathers. Upon the subject of this ancient edifice one of the descendants of those who built and worshiped in it, has the following feeling remarks:

"The Second French Protestant Church edifice in New Rochelle was erected in 1710-11. It was situated a little to the eastward of the former church, on Huguenot Street (called in Queen Anne's charter *The High Street*), and just in front of the residence of the late Doctor Peter Moulton. Its ground dimensions were thirty by forty feet. The roof was in the form of a square pyramid. The body of the structure was of rough, unhewn stone, and pierced by arched windows. The entrance, which was on the south side, was also an arched door-way. It has been conjectured that its external shape was modeled after the famous Huguenot Temple of La Rochelle, in France. The interior arrangements were equally primitive and unadorned,—plain, unpainted, uncushioned, high-backed pews! An elevated box pulpit, built against the face of the wall opposite to the door-way. The desk was surrounded by a plain railing, which formed the chancel or altar, and furnished with a small communion table made of wood of the wild cherry (which survived the old church for many years and which I have seen). From its peculiar shape, this church was popularly known and is still remembered by some of our oldest inhabitants as '*The Old Stone Jug.*' Alas, that this venerable relic of antiquity should now have to be numbered among the things that were! The changes incident to the lapse of years, and the vandalism of progress, or rather, shall I say, the progress of vandalism? have so completely annihilated every vestige of the ancient structure, that even *its exact situation*, like that of its predecessor, cannot be definitely determined, but is more or less a matter of conjecture. And why, we ask, could not the grasping, all-absorbing spirit of change and novelty which characterizes the age have spared to us this one, humble monument of the past, to build which, it is

said, that the men carried stones in their hands, and the women mortar in their aprons? If for no other reason, it should have been suffered to remain that it might guard the sleeping dust of two of its earliest and most faithful pastors, Rev. Daniel Boudet and Pierre Stouppe, whose remains, together with those of the wife of the latter, were deposited beneath its floor. O irony of Time and Fate! While the emblazoned images of these two good men, arrayed in full clerical costumes, are displayed in glowing colors upon the chancel windows of the present Gothic edifice, their bodies moulder beneath the stones and dust of the public highway, once by law and usage the burial-place of suicides!"[1]

The Methodist house of worship on Banks Street is a neat and commodious structure. The organization is the second of that name in the town, the first being at Upper New Rochelle. The Baptist Tabernacle, at the corner of Main Street and Locust Avenue, is sufficient for the requirements of the growing congregation at present, but there is ample room upon the grounds for its enlargement whenever that may be found to be desirable. The Roman Catholics have a capacious house of worship of wood, and by far the largest congregation in the town, on Centre Street. Besides these, there are a German Lutheran and a German Methodist Church, making in all eight Protestant Churches and one Roman Catholic. At the present time (1884) all of these churches are furnished with pastors, and are in a flourishing condition, with a membership of nearly or quite one thousand.

The Beechwood Cemetery.—For many years the town of New Rochelle had felt the need of some better place for the burial of the dead, the growing population having no other facilities for this purpose than the private or denominational burying-grounds afforded. On the 30th of January, 1854, the Beechwood Cemetery was incorporated upon land owned by the late Dr. Albert Smith, of New Rochelle. It was chiefly by Dr. Smith's energy and liberality that this new burial-place was opened to the public, he having contributed largely both of time and money to this object. The position is convenient and well adapted to the purpose designed, and it is now the principal place of interment, both for the town and the vicinity.

Education.—For a long time after the settlement of the town the facilities for education, owing to the peculiar circumstances, were exceedingly limited. The clergy, as usual, were the principal teachers. "Our French ancestors," says the Rev. L. J. Coutant, in his valuable historical reminiscences of Huguenot New Rochelle, "who settled this town, and gave it the name which it now bears, about eighty-nine years before the Revolutionary War, received their education in the French language, and, consequently, during the greater part of the period above named (eighty-nine years), the rising generation was educated in French. The writer's grandmother received her education in that tongue, and used to read her French Bible and prayer-book. They were not destitute of good scholars, who understood both French and English, and could converse fluently in both languages. The education of their children in those times devolved chiefly upon the pastors of the French Protestant Church. David Bonrepas, their first minister, gave instruction to the young people in letters and religion."

Daniel Boudet was an excellent scholar and educator; his library it is said, consisted of over four hundred volumes, which for those times was large. Pierre Stouppe, his successor in the pastorate of the French Church, was a well educated man, and for many years kept a day and boarding-school for instruction both in French and English. It is no trifling comment on his ability as a competent teacher, that the Hon. John Jay, subsequently American minister to the court of France, and of Huguenot descent, and General Schuyler, of Revolutionary fame, were among his pupils. Indeed, the general knowledge of letters, in so far at least as reading and writing are concerned, may be inferred from the fact that among a list of sixty names subscribed to a petition to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in connection with the Church of England in 1743, only five individuals signed by making a cross. But alas, for poor human nature! All the devotion of these people to their religion, and such learning as they could command, did not prevent them from perpetrating an act of barbarism. In 1776 they burned to death a negro by the sentence of three of the magistrates of the town, for the crime of murder. The revolting details are given in Coutant's "Reminiscences," with a minuteness and particularity that are sickening. Mr. Bolton, in his history, says: "In a portion of the Guion property once owned by the late George Case, Esq., nearly opposite the old Eels mansion, on North Street, the remains of a large bed of charcoal were discovered a few years since, marking the site of this summary execution."[2]

"Tradition[3] reveals to us the existence of two school-houses in the town of New Rochelle, used as such probably before the Revolution and during the closing years of the 18th Century. One was situated in the neighborhood of the old tollgate, and the other on North Street, opposite the residence of Mr. Simeon Lester, and just in front of a high clump of rocks, which at this place divided the road into two parts, running around the rock on both sides, leaving a triangular space between them, and on this gore of land the school-house was built."

The school-house in District No. 2 was on North Street, at the junction of this street with the road

[1] Coutant's Manuscript.

[2] Bolton, vol. i. p. 671.

[3] Coutant's, "Reminiscences."

from New Rochelle to East Chester. That in District No. 3 was at Cooper's Corners, on the east side of North Street. The interior of these primitive school-houses (1795–1796) is thus described by Mr. Coutant:—"The inside of these houses was of the crudest and cheapest finish. As to the outside, they were small, unpainted *shanties*, usually located on some surplus angle of the streets, or rocky land, unfit for cultivation, thus economizing ground, and making these barren spots, where no vegetation could grow, produce the precious fruits of education. The houses were ceiled round with unpainted boards, shrunken from their grooves; consequently no *ventilators* were needed! Their 'fixtures' were extremely rude and simple, consisting for the most part of pine boards nailed up to the sides and ends of the room for desks, with sometimes a shelf underneath, on which to keep books and slates. They were furnished with seats of long oaken slabs, with legs driven into auger holes at each end, and all of the fixtures and furniture were curiously notched and carved into many fantastic forms and grotesque images by the busy jack-knives of the mischievous tyros. The school-room was sometimes warmed by a fire in an open fire-place; but mostly by a small cast-iron stove, set upon a pile of bricks in the middle of the room."

The teachers were stern and severe in their methods of teaching, using the ferrule and birchen rod with great frequency and freedom. In those days flagellation was thought to be a fundamental part of education. Most of these teachers were imported from England and Ireland. They had left their own country in search of a wider field for the exercise of their great powers for stimulating the minds of their pupils by external applications. They found it here in America, and in carrying out their peculiar methods they only followed the customs of their native land. But their path was not always a flowery one. The application of force to the inculcation of learning was sometimes attended with disastrous results to themselves. From this severity of discipline very unpleasant affrays took place between the teacher and his scholars, ending occasionally in the expulsion of the teacher from the school-room. As to qualifications, "If the teacher could make a good quill pen, and write with facility a neat and fair hand, and solve the sums and repeat the tables in Daboll's arithmetic, he was considered a competent teacher, and received a certificate entitling the school taught by him to receive its proportion of the public money." The reading-books were "The New Testament," "The Sequel," "The American Preceptor," and "The Child's Instructor" for larger and more advanced scholars, and a few primers for small children. The scarcity of books rendered it necessary that the teachers of these primitive schools should be well versed in all the English branches which they had to teach. But grammar and geography were at that time not commonly taught in the public schools. These ancient school-houses, schools and teachers were the pioneers of the extensive and wonderful common-school system of the days in which we live. They were but the stepping-stones, so to speak, of those magnificent temples of science and learning which have since sprung up in almost every part of our favored land. As to those primitive structures in New Rochelle, they have vanished even from the recollection of most of the inhabitants.

Every vestige of the two old Huguenot school-houses is swept away, and they live only in tradition. The only teacher who taught school in either house, within the recollection of the writer, was Andrew Dean, Esq., some of whose descendants are still living in New Rochelle.[1] In the year 1857 three school-houses were built (under the act of 1795), dividing the town into as many districts. The first was on the corner of a lane leading to the old French burying-ground. It was on Huguenot Street, nearly in front of the present Episcopal Church. It was quite a stately school-house for those times, being about eighteen by thirty-two feet on the ground and two stories high. Its pre-eminence in size and other considerations procured for it the name of "Academy." This school had quite a wide-spread reputation as a place of learning; and some who received the rudiments of education here have subsequently obtained celebrity as professional men. Bishop De Lancey, whose parents resided at Mamaroneck, came down to this school. Daily the boy bishop might be seen, to the great wonderment of the other scholars, jogging along on horseback with his dinner-basket dangling at his elbow, to take his place among his fellow-students in the High School, at that time taught by a Mr. Fox. Some time between 1825 and 1827 this old hive of learning gave place to the school in Mechanics Street, which, in 1856–57, was exchanged for the building on Trinity Street, to which David Miller, one of the teachers of the former school, bequeathed by will the sum of eighteen hundred dollars, which was invested in an addition to the Trinity Street brick school-house.

Present Educational Facilities.—It is only within the last few years that any decided advance has been made in the public schools of this town at all commensurate with the requirements of the age and the wants of the people. The accidental burning (March 30, 1882) of the school-house on Trinity Street, built 1856–57, has led to the erection of a very superior building upon its site. This building was planned by the school board and erected under the supervision of Messrs. D. & J. Jardine, architects. The grounds are about three acres. Before entering upon the work, members of the board examined every school-house noted for superior advantages within their reach, their aim being to combine and concentrate the best elements from all in the building

[1] Coutant's "Reminiscences."



"CORNELL HOMESTEAD."

RESIDENCE OF R. C. CORNELL,

NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.

which they intended should be a model school-house in every respect. In this they have largely succeeded. The building is H-shaped, eighty-four feet front, one hundred and fifty feet deep. There are thirteen class-rooms, one library-room, one board-room, one principal's room, one assembly-room, fifty-four by ninety-three, with accommodations for about eight hundred pupils. There is an above-ground cellar, divided into play-rooms for wet weather, furnace, coal and store-rooms.

The building is heated by steam from a fifty horse-power boiler. The system of ventilation is the "Gouge," and is working satisfactorily. There are five lines of hose, supplied with water from a tank in the top of the building, for the extinguishing of fires. The teachers are one principal, salary twenty-three hundred dollars; twelve lady teachers at salaries from four hundred to seven hundred dollars.

There are in the town two other schools—one primary, West New Rochelle; one school for colored pupils, in Harrison Street—with one teacher for each school.

Library and Gymnasium.—It is impossible to conclude this sketch without some notice of the liberal benefactions of one of our citizens, Mr. Adrian Iselin, for the public benefit; more especially as this is, so far as I am aware, the only instance of the kind in the entire history of the town.[1] Mr. Iselin has not only fitted up at his own expense a fine building, containing a reading-room, library and billiard-room for the instruction and amusement of the young people, but he has expended many thousands of dollars in the erection of a gymnasium for physical exercise, which, when complete, will be an ornament to the town, and ought greatly to promote the health and enjoyment of the inhabitants. This building is entirely unique, and has no rival, so far as I know, in this country; certainly not outside of the great cities.

I have been furnished by Mr. William Le Count, of New Rochelle, with an elaborate description of the gymnasium, which is here given (in a form slightly condensed) from his manuscript:—"It is built of Calabar brick, and trimmed with blue stone and Philadelphia brick. The mason-work is of a superior quality. The arches over the windows and doors are a most attractive feature. Every brick exposed to view in these arches was specially chiseled and shaped on the premises, requiring a great amount of skill and labor to make this seemingly small part of the building. The roof is covered with red Akron tiles, which, on the main roof are flat, and on the towers and turrets corrugated, and ornamented with terra-cotta crestings and finials. The wood-work is of the best yellow and white pine and oak. The extreme length of the building is 114 feet; extreme width, 56 feet. Every attention has been paid to drainage and ventilation. The entire outside surface, where it rests upon the ground, is covered with asphaltum or damp-proof material, and the bottom of the excavation for the structure is covered with asphalt, laid upon a bed of cement concrete, and the whole covered with cement. The walls of the building are hollow, and every room is connected with ventilating tubes, which extend to the outside top of the walls. Two immense cisterns supply rain-water, which is passed through double filters before being used. Steam-heat is employed for warming and gas for lighting. The style of architecture is that of French military structures. The front corners are ornamented with two large towers, through one of which is the main entrance. In front of this entrance is a heavy balustrade of terra-cotta, surmounted by ornamental lamps. Over the main door is a panel of terra-cotta, containing a bas-relief representation of 'The Young Athletes.' There is a beautiful winding stair, of oak, which conducts from the base of one of the towers to the topmost story of the building. The floor of the entrance is laid in a Roman Mosaic of tiles, black, red and salmon color, three-quarters of an inch square. The gymnasium proper is a room forty by eighty feet, without a post or pillar resting upon the floor. Light but beautiful trusses, which are self-supporting, sustain the heavy roof. The floor is of the choicest vertical grain yellow pine; the walls of buff terra-cotta brick; ceilings, trusses and window-work of white and yellow pine, finished in their native color; the windows of French plate; the doors of polished oak; trimmings and gas-fixtures of solid bronze, and polished brass, made expressly for this building. The running track, which is elevated about eight and a half feet above the floor of the main room, extends entirely around the building, and is suspended from the roof. Behind it (at one end) there is a gallery for the accommodation of visitors. Under the floor of the main room is the bowling alley, one hundred by twenty feet. It is on the south side, and is fitted with four alleys, in the most approved modern style. This room, although below the surface of the ground, is most admirable lighted by a row of windows in amber-colored cathedral glass, in circular form and set in lead. On the opposite side of the building are the dressing-rooms, fitted up with lockers and all suitable modern conveniences. Beyond these are the boiler and fuel-rooms. A handsome iron fence surrounds the building in front. The entire sidewalk is flagged and curbed in a style equal to that of any of the public buildings in the large cities. The gymnasium occupies a central position at the corner of two of the principal streets of the village. The intention of its founder is to have it a perfect gymnasium. It will be furnished with everything required to make it so, and a competent professor will be appointed to superintend and direct the exercises."

On the whole, it may be safely pronounced to be

[1] Mr. Miller's gift of one thousand eight hundred dollars for education should not be forgotten.

one of the finest institutions of the kind in the United States, and it is hoped and believed that it will be practically free for the physical training and education of the people.

The donor of these important gifts is one who does not covet notoriety. He is too modest to approve of any extended eulogy on account of the good he has done. Let him, therefore, enjoy the consciousness of having tried to benefit his fellow-men; and let these two solid and useful structures stand in the midst of our village as the enduring memorials of his benevolence.

Statistics of professions, trades and occupations in the town of New Rochelle:

Agents (insurance and real estate)	5
Bakers	5
Banks	1
Blacksmiths	4
Barbers	5
Book-stores	3
Butchers	5
Carriage makers	4
Master carpenters and builders	8
Cabinet-makers	5
Clothiers	3
Churches	9
Average Sabbath attendance:	
Catholic (1)	700
Protestant (8)	750
Total	1450
Average death rate, five years (1880–85) pr. cent	2.0024
Druggists	3
Dry-goods	2
Engineers (civil)	2
Feed stores	4
Grocers	10
Hardware	3
Harness	2
Jewelers	3
Livery stables	4
Liquors and beer (licensed)	44
" " (unlicensed)	12
Lawyers	7
Masons and stone-cutters	20
Millinery and mantua-makers	12
Ministers	11
Newspapers	2
Painters, house, sign and carriage	17
Printers	7
Population about	5500
Physicians and surgeons	7
Shoemakers	10
Stoves and tinware	3
Undertakers	3
Veterinary surgeons	2

A number of substantial brick buildings have been erected in the village during the past few years. The addition of any more structures of wood, as the population increases, is to be deplored and dreaded as a source of danger from fire. The town hall, which stands on the corner of Main and Mechanic Streets, no doubt fulfils to a certain extent the purposes for which it was erected. But it is totally destitute of all pretensions to architectural beauty. A much better and more convenient public building might have been erected for the same amount of money. The absence of a clock that strikes the hours upon its tower was an absurd blunder, and it is to be hoped that, at no distant day, the demands of the public will compel the erection of something more ornamental and more suitable to the spirit of the age.

Charles E. Lindley.

BIOGRAPHY.

SIMEON LESTER.

In the northwestern portion of New Rochelle, and upon the old road leading to White Plains, stands the tasteful house of Mr. Simeon Lester. He is in his ninetieth year, but enjoys the best of health and the possession of a strong active mind. The family is of English origin, and descended from Sir Nicholas Leicester, a knight of the thirteenth century. Upon their emigration to New England early in the eighteenth century, the spelling of the name seems to have been changed from Leicester to Lester, and William, Mr. Lester's grandfather, who served under Colonel Ledyard at Croton Fort, wrote his name in this way.

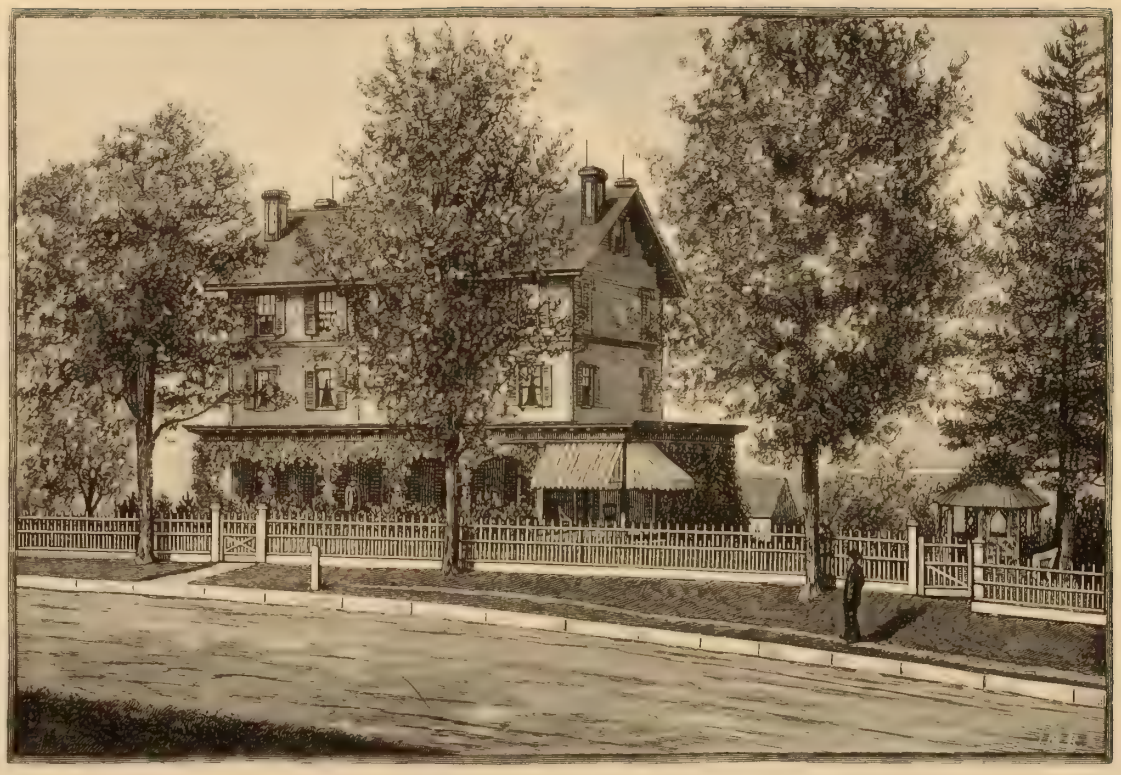
Though they had but lately left the mother country and were still bound to it by ties of noble blood, the Lesters did not hesitate to embark both their property and their lives in the struggle for American freedom. From fifteen to twenty of the family perished at the capture of Groton Fort. Their martial spirit descended upon the father of Mr. Simeon Lester, and though not in active service he was captain of the Grenadier Company of Norwich, Conn., where the subject of this sketch was born, April 16, 1796.

He spent the early part of his life on his father's place, and became captain of the Norwich Light Infantry Company. In 1820 he married Hannah Maria Brewster, who was born at Preston, Conn., February 6, 1795, and died at her home in New Rochelle June 12, 1865. She was a descendant in the seventh generation of Elder Brewster, who came to this country in the "Mayflower."

Five years after his marriage Mr. Lester, at the suggestion of his brother-in-law, moved with his family from Norwich to New Rochelle, where he purchased the extensive farm, upon which he now resides. The place has become famous as the previous home and property of Thomas Paine, it having been presented to him by the United States government. His grave, the house in which he lived, and the monument raised to his memory are still standing upon it, and have not only, not been mutilated by Mr. Lester, as



Simeon Lester



RESIDENCE OF SIMEON LESTER,

NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.



RESIDENCE OF JONATHAN CARPENTER,

NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.



Jonathan Carpenter



"SANS-SOUCI."

RESIDENCE OF W. W. EVANS,

NEW ROCHELLE, N, Y.



W. W. Evans

was charged by the daily papers, but have been preserved by him with special care.

When Mr. Lester took possession of the property it was merely a rolling plain, thickly strewn with boulders. By unremitting toil he converted it into the highly fertile and splendidly improved property, whose appearance enchants the eye of the spectator. For many years Mr. Lester was obliged to rise from his bed at midnight, collect the produce which he had forced the stony soil to yield and depart by one o'clock in the morning for No. 22 Bowery, and other stands in New York City, where he would await purchasers.

It was his habit of industry and perseverance which made Mr. Lester the successful man he is, and now that he has attained financial prosperity, he rests in the consciousness of a life well spent. In 1825, upon his removal to New Rochelle, he presented his letter of membership, and was admitted to the Presbyterian Church, of which he has been an elder for sixty years, and superintendent of the Sabbath-school for thirty years. He has deeply interested himself in young men, and several who have attained sucess in business life attribute the habits which have gained it for them to the educating influence of their old friend. His only surviving child, David Brainard Lester, of the firm of Joseph Lester & Co., hatters at No. Broadway, New York, is a resident of Brooklyn, and is a member of the Congregational Church.

Some years ago Mr. Lester transferred his property to his son, Joseph W. Lester (deceased), and it is now in the possession of his daughter-in-law, with whom he resides.

In proportion, as one differs from his fellows, so does he become famous. In such proportion only as his life benefits others, does he attain true greatness. Judged by these considerations Mr. Lester, whose Christian life has been wide in its influence, may look from his window in pity upon the monument of the man whose genius dazzled the world, rejoicing in his own possession of the milder quality.

JONATHAN CARPENTER.

Mr. Carpenter is of Welsh origin. Jonathan Carpenter, his grandfather, born September 7, 1749, was a son of Benedict Carpenter, who died June 22, 1791, and, because of British persecution during the Revolution, was forced to remove from Scarsdale to Long Island, where he married, on April 18, 1782, Miss Esther Coles. After peace was declared, he returned to Scarsdale, and took up his trade of a blacksmith. Jonathan Carpenter, Sr., had five children, the fourth of whom, Joseph Carpenter, was the father of the Jonathan who is the subject of this sketch. Joseph Carpenter, even before the War of the Rebellion, attained to wide celebrity because of his opposition to slavery. He was born at Scarsdale September 3, 1793, and on September 15, 1814, he married Margaret W. Cornell, who was of French descent.

There were two children,—the oldest Esther and the second Jonathan, who was born at Scarsdale, September 11, 1816. While he was yet in infancy, his parents removed from Scarsdale to New Rochelle, and until his eighteenth year he was engaged in farming. At that time his poor health obliged him to give up the active work to which he had accustomed himself, and he did not resume it again till he was thirty.

Mr. Carpenter's father then retired, and the whole working of the farm fell into his hands. For nearly forty years he has continued perseveringly at his labor, till at last, by dint of hard work and strict integrity, he has amassed a fortune. Since the place came into his possession he has added to it the Haviland property, containing seventy-seven acres of good farming land, with a saw-mill upon it, which he continues to operate at this time.

He married January 11, 1862, Miss Phila Jane Benedict at Scarsdale. There are no children. He is a member of the Society of Friends, and is a strong temperance advocate. In politics he was formerly a Whig, but is now a Republican. He lives at present in his newly-erected residence at New Rochelle, from which he continues to direct his large interests.

W. W. EVANS.

Walton White Evans of "Sans-Souci" near New Rochelle was born in 1817, at Sunderland, on the Raritan, N. J. He is descended from many of the leading colonial families of New York, New Jersey, Virginia and South Carolina. After spending, or as he says, wasting six of the most important years of his life in classic studies, he was invited by his old and much honored friend General Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon of Albany, to come to the polytechnic school the latter had founded at Troy. This suited his inclinations, as his tastes were for natural sciences and technical studies. Graduating from that school in 1836 and sharing the first honors with a friend, nephew of the patroon, he was again favored by General Van Rensellaer, who as president of the canal board placed him in the engineer corps of the State canals, and so influenced and cared for his promotion that in three months he was elevated to a position, that under ordinary circumstances, he would have spent two years of hard work in reaching. Remaining on the State canals (that severe school of hydraulic engineering) for seven years, and there getting disciplined to industrious habits and love for work he left that service, entered on railway engineering and was actively employed in railway construction for some years. In 1850 he went to Chili, South America, to take a leading part in directing the construction of the first railway ever built south of the equator, remaining there for most of the next ten years. He directed the construction of several public works, among which were two railways for English companies of London, returning to the United States

in 1860. He has during a quarter of a century devoted most of his time to professional labors as consulting and advising engineer to government work in Cuba and Peru, and to other public works in the Argentine Republic, Mexico, Central America, Australia, New Zealand and Russia.

His zeal and energy have been devoted with much success to promoting American interests in foreign countries. In the early part of 1886 he was appointed on a commission with several English engineers to sit in London, and determine some engineering questions of great importance in connection with extensive and costly bridges to be built in Australia, but was unable to accept the honor.

His aim has been to so elevate national character that Americans can with pride say when traveling, I am an American citizen, and find it all sufficient, as he says, he found it in Russia, as his trunks were never opened when he presented his passport and the officials saw the name of Wm. H. Seward on the document.

GEORGE FERGUSON.

The life of Mr. Ferguson strikingly illustrates the working out of a great principle, namely, that strict attention to business, accompanied by industrious habits, thorough integrity, and a true appreciation of the smaller matters of life, will give its result, just what it has given us in his case—a sound financial success.

Mr. Ferguson was born December 15, 1831, at Esopus, Ulster County, N. Y., where his father, James Ferguson, was engaged in building. For a short period he enjoyed the privilege of the public school in his native place, and when the family removed to Fairfax Court House, Va., he attended its local school. The circumstances of the family early compelled him to contribute his share toward the general support, which he did by helping his father in the building trade.

At the age of nineteen he was visiting with a friend at New Rochelle, N. Y., when he was offered a position as clerk in the store of Samuel Underhill, and it is from the small beginning thus obtained that he has succeeded in developing the extensive business interests which to-day command his attention.

For three years he remained with Mr. Underhill and then was induced by Mr. Vanderburg, of the firm of Geo. E. Vanderburg & Co., wholesale notion dealers in New York City, to enter their establishment as a salesman.

But Mr. Underhill, trading in a small way behind his country counter, missed the active and energetic young clerk who had left him and finally, after two years had elapsed, offered him a partnership. Mr. Ferguson accepted the offer, and the firm began business in 1857, under the name of Underhill and Ferguson. The partnership expired by limitation in the spring of 1861. He then leased a property upon the Main Street, opposite the old store, and resumed business under the firm-name of Geo. Ferguson & Co. After three years his partner retiring on account of ill health left Mr. Ferguson the sole proprietor.

He finally purchased the leased property, improved and enlarged his store, and continued the business alone till the spring of 1875, when he formed a partnership with a friend doing business in New York City. A fire in a neighboring building one night in the autumn of 1875, consumed his store and about seventy-five thousand dollars worth of property, but with characteristic promptness he hired a vacant store, set men cleaning and scrubbing, and by sunrise the next morning had a large sign posted up and his clerks ready, books in hand, to take orders for immediate delivery.

His prompt action at this time not only saved him much money but enabled him to hold his trade till he could replace the destroyed building by the elegant brick one, which is at present devoted, with the exception of a public hall occupying a portion of the second floor, to the purposes of his business. The property has a frontage of eighty-two feet on Main and one hundred and forty upon Centre Street, and is probably the largest establishment of its kind in Westchester County.

Ever since he started in business Mr. Ferguson has been gradually adding to his financial strength and is now in possession of a large amount of property in and about the village which has been the scene of his success.

He married, February 3, 1856, Miss Julia F. Hudson, and has one son and three daughters, two of whom are married. In politics he is a Republican, and has been since the organization of the party. Formerly he was village clerk and afterward was also town clerk of New Rochelle. At present he is a useful member of the board of education, for the duties of which office he continues to find time, even amid the press of private business.

JOSEPH B. BREWSTER.

Mr. Brewster is descended from Elder William Brewster, who came to this country with the Puritans in the "Mayflower." His father was the celebrated physician, Dr. Elisha Brewster, who moved from Norwich, Conn., to White Plains, N. Y., early in the century. Dr. Brewster married Mary Burling, of a family famous in the Revolutionary history of Westchester County, and Joseph B. is the second of their nine children. He was sent at the age of thirteen to a boarding-school at Jamaica, Long Island, and among his earliest recollections is that of crossing the East River in a sail ferry-boat. After spending one year at school he was obliged by the death of his father to return to New York. He entered the hat-store of his cousin, Joseph Brewster, where he continued as a clerk for nearly ten years, when he engaged in the

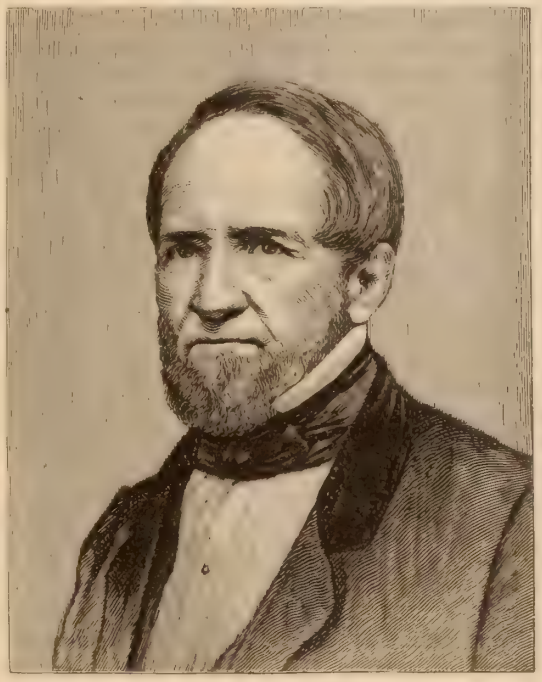


Geo Ferguson

business on his own account at No. 57 Bowery, New York City.

Mr. Brewster remained in this pursuit for forty-three years, steadily maintaining the while an integrity and fixedness of purpose which formed the ground-work of his financial success. He was at one time a large property-holder in New York, and the spot upon which the Oriental Bank stands was formerly in his possession. In 1869 he retired from business, having meanwhile purchased from Charles Van Benscoten the beautiful residence at New Rochelle which he now occupies.

Mr. Brewster is a director in the Westchester Fire Insurance Company. In politics he was formerly a Whig, but is now a stanch Republican. He was a member of the Lafayette Guards, and was with them at the reception of the distinguished Frenchman upon his second coming to this country, in 1824, when it was also his pleasure to shake the Marquis by the hand. He married Miss Sarah Ann Hutchinson, of Huguenot descent, whose mother died in the ninety-third year of her age, at the residence of Mr. Brewster. Of their twelve children, five daughters and one son still survive. The son is a lieutenant in the Twenty-second Regiment N. G. S. N. Y., and resides with his parents at New Rochelle.



JOSEPH B. BREWSTER.

Mr. Brewster is a Quaker of the Orthodox branch, and though he is now over eighty years of age, he is foremost in every good word and work.

CHAPTER XVII.

PELHAM.

BY REV. CHARLES E. LINDSLEY, D.D.
Of New Rochelle.

PELHAM is situated to the southeast of New Rochelle. It has for its southern boundary Long Island Sound. A small stream, called by the Indians the Aqueanouncke, and by the English Hutchinson's River, separates it from East Chester. It appears to have been purchased from the Indians some time previous to the year 1666 by Thomas Pell, and by him called Pelham, an old English name composed of Pel (remote) and Ham (mansion). By Governor Nichols it was granted and confirmed, in 1666, "To Thomas Pell, Esq., of Fairfield in Connecticut, together with the island adjacent and all its privileges," and erected into "an enfranchised township or manor" and secured to him and his heirs.

The Pells are of English origin and a family of very old standing in the counties of Norfolk and Lincolnshire. Thomas Pell, commonly known as Lord Pell, the first proprietor of this township, appears to have been an adherent of the popular party in the great struggle between the Parliament and the crown, called the English Revolution. Having been identified with the Puritans under the protectorship of Cromwell, after the restoration of the monarchy, in 1660, he fled from the vengeance of the Royalists into France. He afterwards removed to Onckaway, or Fairfield, in Connecticut, and from thence came to Pelham, where he purchased of the Indians the right to the soil. After his death, which happened about 1680, the manorial proprietorship descended to John Pell, his nephew, son of the famous Dr. Pell, ambassador of Oliver Cromwell to the Swiss Cantons.[1] In 1691 the name of John Pell is found on the list of members returned by the sheriff to represent the county of Westchester, New York.[2]

The territory now within the limits of the town of Pelham was claimed both by the Dutch of New Amsterdam and the colony of Connecticut. There can be no doubt that the Dutch were the first to discover and settle upon the island of Manhattan and the territory between the North and East Rivers. Both professed to have purchased their title from the Indians. But we know what that meant in those days. The whites took what they wanted and paid the Indians what they pleased. All transactions were with the chiefs, and the chiefs were not usually in a condition, when the land was bought, to look out very carefully for their side of the bargain. So it hap-

[1] Vaughan's "Protectorate of Cromwell."
[2] Smith's "Hist. of New York," p. 72.

pened that afterwards, when the Indians came to be dispossessed of all their favorite resorts upon the shore, and driven back by the tide of white immigration into the interior, and when they found, moreover, that they had received no just equivalent for their homes and hunting and fishing-grounds, there was trouble along the whole line. In all the Indian wars in which the aborigines were involved with the Puritans, the Dutch, and the Virginians, and which cost thousands of lives and an untold amount of suffering on both sides, it may fairly be doubted whether the Indians were in a single instance the aggressors. The Quakers of Pennsylvania, under William Penn, had no difficulty with them. The Indians in the British possessions of North America are and for almost a century have been peacefully disposed. But when Hendrick Hudson sailed in the "Half-Moon" up the river which bears his name, one of the very first acts of himself and crew was to make a wanton and unprovoked attack with firearms upon the inoffensive natives, whom curiosity had brought down to the shore.

The general plan of our ancestors in those good old days, with regard to those whom they found in possession where they wanted to settle, was robbery and murder first; afterwards war, negotiation and then missionaries. This, too, with the exception of the missionaries, was the course pursued towards them by the redoubtable William Kieft, the Dutch Governor of New Amsterdam, about the year 1643. The Puritans in their treatment of the aborigines were often harsh and unjust. But they were men governed by certain religious ideas, and never did anything approaching in wanton wickedness the act of Kieft which led to the outbreak, in which Anne Hutchinson lost her life, in Pelham in 1643.

In the year 1626 the munificent sum of twenty-four dollars had been originally paid to the Indians for the whole of New York Island—(twenty-two thousand acres); paid too, in "beads and trinkets," on which, very likely, there was a large profit to the buyers. No doubt the Indians ought to have been satisfied; but, strange to say, when they were crowded out, not only from the island, but from Staten Island, Long Island and the shores of the bay, the Hudson River and the Sound by the new settlers, they took it to heart in a way for which neither beads nor trinkets proved a solid consolation. Hence came troubles and difficulties which, through the insane course of Governor Kieft, culminated in his ordering a general attack to be made upon the neighboring tribes, at the very time when their distress and dissatisfaction had reached the highest point. Not only had the Dutch traders sold whiskey to the Indians in abundance, but firearms and ammunition as well.

In the middle of the winter, when the river (Hudson) was full of ice, and the savages were collected in their winter camps, a war-party from the powerful Mohawks at the north came sweeping down upon them, armed with the guns the Dutch had furnished, and drove before them far greater numbers—whole settlements indeed—of the Algonquins. This was the opportunity chosen by Kieft, to cross the river with his Dutch soldiers from Fort Amsterdam, make an attack upon the defenseless savages, peacefully sleeping in their wigwams, "just at midnight, the winter's night being cold and still." "Eighty Indians were killed at Pavonia, Hoboken, and forty at Corlaer's Hook that night, with horrible barbarities that might have given the savages themselves a lesson in the art of torture." The consequence was, that "all about the lower river and the bay, and on Long Island, the Algonquin people rose furiously against the whites." The terrors of an Indian war broke forth with a suddenness which appalled the colonists, and every swamp and wood from the country of the Hackensacks, New Jersey, to the Connecticut seemed all at once to be swarming with hostile savages. The outlying "bouweries" and plantations were laid waste, their men killed and their women and children made prisoners. After this there was a brief respite, from March until midsummer. But the war broke out again in August with renewed fierceness among the tribes above the Hudson Highlands. By September the conflict was raging with full force. In the south a band of savages fell upon the quiet home of Anne Hutchinson, at Anne's Hoeck, Pelham Neck, and she, her son-in-law Collins, her son Francis and all the other members of her family, with one exception, were killed.

The youngest daughter, a little girl, was carried into captivity and lived for four years among the Indians. The sad fate of this woman has tinged with romance her whole history. She was not so bad as her enemies have painted her, nor was she, on the other hand, the mild and blameless saint, some recent historians have imagined. But she was a religious enthusiast; a female theological polemic, armed with a tongue and a temper which made her no unequal match even for the stern and unyielding fathers of New England. In fact, the controversies which she raised, engendered such divisions among them as to threaten the safety of both church and State. Wherefore, by a decree of the General Court, she was banished from the colony. She went to Connecticut, and afterwards to New York, where we find her in the summer of 1642, permission having been given to her by the Dutch authorities to settle at Pelham, in connection with other English families. Her portrait is thus drawn by an impartial historian. "She was a woman of superior intelligence, bright, witty, good at a fencing match of tongues, versed in Scripture and theological literature; never so happy as when descanting on her own views. Her temper was resolute; she ruled her weak husband, and had a taste for ruling: To be an influential centre of opinion was her ambition, which she took no trouble to conceal. She claimed to be "inspired," and that

it had been "revealed to her" that she would come to New England to be persecuted, but that God would ruin the colony for her sake. She narrowly escaped procuring the verification of her own prediction."[1]

For a woman so constituted the change must have been great from the heated discussions at Boston to the unsettled wilderness around Pelham Bay. That name was not known, it is true, for many years afterwards. But the names "Annies Hoeck and Hutchinsons River" still bear testimony to the presence and fate of this remarkable woman. It seems a strange providence that, after her troubled and stormy career, she should not have been permitted to pass the evening of her days in peace, where no controversies, theological or otherwise, and no religious opinions, orthodox or heterodox, Calvinistic or Arminian would ever have disturbed the profound repose of the inhabitants, even could her life have been prolonged to the present day and hour.[2]

In the year 1654, Thomas Pell bought of the Indians (so he stated in his testimony before a Court of Assize, held in New York, September 29, 1665), the title to the lands afterwards known as Pelham, Westchester and New Rochelle. This whole tract of land was originally included in the grant made by the Indians to the Dutch West India Company in the year 1640.[3] What Pell paid to the Indians for it does not clearly appear. Probably not so much as the Dutch had paid them twenty-eight years before for the whole of Manhattan Island—twenty-four dollars in beads and trinkets. "A valuable consideration" are Mr. Pell's own words, but as no specification is given, this phrase has little meaning.

In the year 1666 Pell's title was confirmed by royal patent, issued by Richard Nicholls, as follows:

"Richard Nicholls, Esq.:

"Governor under His Royal Highness the Duke of York, of all his Territories in America. To all to whom these presents shall come, sendeth greeting: *Whereas*, there is a certain Tract of Land within this Government upon the Main Situate, lying and being to the Eastward of West Chester bounds, bounded to the Westward with the river, called by the Indians 'Aqueanonncke,' commonly known by the English by the name of Hutchinson's river, which runnith into the Bay lying between Throgmorton's Neck and Ann Hook's Neck, commonly called Hutchinson's Bay, bounded on the east by a brook called Cedar Tree Brook, or Gravelly Brook, on the South by the Sound which lieth between Long Island and the main land, with all the islands in the Sound not already granted or otherwise disputed of, lying before that tract of land so bounded, as is before expressed, and northward to run into the woods about eight English miles in breadth, as the bounds to the Sound, which said tract of land hath heretofore been purchased of the Indian proprietors, and ample satisfaction given for the same.

"*Now Know Ye*, That by virtue of the Commission and authority unto me given by His Royal Highness, James, Duke of York, &c., upon whom by lawful grant and patent from His Majesty, the proprietary and government of that part of the main land, as well as of Long Island and all the islands adjacent, among other things is Settled, I have thought proper to give, grant, confirm and ratify, and, by these presents do give, grant, confirm & ratify unto Thomas Pell, of Onckway, *alias* Fairfield, His Majesty's Colony of Connecticut, gentleman, his heirs and assigns, all the said tract of land bounded as aforesaid, together with all the lands islands, seabays, woods, meadows, pastures, marches, lakes, waters, creeks, fishing, hawking, hunting and fowling, and all other profits, commodities, emoluments and hereditaments to the said tract of land and islands belonging with them, and every of their appurtenances, and of every part and parcel thereof; and that the said tract of land and premises shall be forever after held, reputed, taken and be an enfranchised township, manor and place itself; and shall always, from time to time, and at all times hereafter have, hold and enjoy like and equal privileges and immunities with any town, enfranchised place or manor within this government, and shall in no manner of way be subordinate or belonging unto, have any dependance upon, or in any wise be under the rules, orders or directions of any riding, township or township place, or jurisdiction, either upon the Main or upon Long Island, but shall in all cases, things and matters, be deemed, reputed, taken and held as an absolute, entire, enfranchised township, manor and place of itself in the government, and shall be ruled, ordered and directed in all matters as to government accordingly, by the Governor and his Council and the general Courts of Assizes; only always provided that the inhabitants of the said tract of land granted, as aforesaid shall be obliged to send forward to the next towns, all public packets and letters or hue and cries coming to this place or going from it to any other of His Majesty's Colonies; to have and to hold the said tract of land and grant, with all and singular the appurtenances, premises, together with the privileges, immunities, franchises & advantages herein given and granted unto the said Thomas Pell, his heirs and assigns, to the proper use and behoof of the said Thomas Pell for ever, firmly, freely & clearly, in as large and ample manner and form, and with such full and absolute immunities and privileges as before is expressed, as if he had held the same immediately from his Majesty the King of England, &c., &c., &c., his successors as of the Manor of East Greenwich, in the County of Kent, in free and common soccage, and by fealty, only yielding, rendering & paying yearly & every year unto His Royal Highness, the duty forever and his heirs, or to such Governor as shall, from time to time, be by him constituted and appointed, as an acknowledgment, one lamb, on the first day of May (if the lamb shall be demanded.)

"Given under my hand and Seal at Fort James, in New York, on the Island of Manhattan, the Sixth day of October, in the 18th year of the reign of our sovereign lord Charles the Second, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland & Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c., &c., &c. and in the year of our Lord God, 1666.

"Richard Nicholls."

The above grant to Thomas Pell was confirmed to his successor and heir, John Pell, on the 20th day of October, 1687, by the then Governor of New York, Thomas Dongan, as follows:

"Thomas Dongan, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over the province of New Yorke, and the territories depending thereon, in America, under the Most Sacred Majesty, James the Second, by the grace of God, Kinge of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith. &c.,—to all to whom these presents shall come, sendeth greeting:

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[1] Bryant's "Hist. of U. S."

[2] The following appeared in the *New York Daily Tribune* of April 23, 1886:

RECALLING A MASSACRE OF INDIANS.

"The skeletons which are being unearthed at Communipaw Avenue and Halliday Street, Jersey City, are now believed to be those of Indians. Twenty-eight had been excavated last evening. It was supposed at first that the place was the site of an ancient and forgotten burying-ground, but some historical facts were discovered yesterday which throw light on the subject. On the night of February 25, 1643, Governor Kieft, of New-Amsterdam, sent a company of Dutch soldiers across the river to what was then known as 'Jahn de Dacher's Hoeck,' with orders to exterminate a village of Indians encamped there. The soldiers, so the story goes, surprised the Indians and massacred nearly every person in the village. A few escaped and made their way back into the country, toward the present site of Newark. Trenches were dug and the bodies thrown into them indiscriminately. The scene of the butchery is now known as Lafayette, and, after nearly two and a half centuries, one of the trenches has been opened. Crowds gathered around the place yesterday while the excavating was going on and looked at the skulls and bones. The number of bodies can only be determined by means of the skulls, as the bones are all mixed together, and many of them crumble at the touch into fine dust. The best preserved portions of bodies are the teeth."

The discovery of these bones at this time is certainly a marked coincidence. There can be little doubt that the conjecture as to their being the remains of the Indians slain near this spot in the attack made upon them by Kieft is the true one.

[3] See Bolton's "Hist. Westchester County," article New Rochelle.

Whereas, Richard Nicholls, Esqr., late governor of this province, by his certaine deed in writing, under his hand and seal, bearing date the sixth day of October, in the eighteenth year of the reigne of our late sovereigne lord, Charles the Second, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King & defender of the faith, &c., and in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred sixty and six, did give, grant, confirm and rattefye, by virtue of the commission and authoritye unto him given by his (then) royal highness, James, Duke of York, &c., (his now Majesty) upon whome by lawful grant and pattent from his (then) Majesty, the propriety and government of that part of the maine land, as well as Long Island, and all the Islands adjacent. Amongst other things was settled unto Thomas Pell, of Onkway, *alias* Fairfield, in his Majesty's Colony of Connecticut, gentleman, all that certaine tract of land upon the maine land lying and being to the Eastward of Westchester bounds, bounded to westward with a river called, by the Indians, 'Aquaconounck,' commonly known to the English by the name of Hutchinson's River, which runneth into the bay lying between Throgmorton's Neck and Anne Hooke's Neck, commonly called Hutchinson's Bay, bounded on the east by a brooke called Cedar Tree Brooke, or Gravelly Brooke; on the South by the Sound, which lyeth between Long Island and the maine land, with all the islands on the Sound not before that time granted or disspossed of, lying before that tract of land So bounded as is before expresst, and northward to runne into the woods about eight English miles, the breadth to be the same, as it is along by the Sound, together with all the lands, islands, soyles, woods, meadows, pastures, marshes, lakes, creeks, waters, fishing, hawking, hunting and fowling, and all other proffitts commodityes, heridetaments to the Said tract of land and islands belonging, with their and every of their appurtenances, and every part and parcel thereof; and that the said tract of land and premises should be forever thereafter held, deemed, reputed, taken and be an entire infranchised towneshipp, manner and place of itself, and should always, from time to time, and at all times thereafter, have, hold and enjoy like and equall priviledges and immunities with any towne, infranchised place or manner within this government, &c., shall in no manner or way be subordinate or belonging unto, have any dependance upon or in anywise, bounds or the rules under the direction of any riding, or towne, or towneshipps, place or jurisdiction, either upon the maine or upon Longe Island, but should in all cases, things and matters be deemed, reputed, taken and held as an absolute, intire, infranchised towneshipp, manner and place of itselfe in this government, and should be ruled, ordered and directed in all matters as to government, accordingly, by the governour and Councell and General Court of Assizes, only provided, always, that the inhabitants in said tract of land, granted as aforesaid, should be obliged to send fforwards to the next townes all publick packquetts and letters, or hew and cryes coming to New York or going from thence to any other of his Majestie's Collonys; to have and to hold the said tract of land and islands, with all and singular the appurtenances and premises, together with the priviledges, immunities, franchises and advantages therein given and granted unto the said Thomas Pell, to the proper use and behoofe of the said Thomas Pell, his heires and assignes forever, ffuly, ffreely, clearely, in as large and ample manner and forme, and with such full and absolute immunities and priviledges as before is expresst, as if he had held the same immediately ffrom his Majesty the Kinge of England, &c., and his suckcessors, as of the manner of East Greenwich, in the County of Kent, in free and common sockage and by fealty, only yealdeing, rendering and payeing yearely and every yeare unto his then royall highness the Duke of Yorke, and his heires, or to such governour or governours as from time to time should by him be constituted and appoynted, as an acknowledgement, one lambe on the first day of May, if the same shall be demanded as by the said deede in writeing, and the entry thereof in the bookes of records in the secretarie's office for the province aforesaid, may more fully and at large appeare.

"*And whereas*, John Pell, gentleman, nephew of the said Thomas Pell, to whom the lands, islands and premises, with appurtenances, now by the last will and testament of him, the said Thomas Pell given and bequeathed, now is in the actual, peacable and quiett seazeing and possession of all and singular the premises, and hath made his humble request to mee, the said Thomas Dongan, that I would, in the behalfe of his Sacred Majesty, his heirs and suckcessors, give and grant unto him, the said John Pell, a more full and firme grant and confirmation of the above land and premises, with the appurtenances, under the seale of this his Majesties province: *Now Know Yee*, that I, the said Thomas Dongan, by virtue of the commission and authority unto me given by his said Majesty, and power in me being and residing, in consideration of the quitt-rent hereinafter reserved, and for divers, other good and lawfull considerations me thereunto mouving, I have given, rattefied and confirmed, and by these presents doe hereby give, grant, ratefie and confirme unto the said John Pell, his heirs and assigns forever, all the before mentioned and rented lands, islands and premises, with the hereditaments and appurtenances, priviledges, imuneties, ffranchises and advantages to the same belonging and appertaining, or in the said before mentioned deede in writing expresst, implyed or intended to be given and granted, and every part and parcell thereof, together with all and Singular Messuages, tenements, barns, stables, orchards, gardens, lands, islands, meadows, inclosures, arable, lands, feedeings, commons, woods, underwoods, soyles, quarreys, mines, minerally (royall mines only excepted), waters, rivers, ponds, lakes, hunteing, haucking, fishing, ffowleing, as alsoe all rents, services, wasts, strayes, royaltyes, liberties, priviledges, jurisdictions, rights, members and appurtenances, and all other immunityes, royaltyes, power of franchises, profitts, commodeties and heredatements whatsoever to the premises, or any part or parcell thereof, belonging or appertaining; and further by vertue of the power and authority in mee being and residing, I doe here grant, rattefie and confirme, and the tract of land, island and premises aforesaid are, by these presents, erected and constituted to be one lordship and manner, and the same shall from henceforth be called the lordshipp and manner of Pelham; and I doe hereby give and grant unto the said John Pell, his heirs and assigns, ffull power and authority at all times hereafter, in the said lordshipp and manner of Pelham aforesaid, one court leete and one court barron, to hold and keepe at such times, and so often yearly as he and they shall see meete, and all sines, issues and amerciaments at the said court leete and court barron, to be holden and kept in the manner and lordship aforesaid, that are payable from time to time, shall happen to be due and payable by and from any the inhabitants of or within the said lordshipp and manner of Pelham abovesaid; and also all and every the powers and authorities hereinbefore mentioned, for the holding and keepeing of the said court leete and court barron, ffrom time to time, and to award and issue forth the customary writs to be issued and awarded out of the said court leete and court barron, and the same to beare test and to be issued out in the name of the said John Pell, his heirs and assignes, and the same court leete and court barron to be kept by the said John Pell, his heirs and assignes, or his or their steward, deputed or appoynted; and I doe further hereby give and grant unto the said John Pell, his heirs and assignes, full power to distraine for all the rents and other sums of money payable by reason of the premises, and all other lawful remedys and meanes for the haveing, receiving, levying and enjoying the said premises and every part thereof, and all waifts, strayes, wreck's of the sease, deodands and goods of ffelons happening and being within the said manner of Pelham, with the advowson and right of patronage of all and every of the Church and Churches in the said manner, erected and to be erected—to have and to hold all and singular the said tract of land, islands and manner of Pelham, and all and singular the above granted or mentioned to be granted premises, with their rights, members, jurisdictions, priviledges, heredaments and appurtenances, to the said John Pell, his heirs and assignes, to the only proper use, benefitt and behoofe of the said John Pell, his heirs and assignes, forever; to be holden of his Most Sacred Majestye, his heirs and successors, in free and common soccage according to the tenure of East Greenwich, in the County of Kent, in his Majestye's kingdom of England, yielding, rendering and paying, therefore, yearly and every year forever, unto his said Majestye, his heirs and successors, or to such officer or officers as shall from time to time he appointed to receive the same—twenty shillings, good and lawful money of this province, at the City of New York, on the five and twentyeth day of the month of March, in lieu and stead of all rents, services and demands whatsoever. In testimony whereof, I have signed these presents with my handwriting, caused the seale of the province to be thereunto affixed, and have ordained that the same be entered upon record in the secretary's office, the five and twentyeth day of October, in the third yeare of the Kinge Majestyes reigne, and in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred eighty and seven.

"THOMAS DONGAN."

In the year 1689, John Pell sold to the Huguenots of New Rochelle, through the agency of Governor Leisler,[1] a tract of land consisting of six thousand

[1] The fate of Leisler through whom this purchase was made is fully related in the contemporaneous history of those times. He took the lead in a popular movement, in 1688, against the constituted authorities, and assumed or was chosen by his partizans to the government. For this act, he was tried, found guilty of treason, and hung in chains, on the 17th of May, 1691, on the spot now occupied by the City Hall

one hundred acres, from the Manor of Pelham, for the sum of about one dollar per acre. The one hundred acres was a free gift to the French Huguenot Church, erected or to be erected by the inhabitants. The Manor of Pelham had originally contained nine thousand one hundred and sixty-six acres, so that nearly two-thirds of it now constitute the town of New Rochelle.

The islands in the sound opposite Pelham, belong to that town. These are Minneford's (now City Island) containing about two hundred and thirty acres; Hunter's Island, two hundred and fifty acres; and Hart Island, eighty-five acres. The heir of Thomas Pell to the Pelham Manor, was John Pell, his nephew, whose death, according to the inscription upon his monument, happened in the year 1700. He is said to have lost his life by the upsetting of a boat off City Island, in the autumn of that year. His eldest son, Thomas, succeeded to the inheritance, and died in 1739 at the Manor House, which stood not far from the present Barton dwelling. The subsequent history of the Pell family may be found, given at length in Bolton's history.

On the 18th of October, 1776, the British forces landed upon Pelham Neck, ten days previous to the battle of White Plains. They came from Throgmorton's, now Throg's Neck. They were met by the Americans and a heavy skirmish resulted. After some loss, the Americans fell back, and the British advanced towards New Rochelle. Though largely outnumbered, the retreat of the Americans was orderly and their resistance obstinate. The loss on both sides was probably about equal.

The owners of the islands along the Pelham shore suffered more severely from this invasion than those in the interior, because a portion of the British fleet was always anchored in the Sound, and boats were constantly landing to obtain supplies, which they often and perhaps intentionally forgot to pay for. One Benjamin Palmer, who lived upon City Island, after the war was over sent a petition to Governor Clinton, complaining loudly of his wrongs and grievances. He stated that he had been driven off the island, his stock destroyed, his effects plundered, his family taken prisoners, and, as a last indignity, the commander of the guard-ship "Scorpion" ordered him to cut his wood at a certain place and nowhere else, "upon penalty of having his house burned down." Mr. Palmer's case was not a peculiar one. These acts of petty tyranny were universal during the occupancy by the British of all parts of the country. But in his case there was a special reason for the enemy's severity. He had ventured to write to General Howe a letter in vindication of the Americans. Our sympathies, even at this late hour, are elicited on behalf of Mr. Palmer and his fellow-sufferers. Their treatment was shameful and the conduct of the British in inflicting such acts of oppression upon private individuals, not in arms against them, was barbarous and indefensible. But inasmuch as the petitioner afterwards removed to New York City with his family, and had besides, abundance of good company in his sufferings, and since his oppressors were finally defeated and driven from the country, and he, if present, might have witnessed the hauling down of their flag on the Battery, in New York, on the 25th of November, 1783, it seems that Mr. Palmer might be content to call it square (with the British) and withdraw his petition. One hundred years have made a great change in the value of the "plantation" once held by him, and from which he was then driven, on City Island. If he owned it now, it would a great deal more than compensate him for all his losses in that war. The oyster business is now carried on largely there, with a capital of two hundred thousand dollars. The building of vessels—mostly pleasure yachts—has led to the establishment of a dock-yard, in which a number of men are employed, and where some of the swiftest yachts in the country have been built.

It was near City Island that a daring and successful enterprise was accomplished by a few of the Americans in the year 1777, being no less than the capture of a British gun-boat used as a guard-ship, and stationed at the mouth of East Chester Creek. The particulars, as related by one of the party engaged in the capture to an aged citizen of Pelham, now in his ninety-second year, and by him communicated to the writer, are as follows:

"The guardship 'Schuldam' was one of several vessels stationed by the British along the shores of the Sound, through whose instrumentality most of the hardships complained of by the Americans, such as those referred to in the petition of Benjamin Palmer, were inflicted. The officers and crews of these vessels often treated the inhabitants of the towns and villages along the shore with great severity. They were consequently regarded with no friendly feelings by the oppressed people, and plans for their capture were frequently discussed.

"A party of whale-boatmen from Darien, Connecticut, were fortunate enough to carry such a design into execution. They conveyed their boat by hand across the Neck, and took possession of the market sloop which plied regularly between East Chester and New York. From the master of this sloop they ascertained that on his weekly passages to the city he was sometimes hailed from the guardship, and requested to sell them fresh provisions, such as eggs, chickens, vegetables, &c., for which, to insure their delivery, he was liberally paid. These Connecticut whale-boatmen, to the number of ten or twelve, armed, concealed themselves in the hold of the sloop. Their leader, however, remained on deck, and forced the owner to lay his craft alongside the sloop, as if for the purpose of furnishing the usual supplies. It was early in the morning, before daylight, and the moment the two vessels touched, the boatmen rushed up from below, boarded the British vessel, and took the crew prisoners before they were fairly awake. They then compelled some of the prisoners to help navigate the vessel, and making sail on the prize, ran her into the port of New London."

There are two persons still living, one in Pelham who witnessed and the other in New Rochelle[1] who

in New York City. At a later period, his attainder was reversed, and his estates restored to his family by Act of Parliament. The general verdict of history at the present time is, that he was innocent of the crime for which he was condemned and executed.—(See Bolton's, Bancroft's and Bryant's Histories.)

[1] The Sound opposite New Rochelle and Pelham is a ticklish place, even

heard the sound of the cannonade between the British men-of-war and the American gun-boats, which took place off New Rochelle and Pelham in the month of August, 1814. After the British had bombarded Stonington (August 9th), two of their vessels, a frigate and a sloop-of war, made their appearance near Mamaroneck. The government, or perhaps the people of New York, had prepared a fleet of thirteen gun-boats, each armed with a thirty-two-pounder gun, for the protection of the harbors along the Sound. One sultry morning in August the ships of war moved down the Sound and attacked these gun-boats, which had been ordered to rendezvous near Huckleberry Island and along the shores of Long Island. The action continued at long range for about an hour, and was very exciting to the inhabitants in the vicinity. The militia of two or three of the towns had been ordered out, and every height and headland was thronged with spectators. It soon became evident that the gun-boats were no match for the men-of war. Probably all that saved them from being sunk or captured was the superior familiarity of the Americans with the navigation of the Sound. Among so many rocks and reefs, the heavy war-vessels of the British were afraid to venture, and after a sharp but distant cannonade, in which but little damage was inflicted, the gun-boats withdrew in the direction of New York, and the ships of war returned to New London. It was in connection with this bloodless naval engagement that the panic broke out among the militia on Davenport's Neck, an account of which is given in the history of New Rochelle. The Rev. Lewis J. Coutant,[1] then a boy of ten or twelve years, distinctly remembered to have heard the echoes of the cannonade upon that sultry August morning, rolling and reverberating among the hills back of the town of New Rochelle. Mr. Peter Roosevelt, of Pelham, now in his ninety-second year, is understood to have witnessed the engagement from some convenient hill near the shore.

Hunter's Island, now the property of Mr. Iselin, was, in the year 1800, owned by a gentleman named Henderson, a Scotchman and a surgeon in the British army. It has changed hands many times and is probably, upon the whole, the most desirable situation for a residence along the shores of the Sound. It is sufficiently secluded, yet within easy reach of several railway stations. The land, about two hundred and fifty acres, is fertile and well timbered; the fishing and bathing in the vicinity are excellent, and the view from the south side unsurpassed. The mansion, constructed of stone, and supposed to have been erected by Mr. Hunter, is still a very fine one. If that ancient worthy, Thomas Pell, Esq., the original owner of this spot, had been informed by some prophetic revelation, that, in the year 1885, the city of New York would conclude to take possession of the whole of that part of Pelham "lying and being upon the waters of Long Island Sound," for a city park, proposing to issue bonds, run in debt and tax the inhabitants of both town and county to pay for the same, it may be safely presumed that he would have been an unbelieving Thomas. Yet it is well known, not only that such a plan has been devised, and that a bill for its accomplishment has passed the Legislature of the State of New York, but that there is a strong probability that the entire sea-front of Pelham will, in a few years, be within the corporate limits of the city.[2]

The Pelham Bridge, over the mouth of East Chester Creek, has long been famous for the size and quality of the fish taken in and around the waters of the bay and river. The fishing, it is true, is not now what it used to be, either there or in other parts of the Sound, having declined from causes which may be known to those who have made themselves familiar with the subject. Still, within the past twenty years, bass of large size and weighing from fifty to sixty pounds, have been taken with the hook in this vicinity. Black fish are still numerous around the rocks and reefs along the shore. But old fishermen are unanimous in the assertion that there has been a steady falling off in both the number and size of the fish taken during the period of time mentioned above.[3]

for navigators well acquainted with the obstructions above and below the surface. It is related that some years ago one of the Le Counts, who lived upon the shore in New Rochelle, near the Pelham line, and had been familiar with the navigation of the Sound in that vicinity from his youth, took a party of friends out for a sail. The day was fine, the wind fair, and the passengers were delighted until the boat, under full sail, ran plump upon a large flat rock about a foot under water, near the mouth of Echo Bay. As the tide was falling, it became evident that their sail for the day was over. "Captain," was the indignant remonstrance of the party, "I thought you knew every rock in this Sound." "I do," replied Captain L. C., "and this here is one of the worst."

One of the Schuylers a'so, residing at Pelham, is said to have been thus upset while sailing in his boat near City Island. But, more lucky than the Pell who was drowned in the same manner, he was picked up by a passing vessel while calmly floating, seated upon the bottom of his boat, and smoking his pipe, which he had managed in some way to keep lighted. Incredible as this may seem, it is nevertheless a fact, as I have been assured, and old General Schuyler himself never did a *cooler* thing.

Mr. Coutant has died since the above was written.

[2] The bill contemplates the appropriation of about four thousand acres of land in Westchester County for the erection of three parks: the Pelham Bay Park, the Bronx River Park and the Van Cortlandt Park. The Pelham Park is to consist of about seventeen hundred acres.

[3] What the character of the fishing about Pelham Bay was in the olden time may be gathered from the following little poem, taken by Mr. Bolton from "Wilson's American Ornithology," and well worthy of being preserved for its originality and beauty:

"FISHERMAN'S HYMN.

"The osprey sails above the Sound;
The geese are gone, the gulls are flying;
The herring shoals swarm thick around;
The nets are launched, the boats are plying.
Yo ho, my hearts! let's seek the deep,
Raise high the song, and cheerly wish her,
Still as the bending net we sweep,
God bless the fish hawk and the fisher.

"She brings us fish, she brings us Spring,
Good times, fair weather, warmth and plenty;
Fine store of shad, trout, herrings, ling,
Sheepshead and drum, and old wives dainty

The wooden structure which once connected the Neck with the Westchester shore, and which was a toll-bridge, has been replaced by one of iron, which is free. It is said to have cost sixty thousand dollars. The ancient oak-tree under which the Indian sachems made the transfer of the Pelham Manor property to Thomas Pell, and a piece of which is in the writer's possession, stood until within twenty or thirty years past on the Bartow estate. The Indians received, it is said, as an equivalent for their deed of the land, sundry hogsheads of Jamaica rum. There is not far from this spot a singular freak of nature—a split rock, with a tree growing out of the crevice. This was a surprise to the writer, when, for the first time, he visited this region, nearly forty years ago. It stands on the cross-road between the Pelham and New York roads, and the oldest inhabitant has never seen it otherwise than it looks to-day. In the year 1790 the population of Pelham was as follows:

Free white males	45
Under sixteen years of age	31
Females	84
Slaves	38
Total	198[1]

The interests of education in Pelham were greatly advanced when the school board of the town, a few years ago, erected in the First School District a new building at an expense of four thousand dollars. The architect was Mr. G. K. Radford, of New York City, and the old school-house, which is still standing, bears testimony to the very decided improvement. The new edifice, as well as the one recently built in New Rochelle, is considered by competent judges a very fine structure, and both are among the best in the county in their interior arrangements and architectural style and finish. For nearly forty years the Pelham Priory was a marked feature of the town. It is not too much to say that for a very long period this institution was among the foremost in this country in the work of female education. The site chosen for the school by the Rev. Robert Bolton was unexcelled for beauty. It was an elevation commanding a wide view of Long Island Sound and the many islands adjacent to the Pelham shore. During the life-time of Miss Bolton it was justly celebrated for the thorough intellectual and moral training bestowed upon the young ladies who attended it, coming from every part of the United States and sometimes from foreign countries. Miss Nannette Anne Bolton was herself an enthusiast in the cause of Christian education. Under her watchful care nearly a thousand young girls were educated in such a manner as to prepare them thoroughly for the higher as well as for the ordinary duties of life. While by no means sectarian, the influence of the Priory was always decidedly religious, and made itself felt, not only in the town of Pelham, but throughout a wide extent of the surrounding country. The decline of such a school, through the death of its principal founder and teacher, is much to be lamented. It is a loss to the county and State not entirely overestimated, and the more so that nothing has since arisen in the town or vicinity to take its place.

Besides the Priory, Pelham is indebted to the Bolton family for the first, and for many years the only, Episcopal Church within its bounds—namely, Christ Church, of which the Rev. Charles Higbee is the present rector, and from whom the information contained in this sketch, with regard to the churches of the town, is derived. It is safe to say that without the persistent labors and sacrifices of this family, neither of these institutions—the church or the priory, both so potent for good to Pelham and the whole region around it—would ever have existed.[2]

From this church two others have since sprung—Grace Church, on City Island, of which the Rev. Mr. Winsor is the present rector, and the Church of the Redeemer, at Pelhamville, whose rector is the Rev. Cornelius Winter Bolton, a son of the founder of the parent church and the Priory in Pelham.

Yo ho, my hearts! let's seek the deep,
Ply every oar and cheerly wish her,
Still as the bending net we sweep,
God bless the fish hawk and the fisher.

"She rears her young in yonder tree,
She leaves her faithful mate to mind 'em;
Like us, for fish she sails the sea,
And plunging, shows us where to find 'em.
Yo ho, my hearts, let's seek the deep,
Ply every oar and cheerly wish her,
While the slow bending net we sweep,
God bless the fish hawk and the fisher."

The man who wrote this hymn (whoever he was) was a close observer and lover of nature. He had music in his heart, and, it is to be hoped, fish in his basket, and could his name be discovered, deserves to have this Fisher's Hymn inscribed on his monument.

[1] The writer, having been urged to introduce some observations in this place upon certain Indian graves in Pelham, made an attempt to find them, but failed to do so. Nor was he able to discover any public burying-place at all in Pelham. The longevity of many of the ancient inhabitants was remarkable. The late Albert Roosevelt was alert and active until past his ninetieth year. His son Peter is now living in Pelham with unimpaired mental powers, in his ninety-second year. The Rev. Dr. William Hague, the distinguished author of the article upon Old Pelham and New Rochelle, subjoined to this chapter, appears like a sprightly gentleman of sixty years or thereabouts, whereas, if the records of history can be depended upon, he must be in the neighborhood of seventy-five or eighty.

The Indian burying-ground is said to have been situated upon the northwest side of Pell's Neck, but very few vestiges of it can now be seen. This is not wonderful, however, when we consider the changes which time produces, even among the living. There is scarcely a family of the ancient residents of Pelham which maintains its ancestral place and possessions. The Pells have long been gone. The Schuylers have removed to another part of the town. The Roosevelt family have retained their hold upon the property near Hunter's Island for almost ninety years but must soon yield to the advancing tide, which flows not from the waters of the Sound, but from New York City.

[2] No candid historian of the county of Westchester can fail to acknowledge his obligations to the labors of Mr. Robert Bolton in this field. Notwithstanding, his history has grave faults. It is as full of ecclesiastical bigotry as of research, and ought to be entitled, "A History of Episcopacy in the County of Westchester." More than ten times the space accorded to all other denominations is given to this one, and the matter introduced is often tediously minute, dry and uninteresting.

It is to be hoped that the great debt which the town of Pelham owes and must forever owe to the members of the Bolton family will never be forgotten. Their names ought to be cherished along with that of the father and founder of the manor itself.

The Pelham Manor and Huguenot Heights Association is an incorporated company, formed about the year 1875, for the improvement of that part of the town lying between the station of the Harlem Branch of the New York and New Haven Railroad and the Boston turnpike road. The new village thus formed has grown rapidly, and is for many reasons a very desirable place of residence. It is easily accessible from the Pelhamville Station of the New Haven Railroad, so that a large number of trains upon both roads are available daily, and almost hourly.

The Huguenot Memorial Chapel, a pretty Presbyterian Church, was built to accommodate the residents of that denomination. It was opened for worship on the 9th of July, 1876, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Charles E. Lord. The Rev. Daniel N. Freeland is the present pastor.

As a place of residence, this part of Westchester County presents decided claims to public regard. The rapid growth of the city of New York, the rise of rents there and the pressure of the population on this account into the surrounding country, render it certain that the suburban towns and villages must ultimately and indeed speedily share in its prosperity. Several of them have already been absorbed within the city limits, and others must shortly follow. The value of land has increased enormously within a few years, both upon the North and East River sides of the county, and there is also a steady growth in population. As an example of this increased value, land in the towns of New Rochelle and Pelham, which, in the year 1850, could be readily purchased for three hundred dollars per acre, cannot now be bought for ten times that sum. In such large towns as Yonkers the advance in price is proportionally greater. There is not probably in the entire country a section better adapted for improvement than the lower part of Westchester County. The soil is good, the scenery romantic, the climate salubrious, and the old historic associations are such as to lend an added interest to these material advantages.

Some of the finest sites in the world for country-seats are to be found around the shores of Pelham Bay, the islands that dot the Sound, and, in fact, throughout the whole shore-line from Hell Gate to Connecticut. The same is true, to a greater or less extent, of the bays and headlands of the opposite Long Island shore.

The enhanced value of the real estate in Pelham since the year 1800 may be inferred from a brief history of one of the oldest residences in the town—that owned and occupied by the late Albert Roosevelt, merchant of New York, and his family.

In the above-mentioned year Mr. Roosevelt purchased of Mr. Bailey a tract of two hundred and fifty acres of land upon the main shore, opposite Hunter's Island, and of which the Pelham Priory then formed a part, for twenty-five dollars an acre.

Bailey had bought at the close of the war three hundred acres of land confiscated by the government because the owner had taken part with the British in the war. For this tract he paid five dollars and twenty cents an acre. Of this, he sold two hundred and fifty acres to Mr. Roosevelt at the above-mentioned price, twenty-five dollars. The Roosevelt place is one of those proposed to be taken for the new Pelham Bay Park. But the commissioners will find that the price has advanced considerably since the year 1800. The dwelling was erected in 1802.

The Pelham Industry was established by Mrs. W S. Hoyt, daughter of the late Chief Justice Chase, and other ladies of Pelham, and was in successful operation for over two years. Its object, a benevolent one, was to afford to young persons of both sexes instruction in the decorative and industrial arts. Teachers were provided for the various departments of drawing, decoration, designing, carving in wood, embroidery, tapestry, upholstery, carpentry, and joiner-work and working in metals. A depot was provided in the building for receiving orders for work and for the sale of articles manufactured.[1]

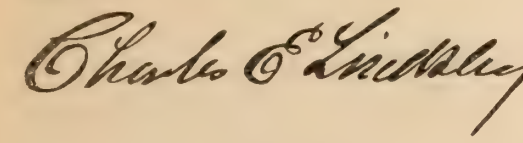
The Country Club is one of the notable institutions of Pelham. In looking about for a suitable place for its establishment, the gentlemen who organized it made choice of one situated directly upon the Sound, and which was owned and occupied for many years by the family of the late Dr. Richard Morris. The grounds and the view to be seen from them are admirably adapted to the purposes of such a club. It has a membership of about two hundred and fifty persons, and is in a flourishing condition.

In the ample grounds and well-equipped club-house every means is provided for the comfort, convenience and amusement of the members; various athletic games and field sports are engaged in, while fishing, bathing and boating are afforded by the waters of the Sound adjacent, and which wash the picturesque shores of the place.

At David's Island religious services are held every Sunday evening at the military post, which is one of the depots of recruits for the United States army. It should seem that it is a position of sufficient importance to secure the services of an army chaplain, as large numbers of soldiers are frequently gathered there, to be dispersed from time to time, as the needs of the government may demand, to all parts of the country. The Rev. Mr. Higbee, of Pelham, has for years conducted occasional services there. In the absence of any clergyman, they are conducted by the surgeon of the station, Major A. A. Woodhull, or by Captain (now Colonel) Trotter.

[1] This institution, after a very successful beginning, is, for various reasons, temporarily suspended.

In closing this sketch of the history of Pelham, I am permitted, by the kindness of my friend, the Rev. Dr. William Hague, one of the most eminent ministers of the Baptist denomination in this country and a native of the town of Pelham, to subjoin his very interesting article, published in the *American Magazine of History*, and entitled "Old Pelham and New Rochelle."



"OLD PELHAM AND NEW ROCHELLE."

BY REV. WILLIAM HAGUE.

"It was my fortune to revisit, recently, after a long interval of absence, two homes of my childhood, the birth home at Pelham, Westchester County, in the vicinity of New York, and the church home at New Rochelle, the town adjoining, originally a part of Pelham, comprised within the area of the manor by the royal charter of 1666, in the reign of Charles II. That charter was granted to Thomas Pell, Esq., 'Gentleman of the bed-chamber to King Charles I.,' and afterwards, in 1687, was granted anew and confirmed to his legally recognized heir, the only son of his brother, the first resident proprietor, 'Lord John Pell,' according to the usage of address hereabouts in the seventeenth century.

"The first object of interest that won attention within view from the railway station, two or three minutes' walk westward along the old historic 'King's Highway,' was the beautiful church edifice of stone, designated 'Trinity Church, of New Rochelle,' presenting itself to the eye of the inquiring visitor as the successor of the old 'French Church,' that hallowed that surrounding in the reign of Queen Ann. Having noticed, in a musing mood, the contrast between the showing of the rude, small, stony structure that I had first known in childhood as a house of worship, and that of the finely proportioned modern temple whose graceful spire now casts its shadow over the old site, I turned my steps toward the church burial-ground, seeking the graves of my grandparents. Long-slumbering memories were aroused, first of all, by the sight of the marble that marked the grave of my grandmother—Sarah Pell, widow of Captain William Bayley—whose funeral service, ministered in the church-yard by her aged relative, the rector, Rev. Theodosius Bartow, I had attended with a large family gathering in the month of March, 1819, being then eleven years of age. The form of the venerable clergyman in his official robes at the grave, his bald head uncovered, despite the chill of a heavy snow-fall, is vividly remembered now as if it had figured in a scene of yesterday.

"Meanwhile, however, memory had let slip the date of my grandfather's departure, and I was desirous to regain it from the chiselled record at the head of the grave nearly adjoining. What a bewilderment! I could scarcely believe my eyes, as I read, 'Died March 3, 1811.' It seemed altogether abnormal, that such minute remembrances of him as had been familiar to me, scores of particulars pertaining to his individuality, even the tones of his voice and his handicraft in making toys for my amusement, should have been thus long kept within the brain as in a photographic or phonographic cabinet. Yet thus it must have been, despite all seemings to the contrary, I said, soliloquizing in the presence of the facts: at the age of three and a half, hereabouts, began my outlook upon the world. Here I approximate the starting point of conscious thought; and this outlook over the life area of 'three-score and ten" discloses its varied scenes of light and shadow, from infancy to age, as one broad panoramic unity.

"Child memories, no doubt, are effective factors in shaping 'the make-up' of any personality. The image of my grandfather, associated as it is with the old homestead, and with his flow of talk while occupying his easy-chair upon the piazza, where he was wont to enjoy one of the finest of landscapes, taking within its scope Hunter's Island, Pelham Creek, the expanse of Long Island Sound, has never become dim; so that he has ever represented to me the ideal 'grandpa' of poetry or song, of fiction or graphic art, as pictured by Sir Walter Scott or 'Peter Parley.' Thus has he ever been to me in thought 'a living presence,' although the obtruding question as to the possibilities of a baby brain will put itself over and over again like a mocking puzzle.

"Despite the puzzle, the fact asserts itself. From the view-point occupied at the time of this writing, March, 1882, looking back to the last sickness and to the funeral services at Pelham and New Rochelle, the succession of years and order of events are clearly traced by memory and substantiated as a personal history. There is no break in the outline, although many things, thoughts, words, deeds may be missed from 'the filling up.'

"But now, while occupying the old church-yard as a retrospective view-point, it seems noteworthy that the first advent of death into the household, and this first funeral that shadowed the path of my young life, cannot be described without the joining of two old town names, French and English, New Rochelle and Pelham. Thus, too, looking upon the head-stones that memorialize the many graves in this 'God's Acres,' as the old English called the consecrated burial-ground, we notice the alterations or intermingling of English and French surnames, denoting the quick fusion of English and French blood in the homes of the early settlers nearly two centuries ago. On the tomb-stones of the dead and on the door-signs of the living, the same old names present themselves,—Pells, Bayleys, Bartows, Pinckneys, Sands, Hunts, Guions, Le Counts, Allaires, Leroys, Coutants, Secors, Badeaus, Flandreaus, De Peysters, De Lanceys and others, signalizing the spontaneous union of Saxon and celtic elements in the historic home-life and church-life of the colonial days.

"These first exiles from France, seeking permanent homes and religious liberty, though, to a great extent, 'spoiled of their goods,' realized actually the sentiment so well emphasized by Daniel Webster in addressing the young Americans, namely, 'character is *capital*,' being in the best sense, 'well to do,' free and inclined to contract family alliances from choice, taste and personal qualities rather than from considerations of mere expediency or goading necessity. Few and weak though they seemed, their place in history is as clearly defined as that of the 'ten thousand' retreating Greeks whom Xenophon has immortalized, having been long ago distinguished as a part of that heroic 'fifty thousand' who fled from France to England about four years before the annulling of the edict of Nantes, signed by Henry IV. in 1598, for the protection of Protestants, and revoked by Louis XIV. in 1685; having been in force, nominally, though not really, nearly four-fifths of a century. Having emigrated from England to New York, some of them by way of the West Indies, particularly St. Christopher's and Martinique, they found the most beautiful lands of the vicinity chartered under English manorial proprietorship, whereby it was made easy for them to establish themselves in new and permanent homes. All antipathies of blood or race melted away in the presence of a common Christianity. An area of six thousand acres, a part of the Manor of Pelham, was conveyed to their friend and agent, Jacob Leisler, merchant of New York, on acceptable terms, in 1689, surveyed and divided into lots or farms by Alexander Allaire and Captain Bond, in 1692; named New Rochelle in memory of the old fortress of Protestantism in France, and then the family life of the two people, by its own interior law of development, grew into a civil and social unity, 'compact together,' under the sway of a common sentiment, as if all gloried in the same genealogical origin.

"In this retrospective view of Bi-centennial history we can hardly trace the fortunes of rich domain so beautiful as was this broad, picturesque area of almost ten thousand acres, so near the rising metropolis, constituted by royal, ducal and colonial authority, under lawful grant and patent of his majesty, Charles II., and also of his sterner brother, King James II., 'an absolute, entire, enfranchised township and place of itself, in no manner of way to be subordinate or under the rule of any riding, township, or place of jurisdiction,' and then observe how it was 'willed' at once by its first proprietor, Thomas Pell, into the possession of an English heir, his nephew, a young man, only twenty-five years of age, without being sympathetically alive to the import of the doubtful questioning put by the more advanced of the exiles. 'What manner of man is this lord of the Manor? What have been his antecedents? Is his spirit akin to that of the intriguing, persecuting royal duke, James of York, now king, through whom, by special permission of his majesty, Charles II., the earlier charter of proprietorship was received?' The inquiry was serious, the answer was encouraging. The young lord's biography was easily traced. His environment suggested cheerful prophecies, although his youthful years had been passed amid a general unsettlement of things in church and state. Adverse to the pursuit of his studies continuously in due course, his home-life and school-life under his father's eye furnished advantages quite exceptional for liberal self-culture, adapted to qualify him for the place of lordly eminence be-

queathed to him in this new world as the protector of an oppressed people, the founder of a community truly unique as to condition and character.

"At this point of our retrospect let us take up the exiled Huguenot's question. What were this young lord's antecedents? His father, whose name figured largely in the state papers of the protectorate as the right Honourable John Pell, was eminent among English educators. Born on the first day of March, 1610, at Southwycke, Sussex County, England, of which parish his father, the Rev. John Pell, was then rector, he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in the year 1623, and, before the end of another decade, had won European fame as an author in the higher range of philosophical and mathematical studies. Having accepted the offer of a professorship in Amsterdam, he then attracted the regard of the Prince of Orange, by whom he was appointed to the professorship of mathematics at Breda, in Holland, where a Military and Naval Academy had been established. Thus, having achieved a brilliant career in the prime of life, he was chosen by Oliver Cromwell, in April, 1654, English resident ambassador to the Swiss cantons. This confidential relation to the lord protector at the time when he stood forth at the height of his power, the recognized protector of Protestant Switzerland against the persecuting powers of the continent, gives ample proof of an enlarged statesman-like style of mind in harmony with the liberal ideas and progressive spirit that have throughout our own century thus far ruled the course both of English and American history. A single fact recorded by Mr. Bolton in his 'History of Westchester County'[1] puts this inference beyond all questioning: 'In the Landsdowne MSS. are eleven volumes of Dr. Pell's, written in excellent style. The first volume contains a vast fund of information respecting the persecutions of the Piedmontese.' Evidently his sympathies were with the true leaders of the age; not with the oppressors, but the oppressed.

"In connection with a fact so significant we are not surprised to learn that while serving the government of his country at Zurich, Mr. Pell's letters to his wife, at home, indicate minute attention to the elementary education of his only son, the future 'Lord John," of Pelham, particularizing the most suitable schools, the studies and the teachers appropriate to the young scholar's situation or turn of mind, even urging special care as to the style of penmanship required by the boy 'eleven years old,' in danger of forming wrong habits at the outset. Four years after his many educational counselings had been written from Zurich, while the school-life of John was still in progress, the English mission to Switzerland was terminated, the minister was commended, called home, and informed on his arrival that the Lord Protector was dying. Very soon the whole country was convulsed; but, despite the agitations of that disastrous period, the youthful heir of a trans-Atlantic 'Lordship,' fifteen years of age at the time of his father's return, was exceptionally favored as to his opportunities for receiving the best possible training under the eye of his watchful parents, who had already taken rank with the best educators of England.

"Fortunately for the professor, while occupying so effectively his chair at Breda, he found it within his power to confer personal favors upon the exiled King, Charles II, then sojourning there. These were gratefully remembered, and opened the way, soon after the restoration, for his being admitted into 'holy orders,' by the Bishop of London, in 1661, for his being honored with the degree of doctor of divinity, gifted by the crown with the rectory of Fobbing, in Essex, and afterward by the Bishop, with that of Lavingdon, in the same county; all showing that the change of government from commonwealth to kingdom, brought to him no great distress, nor interfered with the educational interests of his family. The scholar, the diplomatist, the statesman, who had been recognized throughout Europe as the representative of the Lord Protector in defence of the peoples oppressed for conscience sake, was eminently qualified, of course, to train his only son into sympathy with his own ideas and the martyr spirit of the exiles who were to seek transatlantic homes within his own lordly domain.

In this timing of events the Huguenot Pilgrims discerned a divine adjustment of means to ends as real and apt as was that traced by the Israelites in the predicted exaltation of the youthful Joseph to that ancient 'Lordship' that prepared their way to the land of promise. Of the fine qualities of character exemplified by these heroic people, and the possibilities of their future, he was thoroughly appreciative. How different might have been their fortunes had he, like some leading men of the period, favored the exclusive policy of the reigning monarch by whom the manorial charter had been granted, and whose measures, ere long, rendered the English Revolution a logical necessity. But all antipathies were overruled, and in the annals of the following century we trace the gradual growth of a well-ordered and happy community, distinguished by an inherited refinement of manners and a degree of intellectual culture that made New Rochelle of Pelham what the legal phrase of the charter designated the manor, 'a place of itself;' unique; winning to its homes and schools the best elements of family life and social advancement. At the opening of the nineteenth century, the French language, spoken in purity and elegance, still lived as the vernacular of home life, attracting the more progressive class of students, whereof the names of Washington Irving, John Jay, Philip Schuyler, and Gouverneur Morris may be taken as exponents. A few who were children at that period are yet living, and remember the ladies who, like Mary Beslie, the sister of Dr. Oliver Beslie, possessed home libraries containing the standard works of French Literature that had nourished the intellectual youth of their mothers in France. As it has been well-said by Macaulay, that the fusion of Norman and Saxon elements in the thirteenth century produced the England that has figured as a power in a world of history, so that we may truly say that the fusion of English and French elements in this manorial tract, bought originally of the Indians by Thomas Pell, Esq., in 1654, confirmed by an English King, James II, as a "lordship," in 1687, produced a social growth of fine typal character, and furnished a contribution distinctively its own to the progress of American Colonial civilization.

"The incidental reference by name to an excellent lady who had passed the border line of 'three-score and ten' before the nineteenth century began, recalls to mind one whose image is associated with my earliest memories and with my first impressions of the primitive style of the cultivated Huguenot's life and manners. Madame Beslie, while in thought I replace her amid the old surroundings in Pellham, New Rochelle and New York, reappears in my retrospective musing as I saw her often in my school days, a queenly woman of ninety-five years, not bent by age, retaining her natural ease and grace of movement, still able by her winning ways to draw us young folk to her side as listeners to her talk while she rehearsed the memories of her youth. The younger children of the family circle, usually speaking of her as 'Aunt Mollie Bayley,' were obliged, each in turn, to take a lesson on the different spellings of French words that sound alike. When her memory became unretentive of things recent, it kept fresh as ever the things long past; hence whensoever I greeted her after absences of a month or week, she would place her hands upon my temples, then kissing me upon the forehead, would pleasantly allude to the old French mode of salutation. At once, as if making a new communication, she would repeat, with an interest as lively as ever, the story of the exodus, the deadly persecution in France and the fate of her grandmother, who had been dragged through the streets of Paris by the hair of her head. Having ended her narrative, the turn of her familiar talk would be suggested, often by the old French book that she would happen to be holding in her hand, or by a reference to some volume or pictured page within the glass doors of her book-case. Gifted as she was with communicative power, she was, at the same time, one of the best of listeners, calling forth from her company the best they had to offer; and, indeed, I have sometimes wondered whether the charms of her conversation were to be regarded the more eminently as an inherited talent, as the incidental outcome of favoring social influences, or the product of some kind of educational training that had grown into 'a second nature.' Though uncertain just now as to the date of her departure from earth (not far from the close of 1817), I can truly say that her beautiful example of refined Christian womanhood has been ever before me as an exponent of Huguenot character, shaping my conceptions of Huguenot home-life and keeping alive my sympathies with the spirit of Huguenot history.

"Coincident with these sentiments, as to inherited culture, was the impression made upon the mind of New England by the example of public spirit exhibited in the city of Boston by a native of New Rochelle more than a century and a quarter ago. From the earliest days of the American Revolution Faneuil Hall has been to Boston a household word, familiar to the lips of men, women and children as the memorial of Huguenot munificence, rendered classical by historic associations that quicken the pulse of patriotism and call forth the spirit of song in commemoration of the 'cradle of liberty.' Thus the name of a Huguenot of New Rochelle has not only held a shining place in the annals of the colonial commonwealth, but lives in the nation's history as a source of inspiration, awakening memories that are an uplifting power.

"Although the name of this man, thus memorialized, has been daily repeated in the first city of New England by four or five successive generations, yet his short and inspiring life-story had been permitted almost to fade away from memory until its late restoration to the popular range of home reading by the pen of Charles Smith, who has contributed a

[1] Volume ii., p. 51.

choice chapter to the memorial history of Boston. The uncle of Peter, the founder and donor of the hall, was Andrew Faneuil, who fled from France to Holland in 1685, and thence, as the record shows, had become, in 1691, a tax-payer and citizen of Boston. At the opening of the eighteenth century he had taken rank as the leading merchant of the city in point of wealth, trusted by all as a man of honesty and honor. His death, in 1737, seemed indeed an untimely event. The sense of loss was universal, expressed by the gathering at his grave—a procession of eleven hundred persons, representatives of the whole people. His property was 'willed' to his nephew Peter, who, at eighteen years of age, had left his native town, New Rochelle, and sojourned for a short period in Rhode Island, whither he had accompanied his father, Benjamin. Proceeding thence to Boston, he entered into the service of his Uncle Andrew, and soon won the confidence and the love that issued in his appointment as his uncle's executor and residuary legatee. His career was brief but brilliant. Though he lived only five years after his uncle's decease, he rendered that small fraction of life a fine historical episode in the municipal record of his time.

"In the year 1740 the people were divided into two parties, nearly equal in numbers, by the discussion of a proposal to meet a public need—the erection of a central market-house. The opponents of the enterprise were persistent, though the grounds of their action are not clearly discernible. In this state of the public mind Peter Faneuil came forward and offered to erect the building at his own cost, 'to be improved for a market for the sole uses, benefit and advantage of the town, provided that the town of Boston would pass a vote for that purpose, and lay the same under such proper regulations as shall be thought necessary, and constantly support it for said use.'

"The selectmen called a meeting to act upon the proposal; 367 votes were cast for accepting the gift, 360 against it. Mr. Faneuil enlarged his plan, and over the market erected a splendid hall, capable of accommodating a thousand persons. At a town-meeting in the town-house, September 13, 1743, a vote was unanimously passed accepting the gift, and appointing a committee, consisting of the moderator of the meeting, the selectmen, the representative to the general court and six other gentlemen, 'to wait upon Peter Faneuil, Esq., and in the name of the town to render him their hearty thanks for so bountiful a gift, with their prayers that this and other expressions of his bounty and charity may be abundantly recompensed with the divine blessing.'

"The first town-meeting held within the walls of Faneuil Hall, 1743, was the occasion for delivering a eulogy on the life and character of the donor by Mr. John Lovell, master of the Latin school. In his oration Mr. Lovell said, after referring to private charities, 'Let this stately edifice which bears his name witness for him what sums he expended in public munificence. This building, erected by him at his own immense charge, for the convenience and ornament of the town is incomparably the greatest benefaction ever yet known to our western shore.' Thus Boston a century and a quarter ago gratefully declared to the world that, although the Huguenot element did not much affect the population as to quantity, it was an effective factor of sterling worth as to *quality*, and that the finest expression of its spirit and style was to be found in the magnificent record left there by the large-souled young Huguenot of New Rochelle.

"Having mentioned the year of Mr. Faneuil's departure, 1743, it may be noted, incidentally, that in 1843 the celebration of our national independence in Faneuil Hall awakened into new life old historic associations, and imparted to that day's observance somewhat of the dignity of a centennial recognition. On the fourth of July of that year Mr. Charles Francis Adams delivered his first public oration, and, as had been expected, in the presence of the venerable ex-president, his father. Having been invited to officiate as chaplain on that occasion, I repaired to the council chamber of the city hall half an hour before the time of forming the procession. While reclining alone upon the old-fashioned window-seat, enjoying its pleasant outlook, the ex-president entered the room. Ere long, taking his seat beside me, he touched upon a few reminiscences of the past, and then said in a tone expressive of profound feeling, 'This is one of the happiest days of my whole life. Fifty years expire to-day since I performed in Boston my first public service, which was the delivery of an oration to celebrate our national independence After a half century of active life I am spared by a benign providence to witness my son's performance of his first public service—to deliver an oration in honor of the same great event.' To this I answered, 'Mr. President, I am well aware of the notable connection of events to which you refer, and having committed and declaimed a part of your own great oration when a school boy in New York, I could, without effort, repeat it to you now.' To 'the old man eloquent,' as well as to myself, the coincidence was an agreeable surprise. At the close of the services connected with the delivery of the oration, the guests of the city were gathered at the festal banquet in Faneuil Hall. There I was called upon as chaplain, not only to invoke the divine benediction, but to respond to a patriotic sentiment that awakened memories of the heroic dead. To me, certainly, it was an uplifting thought, that, like the founder of the hall, belonging by birth to Pelham and New Rochelle, at the end of a century from the year of its completion and his departure, I was standing in the thronged edifice that memorialized his name, alive to the significance of the position, well assured that by every uttered word I was but voicing the ideas that he loved, that he expressed in deeds more eloquent than words, and made his record a treasured legacy.

"This early colonial civilization, which we have traced from its beginning, with its style of culture so unique on account of its variety of elements fused into newly developed characters, ere long put forth a power of attraction that gathered to it and around it people of congenial tastes, appreciative of the social qualities and educational aspirations recognized as a transmitted heritage. Long remembered among these who, at the close of the last century, sought a home in old Pelham, was a man of large fortune, an educated gentlemen, a bachelor just touching the border of middle life, of whom, as it seems, only one memorial can now be found, and that the marble slab at the head of his grave, hinting briefly at the beginning and ending of his life-story. A single sentence utters its whole message, thus,—In memory of Alexander Bampfield Henderson, Esq., a native of Charleston, in South Carolina, but late of the town of Pelham and county of Westchester, who departed this life 26th December, 1804, aged 47 years.



PETER FANEUIL.

"On a bright summer's day, about ten years ago, in a solitary walk among the tombs of the old French Burial Ground, my attention was arrested by the inscription here copied. Although I had never seen the man, nor been his contemporary, I felt myself closely related and greatly indebted to him. For I was familiar with the story that from his beautiful residence, separated by Pelham Creek from the land estate of my grandparent, William Bailey, he daily used to walk across the causeway and bridge to our homestead and relieve the loneliness of 'Bachelor Hall,' in the sympathetic enjoyment of our family life. Such was his habitude, indeed, during the most important period of my mother's history, her later school days. His private library, a true index of his cherished tastes, was one of the best, at the time, outside of the metropolis; and it greatly intensified his enjoyment of it, often recognizing in my mother, *née* Anne Bayley, a keen appreciation of books, to minister to her intellectual development by placing at her command the freshest productions of English literature, rendering her familiar with the standard works of Essayists and Poets, with most of those English classics, indeed, that would be found in the choicest home library at the close of the Eighteenth Century. Thus, working 'better than he knew,' he was providing the main topics of interest that ruled the course of our household talk throughout my school days, and was qualifying my mother to become, not professionally, but incidentally and really, the attractive companion and educator of her five children. Her grateful allusions to him made his name familiar to our ears; and often curious fancy would invest with the golden haze of romance the unwritten history of this 'Lone Lord of the Isle.' Rumor had sometimes whispered that, in his expe-

rience, the glow of youthful hope had been dimmed by the death of a first love, for whose vacant place no substitute could be found on earth.

"In this connection it remains to be said, however, that, whether this suggestion were true or not, a few well-remembered facts, outlining his life course, were recently rehearsed to me by Elbert Roosevelt, Esq., whose life-long residence in Pelham, near the Island, suggest a series of memories related to the whole vicinity, extending over two-thirds of a century. These conversational statements supply what was lacking to give a desired unity to the story.

"Mr. Henderson, born in South Carolina, was of Scotch origin; was educated at the University of Edinburgh, and then took rank as a Surgeon in the English Army. Thus he was brought into communication with the British Ambassador in India, and was by him introduced to the Court of the reigning Prince, who engaged the Surgeon's professional services in behalf of his favorite wife, then seriously ill. The treatment was a success, and the delighted Prince honored Mr. Henderson, in his own way, by the presentation of a beautiful Circassian slave girl, about thirteen years of age. This present the Army Surgeon did not bring away with him from India; 'but, after establishing his home at the Island,' said Mr. Roosevelt, 'he commissioned your father (Captain James Hague, of Pelham, commanding a ship in the India trade) to look after this princely gift, and bring with him the young Circassian as a passenger on his return voyage from Calcutta. With her, accordingly, Captain Hague sought an interview, but found her so well pleased with her position in the household of a British officer that she could not be induced to leave her new protector. Nevertheless, the Captain was accompanied with an Indian lad, the Surgeon's protégé, who was welcomed, treated as an adopted son, and bore the name of William Henderson. The lad survived the retired Surgeon eight years, and was buried by his side in the old French Burial Ground at New Rochelle. The two graves are surrounded by a well-wrought iron fence, and the smaller marble headstone bears this brief inscription: 'In memory of William Henderson, who died January 19, 1812, in the 25th year of his age.'

"In his last sickness the young man was most kindly attended by Dr. Rogers, through whose influence or advice he bequeathed the sum of twelve hundred dollars, appropriated to the erection of a town house, 'for the use and convenience' of the people of New Rochelle. With the recognition of this gift the townspeople of our time generally associate the name of the owner of the Island Home; it is, however, the East India youth's memorial.

"Henderson's Island, beautiful for situation, distinguished by its homestead, so greatly enriched by the best of home libraries in Pelham, became well known as Hunter's Island, more distinguished than ever by its new palatial mansion, with the best private art gallery in the United States. The propriety of this characterization by the use of the superlative degree was, probably, undisputed by any rival during the first two decades of this century. We may safely say that no one of the earlier generations of the Pells, or of the Huguenots, however aspiring, would have dreamed of such a possibility for a family home within the bounds of the manorial grant so recently chartered by an English king in troublous times, and then so thoroughly impoverished by the Revolutionary War. Under what conditions could it have seemed possible that some of the choicest treasures of ancient Italian galleries could be transferred to a secluded little island, fifteen miles from the city of New York, the purchase of a young American?

"The explanation, as received from Mr. Hunter personally, was this: At the the time of his graduating from Columbia College, twenty-one years of age, it so happened that he came into full possession of his property. A friend and fellow-student, traveling in Europe while Napoleon was campaigning in Italy, wrote earnestly, reminding him that, on account of insecurity, art treasures were offered for sale at great sacrifice, and that an opportunity to indulge cherished tastes had now arrived, the like of which had not been known before and might never come again. 'My answer was prompt,' said Mr. Hunter, 'availing myself of his service, with faith in his judgment and discretion.'

"Here, at this point of writing, I have arrested my pen in order to read aloud to a friendly caller what, as it happens, I have just now written, and have thus drawn forth this critical questioning: Surely, the Italian art dealers must have seen their opportunity in negotiating with a young commissioned American, and might have been quite equal to the occasion. How have the claims of these choice treasures been verified? However fair and apt that questioning may be, suffice it here for me to say that it is not within the scope of my purpose to determine the origin of the pictures, and that with a youth's faith in the keen insight and critical judgment of so highly educated an amateur as the Hon. John Hunter, it was my fortune to realize, amid our surroundings in the gallery, all possible delight and mental quickening, limited only by the measure of receptivity. Outside of the family circle, Mr. Hunter, who, in his spirit and style of manners, represented a high ideal of the typal gentleman, the courteous and accomplished State Senator, reappears to the eye of memory as the first personality that I can recall as associated with my early life in Pelham. Ere long, after the death of his son, Des Brosses Hunter, Esq., the gallery was sold, the island passed into other ownership; yet, whatsoever may be its fortunes in the future, its relations to old Pelham and New Rochelle as a source of intellectual and æsthetic culture to several suggestive generations will brighten the record of its past and render its name a cherished memory in the annals of local history.[1]

"The mention of these names pertaining to the island's history, in connection with that of the manor and town, carries us back in thought to the Anglo-French life of old Pelham, as pictured out sixty or more years ago in our family talks, and illumined now by our memories of those who represented the remoter past. Fortunately for us our dear grandparents, uncles and aunts were lovingly communicative, rehearsing to us of the third generation the local annals of the manor and the familiar facts of the revolutionary era; little episodes as lively as any that Fenimore Cooper has woven into his romance of the 'Spy.' These incidental stories of the home life that followed the establishment of Independence and the 'Union' were equally winning, making us acquainted with our kindred and neighbors, with our parents, associates in their early days throughout rural and suburban surroundings.

"Prominent among these was Dr. Richard Bayley, the only brother of my grandfather, whose mother was a Huguenot, *nee* Susanne Leconte, and whose eminently distinguished daughter, Eliza Ann Bayley Seton, has been historically recognized as the presiding genius of the Roman Catholic academic institute at Emmetsburg, Md., and the founder of the order of the Sisters of Charity in the United States. Dr. Bayley, himself, a favorite student of the celebrated Hunter, of London, the first professor in the medical department of Columbia College, an accepted authority as a professional writer in England and France,[2] though living within an environment of churchly influences at home, acknowledged no connection with any ecclesiastical organism. Hence, the position of his accomplished daughter, biographically commemorated as 'Mother Seton,' the gifted educator, as well as the founder, of the most eminent sisterhood (and we may add here, parenthetically, the more recent positions of his grandson, James Roosevelt Bayley, as having been, at first, rector of the Episcopal Church, at Harlem, and then, at last, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore, Primate of America) seems the more particularly noteworthy. In a widening circle of relationships thus made up there could be evidently no lack of conversational topics adapted to keep us all mentally alive and wide-awake to note the driftings of thought throughout the whole community, so recently set free from the *regime* of a colonial church establishment, whose ideal aim had been, of course, the legal maintenance of religious uniformity.

"Touching the first of the ecclesiastical transmutations here mentioned, profoundly sad, indeed, was the tone of amazement discernible in the exclamation of Mrs. Seton's elder sister, Mrs. Dr. Wright Post, of Throgg's Neck, addressed to my mother and by her repeated to me regarding the talented Ann Eliza, 'She has gone over to the church that persecuted her ancestors.' As we now look back over the seven decades that have gone by since that day, we may safely say that no change of ecclesiastical relations on the part of an individual has stirred 'society' at the time with questions so keenly conducting or has been effective of influences more widely felt in the homes of the country.

"To many, even personal friends, the change seemed inexplicable; a mystery, a fact untraceable to any adequate cause. Numerous and earnest were the questionings as to what influences had been secretly working at the starting-point of this new career. By some, especially those who had been associated with her from childhood in the communion of 'dear old Trinity,' the explanation was found in the sensibility of her

[1] When first penning the closing lines of this paragraph, the writer supposed that there was still occasion in alluding to the designation of the island, to use the phrase, its *former* name. Since then we have welcomed the intelligence that since the estate has passed into the hands of Mr. C. Oliver Iselin, the old familiar name, "Hunter's Island," whereby our sires and grandsires knew the place, has been restored and chiselled upon the granite pillars of the causeway,—a work of good taste in which we all have a common interest.

[2] Thacher's "Medical Biography," Art. Bayley.

emotive nature, under the stress of sorrow, to loving appeals during her stay in Italy, where, in the year 1804, her honored husband, William Seton, Esq., died after a lingering illness, and where her depressed spirit found relief in the ministrations of the Roman Catholic Church, as well as in the hospitable home of the noble-souled Felichi. The truth is, however, that the trend of her steps toward the Roman Catholic Church, strengthened by her æsthetic tastes, was noticed in her earlier days before she had left her native land; and after her return from Italy to New York she was still a communicant of Trinity Church, for weeks, as she said, 'in an agony of suspense,' engaged in discussions, oral and written, with the Rev. John Henry Hobart, then rector of Trinity, afterward Bishop of the Diocese of New York, and Archbishop Carroll, of Baltimore, in regard to the main principles of Protestantism. At that earlier period, her cousin, Ann Bayley, of Pelham, only eight years younger than herself, was living in the environment of the same religious atmosphere, keenly sympathetic, constantly interchanging sentiments as well as visits.

"The leading idea that then engaged the thoughts of those two cousins pertained not so much to the emotive nature as to the intellectual; for a main subject of discussion emphasized in the chief pulpits of New York at that day, was the relation of the sacraments to personal salvation. At that point the life course of the two cousins diverged. The affirmation, sometimes eloquently argued, that the sacraments, administered through a regular priestly succession, are the divinely appointed channels through which saving grace flows forth from the fountain of life into the human soul, took the strongest possible hold upon the spirit nature of the elder cousin, calling forth, even then, painful doubts over a suggested question, namely this: 'As the Anglican church recognizes the perfect validity of the Roman Catholic sacraments, while on the other hand, the older Roman church has never recognized the validity of the Anglican administration, am I not required, by a proper regard for my own soul's peace and safety, to place myself upon the ground that remains to both sides undisputed?' Strange as it may seem to many that her early faith should have faltered before such a question, from that starting-point of thought she advanced in due time, after her return from Italy, through 'an agony of suspense' to the positions taken in her printed correspondence with Bishop Hobart and the Primate of Baltimore. At the same time her younger cousin, then residing at the paternal home in Pelham, equally interested in the new inquiry, as to them it seemed, having been attracted as a listener to the teachings of the eminent preacher of the Presbyterian Church in Murray Street, Rev. Dr. John Mitchell Mason, who occasionally delivered a discourse in New Rochelle, she embraced, with a responsive spirit, the formulated statement of pure protestantism, 'justification by faith alone,' so eloquently put forth by him as 'the true spirit union with Christ, embracing within it character and condition.' Thenceforward her favorite characterization of Christianity was 'the religion of the New Testament,' emphasizing thus, as she thought, by this short phrase, the two distinguishing qualities of the primitive church teachings, simplicity and catholicity.[1]

"It is a curiously suggestive study, this tracing of mental histories. From the same starting-points of intellectual, emotive, or spiritual development, even of congenial minds, how strangely far apart the issues! Some time before her departure for Italy, the elder cousin visited her younger, sisterly cousin at Pelham; at the moment of taking leave, bidding her good-bye while presenting her an article of skilfully wrought needle-work as a love token, she kissed her and said, 'I hope we will meet in heaven.' They never met on earth again. Both lived, however, to an advanced age. The elder, having wept for the last time over the grave of her husband in Italy,—the English burial-ground at Pisa,—and having returned to New York, welcomed ere long, the comparative seclusion of a conventual life in Maryland; the younger, having been joined in marriage, by Rev. Theodosius Bartow, rector of New Rochelle, at her father's house in Pelham, to Captain James Hague, commander of a ship in the East India trade, lived happily, the life of her family circle, until nearly 'fourscore years' of age; and then, after fourteen years of widowhood, died at the house of her only daughter, Mrs. Dr. Alexander W. Rogers, Patterson, New Jersey, amid the benedictions of her children, who, in accordance with the old scripture's voicing of filial love, 'rise up and call her blessed.'

"The contrasted issues of two lives thus realized by two friends of Huguenot descent imparts significance to a saying noted at Paris in a tourist's journal, that the trend of the French nature is toward intellectual freedom, and that where there is French blood it will assert itself in individuality of character, tempered and toned by inherited tastes and manners into social and civil concord. The fortunes of Pelham and New Rochelle illustrate this view. In this connection it seems a noteworthy fact that the English monarch who gave to Pelham its first manorial charter, was himself the sole, self-determined donor of the charter of Rhode Island to Roger Williams, openly declaring the reason of his action to be his sovereign will to 'experiment whether civil government could consist with such liberty of conscience.' It may seem strange that a notably careless, pleasure-loving king, like Charles II., should rise to the height of the grandly exceptional opportunity presented to him as a means of solving a great problem for the world through all time. The thought has been naturally suggested that he had no higher aim than a provision for unlimited freedom of the Roman Catholics. In that combination of events, however, the founder of Rhode Island recognized a divine ruling or overruling, when he said, 'the father of spirits has impressed his royal spirit,' and added, in his letter to Major Mason, 'this, his majesty's grant, was startled at by his majesty's high officers of state, who were to view it in course before the sealing, but fearing the lion's roaring, they couched against their wills in obedience to his majesty's pleasure.' Major Mason's Letter Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i., 3 note. As here we repeat this marvellous testimony, we are tempted to wish that the experiment king who gave to Pelham, as well as to Rhode Island, a charter of self-government, could have lived long enough to hear from the whole area of the old manor, after embracing within its limits the town of New Rochelle, the experimental response of a thriving population with all its diversities of age, taste and traditions, a live civil unity; their homes all vocal with the ancient song of the Hebrews, 'the borderlines have fallen to us in pleasant places; we have a goodly heritage.'

"In his retrospective monograph, I have had occasion to refer by name to women of the Huguenot family. Now last of all, our thoughts are drawn to a late suggestive event in the annals of New Rochelle, attracting the attention of the nation at large to one funeral scene: namely, the death of a lady in whose veins flowed the blood of an Anglican and a French ancestry.

"The quiet departure of Mrs. Caroline Leroy Webster, on Sunday, February 26th, at the Leroy Mansion, was announced generally by the press, and awakened many slumbering memories of her life, associated with New York, Boston and Washington, as well as with Pelham and New Rochelle. Born at the house of her father, Jacob Leroy, Esq., New York, 1797, a considerable proportion of her early remembrances were associated with scenes of rural life pertaining both to the manor and the town.

"Mr. Webster having met Miss Leroy at her city residence, recognized at once the rare qualities of her intellectual culture, her graceful manners, her conversational gifts and her queenly power as a leader of society. In the year 1829 she became his second wife, and in the more extended sphere of social and public life that she thus entered was, from first to last, perfectly at home.

"The storm that raged on Wednesday, March 1st, was at its height when the funeral service was ministered in Trinity Church, New Rochelle, by the rector, Rev. Mr. Canedy and Rev. Mr. Higgins, rector of Christ Church, Pelham, and as the attendance of ladies was necessarily limited, the large gathering of gentlemen, from homes far and near, was remarkable, indicating the profoundly cherished memories relating to the career of the great statesman, the completed close of whose home-life on earth seemed as if now emphasized by the funeral dirge within the temple and the majestic voice of the tempest without.

"Not long after the death of Mr. Webster, as we well remember, one hundred citizens of Boston contributed one thousand dollars each to a fund of one hundred thousand dollars, which was invested for Mrs. Webster's benefit, and the interest of this she duly received at her home in New Rochelle, a timely and welcome contribution to the cheer of her tranquil life evening.

"Thus it may be truly said that the men of Boston, in our own time, have given back a fitting response to the munificence of a Huguenot native of New Rochelle, expressed in the gift of Faneuil Hall to their honored city more than a century and a quarter ago, exemplifying the perfect fusion of Anglican and French elements into a vital unity, to endure throughout centuries to come.

Wm Hague

[1] Dr. Mason's physique, his figure and manner, were majestic and commanding. On one occasion, after listening to him at New Rochelle, Hon. John Hunter said to my mother, "That man was born to command, not to persuade; he has mistaken his calling; he ought to have been a major-general in the United States Army."

BIOGRAPHY.

JAMES HYATT.

Mr. James Hyatt, former supervisor of the town of Pelham, was a son of James H. Hyatt, who married Eliza Balcom, and resided in New York City. He was born there December 1, 1830, and was educated in the district school, which he left at the age of fifteen to engage in the butcher business.

He first entered as a clerk the shop of James Kent, in Tompkins' Market, at the corner of Sixth Street and the Bowery, New York. Here he remained during four years, at the expiration of which he removed to Mott Haven, and was engaged in the business with his uncle there for five years. He then left Mott Haven for the town of Westchester, and entered the butcher store of William Cooper, which he left after five years to open a market for himself in the same town.

One year afterward he removed the concern to City Island, where he still remains.

He is well known throughout Westchester, especially in its political life. He is an earnest Democrat and has held several political positions, both elective and by appointment. In 1863 he was appointed board clerk of the town of Pelham, and one year later was elected to the position, being re-elected to it for seven terms. In 1873 he was elected supervisor and re-elected to the office eleven times successively. He was also town constable for one year, and at one time was collector of school taxes.

Mr. Hyatt's consistent political life, and his earnest advocacy of correct principles in the government of his town and county, entitle him to the respect and esteem of the citizens of Westchester, wherever found.

CHAPTER XVIII.

WHITE PLAINS.

BY JOSIAH S. MITCHELL.

WHITE PLAINS, the shire-town of Westchester County, was described in an act of the Legislature of the State of New York, passed in 1788,[1] as "All that part of the county of Westchester bounded easterly by Mamaroneck River, northerly by North Castle, westerly by Bronx River and southerly by the town of Scarsdale," and by this act was erected into a town, containing four thousand four hundred and thirty-five acres.

As late as the year 1683 this territory was still in the possession of its aboriginal owners. The chiefs were sachems of the Weckquaskech tribe, a portion of the powerful Mohican nation, whose territory lay between the Connecticut River and the Hudson, the Weckquaskech family occupying the more limited region between the Byram River and the Hudson. No woodman's axe had yet invaded the quietude of its forests; but amid the leafy hedges, and beneath the sheltering branches of overhanging trees, the tawny savage and his tawny mate, rearing their black-eyed little ones in the primitive simplicity of their remotest ancestors, remained the sole human inhabitants of the soil.

But now the hum of civilization is beginning to be heard on their borders. The irrepressible and irresistible New Englander, advancing with rapid strides, having in 1666 settled Rye as far as the Mamaroneck River, in 1683 purchased the better country lying between that river and the Bronx, and called by the natives, Quarroppas,—by the settlers the White Plains,—the deed of which to the people of Rye is as follows:

"To all Christian peopell to hom these presence shall com greting
"Know yee that we Shapham, Cockenseco, Orewapum, Kewetoahan,
"Koawanoh Paatck Shiphatlash, Korehevuvous, panawok, memishott,
"pesekanoh, oromahgah, patthunk, hohoreis, sotonge, wonawaking,
"owhorawas nosband have for a valuabell sum of money to us in hand
"paid by the town of Rye that are inhabitance bargained covinanted,
"ailuated and soulld unto the Inhabitance of the above said town of
"Ry, A sartain tract of land Lying within the town bounds of Rye
"Bounded as followeth on the north east with Mamarineck River, and
"on the Southwest with a branch of the said River and marked trees
"till it comes to brunckes River and then to Runn by Brunches River
"till it Comes to the head of the whit plaines soe called, and by the
"marked trees from thence till it comes to the uppermost branch of
"marinneck River, which trackt of Land commonly called by the Eng-
"lish the whit plaines and called by the Indians Quaroppas which said
"tract of Land wee the above said shapham, Cockincecko, orewapum,
"kewetoahan, koawanoh, moahalice and the Rest of the above said
"indians have soulled as above said unto the Inhabitance of the said
"town of Rye them theire heires execatars administrators or asignes for
"ever and Doe hereby bind ourselves our heires Exectars Administratars
"and assigns unto the Inhabitance of the above said town of Rye them
"theire heires Execatars administratars or asignes that they may at
"all times from and after the date hereof peasably and quieatly poses
"occupy and enjoy the above said tract of land free from all former
"bargaines salles morgages or other incombrances whatso ever and
"all soe to warrant and make good the above said salle against any par-
"son or parsons whatso ever that shall or will make or lay any claime or
"claimes theare unto and In teastimony theareof wee have caused
"this bill of salle to be made and here unto haue sett our hands and
"scalles this two and twentieth of November one thousand six hundred
"Eighty three.

"Scaled, signed and delivered in the presents of us"

"Cornelass	the marke of
"his marke	Shapham
"Joshua Knapp	Cokenseko
"the marke of	Orowapum
"Motepeatehon	Kewetoham
	Koawanoh
"John Odell	Moahpoatch
"his marke	Patthunk
	Hohornis
	Sotonge
	owhorawas
	oramapuah."

"This bill of salle is acknowledged by the granters to be their ackt
"and deed before me in Rye the day and yere aboue written.

"JOSEPH HORTON
"Comissioneer."

This purchase was immediately followed by the actual occupation of the newly-acquired territory, though not without opposition; for the Rye people were met by the claims of John Richbell, who, in

[1] Greenleaf's Laws, vol. ii. p. 153.

1660, had purchased from an Indian three necks of land lying between Stony Brook and Mamaroneck River. Richbell's purchase had been confirmed by the Dutch government of New Amsterdam in 1662, and subsequently, in 1668, together "with the land lying north twenty miles into the woods," by the government of New York, so far as the lands were included in the province of New York. Hence historians generally have regarded the Rye people as mere squatters, without right or title to the soil of the White Plains, and indebted, finally, to the kindness of Colonel Caleb Heathcote, the grantee of the Richbell title, for undisturbed possession of this goodly territory. If we pause here to make a careful examination of the grounds upon which the respective claims to these lands by the rival purchasers, and by New Amsterdam and New England, were based, we shall find that this commonly accepted idea is erroneous.

The Pilgrims, although in exile, counted themselves Englishmen, and were ever ready to maintain at any sacrifice the claims of the mother country, based upon the undisputed discovery of the coast of North America, from the Chesapeake Bay to Nova Scotia, in 1497, by the Cabots, sailing under the British flag; no actual occupation of the land was accomplished, however, notwithstanding many attempts were made, until the bold and enterprising spirit of Sir Walter Raleigh established the Virginia colony in 1607.

In the year 1609, Henry Hudson, an English navigator in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, undertook a voyage in the "Half-Moon," to seek a westward passage to China, and in September entered what is now known as New York Bay. In 1613, a Dutch trading establishment, consisting of five houses, under the superintendence of Hendrick Corstiaensen, was set up, but received a serious check when Captain Argall, of the Virginia colony, touched at the island and forced Corstiaensen and his associates to submit to the King of England, and to agree to pay tribute, in token of their dependence on the English crown.

In 1614 the States-General of the United Netherlands, for the purpose of encouraging exploration and settlement, offered a four years' monopoly of trade with newly-discovered lands. A company of merchants, under the title of "The United New Netherland Company," forming a partnership—not a corporation—availed themselves of the privilege, and erected the first rude fort on Manhattan Island. At the termination of the four years the charter of this company expired and was never renewed.[1]

The next step, in order of time, was the settlement of Plymouth, in 1620, under the original patent of New England, which embraced all that part of North America between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude, and extending "from sea to sea;" that is, as far south as Philadelphia and as far north as Quebec, and in breadth from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. This grant was absolute and exclusive. Without the permission of the Plymouth Council, no ship might sail into any harbor from Newfoundland to the latitude of Philadelphia; and not an emigrant might place his foot upon the soil. It was under this grant that four and twenty families landed from the "Mayflower," on Plymouth Rock, in December, 1620, and established a settlement, from which is dated the planting of New England.[2]

In 1621, the Dutch West India Company was incorporated for a period of twenty years, with privilege to traffic and plant colonies on the coast of Africa, from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, and on the coast of America from the Straits of Magellan to the remotest north; thus lightly did the little nation of merchants make gifts of continents. However, intelligence being received in England that preparations were making to send vessels to America, King James I. directed his ambassador at the Hague to urge upon the States-General the necessity of preventing their subjects from settling in parts north of Virginia, and distinctly asserting the illegality of making any settlements on this continent.[3] The ambassador was assured that the Dutch had planted no colony there, and intended to plant none. Notwithstanding these assurances, the Dutch West India Company, in 1626, purchased of the Indians, for the sum of twenty-four dollars, the Island of Manhattan, and built thereon Fort Amsterdam.

This attempt at a permanent settlement drew from Governor Bradford, of Plymouth, an earnest assertion of the right of the English to the country now occupied by the Dutch, and an intimation that force might be used to maintain the British claim. The directors in Holland thereupon obtained from Charles I. an order in Council, by which all the ports in the kingdoms and territories of the British King were thrown open to all Dutch vessels trading to or from New Netherland.[4]

Until the year 1629 the Dutch had done nothing to advance a settlement; a few servants of the company, connected with the trading posts, were the only Dutch inhabitants of New Netherland; and not a foot of soil had been reclaimed save the little that supplied the wants of the few persons attached to the three forts. During this year, however, a charter with special privileges was granted to all such members of the company as should settle any colony in New Netherland, and settlements were made on the Hudson River and at Cape Henlopen.[5]

During the years 1628, 1629 and 1630 thousands of English Puritans settled in Massachusetts. On March

[1] 2 Bancroft, U. S., 272.

[2] 1 Bancroft, U. S., 272; 1 Trumbull, 546; 1 Hazard, 103–108.

[3] 1 O'Callaghan's "New Netherland," 95.

[4] 1 O'Callaghan, 109.

[5] 1 O'Callaghan, 110.

19, 1631, Robert, Earl of Warwick, president of the Council of the Plymouth Company, granted unto Lord Say and Seal and sixteen others, and to their heirs and assigns and associates forever, "All that part of New England which lies west from Narragansett River a hundred and twenty miles on the sea coast and from thence in latitude and breadth aforesaid to the South Sea." This grant extends from Point Judith to New York, and from thence in a west line to the South Sea (Pacific Ocean); and if we take Narragansett River in its whole length, this tract will extend as far north as Worcester.[1]

The patents to Connecticut, Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia have the same westerly extension, and were so regarded by the English Kings, and acted upon in treaties between Great Britain and France and Spain. It was by this construction of the patents and charters of the American colonies that the Western Territories, as far as the Mississippi, were ceded to the United States by the peace with Great Britain; and it was by virtue of the same construction of the patents that Congress, in 1788, procured a formal surrender of the unappropriated Western lands from the States above named,—Connecticut, however, reserving a tract in Ohio, bounded on the south by the forty-first degree of north latitude and on the north by the Connecticut line, containing three million six hundred and sixty-seven thousand acres.[2]

In March, 1632, a Dutch ship was forced, by stress of weather, into the port of Plymouth, and was seized on a charge of having traded and obtained her cargo in countries subject to His Britannic Majesty. Out of this seizure grew the first sharp controversy between the English King and the States-General regarding their respective rights and claims in America—a controversy meriting special attention. The Dutch, in a carefully prepared deduction of their title, declared that after the North River was discovered in 1609 by subjects of their High Mightinesses, and visited by some of their citizens in 1610 and following years, a grant was made in 1615, to some of their subjects, of the trade to that country, and a small fort and garrison established there, which remained until the charter granted to the West India Company, which included these as well as other countries; that the grant of His Britannic Majesty to his subjects under the name of New England included the land between the forty-first and forty-fifth degrees; and the grant to Virginia included the country between the thirty-seventh and thirty-ninth degrees, leaving one hundred miles from one to the other, so that the Dutch limits should be from the thirty-ninth to the forty-first parallel, between which degrees it was not known the English had any designs, and which the subjects of their High Mightinesses obtained, partly by treaty with the proprietors of the soil, and partly by purchase.

This vindication of the company's rights was presented to Charles I., and a formal reply on the part of His Majesty was soon afterward made, in support of the British claims to the countries in North America of which the West India Company then had possession.

"The Dutch demand restitution" (say the Lords Commissioners of England) "of a certain ship seized at Plymouth on return from a certain plantation by them usurped, north of Virginia, which they allege they acquired from the natives of those countries. It is denied that the savages were possessed of those countries so as to be able to dispose of them, or that they were parties to the said pretended sale. And as regards the allegation that the natives have their abode round about them, the truth is, the English surround them on all sides, as they have very well discovered. But more than this; the rights belonging to his majesty's subjects in that country are justified by first discovery, occupation and possession, and by charters and letters patent obtained from our sovereigns, who, for these purposes, were the true and legitimate proprietors there, where the Lords, the States have not assumed to themselves such pretension, and have not granted any charter to their subjects, conveying in itself any title or power to them. Which was proved in the year 1621, when the late King directed his ambassador to urge upon their Lordships, the States-General, to prevent the departure of certain vessels which were preparing to proceed to the aforesaid country, and to forbid their subjects to settle in that plantation; for their answer was that they knew nothing of said enterprise. That any who will submit themselves to his majesty's government, as his majesty's subjects, may settle there; that if they do not consent, his majesty's interest will not permit him to allow them to usurp and encroach upon one of his colonies, which he has great cause to cherish and maintain in its integrity.

"By these replies to the aforesaid complaints, their Lordships, the States-General, will understand how little ground they have to enter on their neighbor's territory in defiance of any alienation thereof by his majesty."

The vessel was subsequently released; but her detention had accomplished the end the government had in view, which was to assert a title that undisputed possession might possibly impair.

The condition of New Netherland in the year 1638,[3] when Governor Kieft arrived, was but a step removed from its primitive state of wilderness. It was uninhabited save by a few traders and clerks, and, except for half a dozen farms around Fort Amsterdam and an equal number about Fort Orange, was wholly uncultivated. No towns or villages had been planted, and of the few settlers introduced by the company, the greater part had returned, leaving a few isolated traders in the solitary forts which served only as a rendezvous for lazy Indians. Had the Dutch filled the land with an energetic and determined race, seeking to build houses and churches and to found commonwealths, as the English were doing, they might have stemmed the tide of New England encroachment, which, a few years later, washed against the very shores of Manhattan Island. During the next year, 1639, there were considerable accessions to the number of actual settlers in New Amsterdam, but up to that time the history of New Netherland was merely the day journal of a trading company.

In 1640 the advance guard of New England

[1] Trumbull's Conn., 13.
[2] Trumbull, 14.
[3] 1 O'Callaghan, 177.

pioneers had pushed westward to Byram River, and soon organized a church and a township, and devoting themselves heartily to their agricultural and domestic duties, created happy homes, and laughed at Dutch claims not backed up by actual possession. The possibility of annoyance, both by land and sea, to the unguarded towns along the Sound, and the dread, on the part of the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven, of greater quarrels than they could singly manage, brought about the formation of the New England Confederacy in 1643, said by John Quincy Adams to have been "the model and prototype of the North American Confederacy of 1774." At the first meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonists, in September, 1643, one of the most urgent items of business was to answer a letter from Governor Kieft desiring an explicit declaration of the policy to be pursued in relation to the Dutch claims in Connecticut. The opportunity was welcomed, and an answer drawn up asserting the justice of the English claims. By the time this answer reached Kieft, however, his rashness and the greed of the Dutch traders had brought on an Indian war, the violence of which left the Dutch neither time nor strength for other aggressive movements while the reins of government remained in Kieft's hands.

In May, 1647, Kieft was deposed and the government passed into the hands of Peter Stuyvesant, who soon found occasion for showing the spirit in which he proposed to administer his office. He secretly seized a ship from Holland trading in the harbor of New Haven, on the ground that the Dutch jurisdiction, by right of discovery, included New Haven within the limits of New Netherland, and therefore customs duties on the cargo should be paid to the Dutch Governor. This unexpected insult led to a voluminous correspondence, conducted on the part of Governor Eaton with such unanswerable reasoning as to compel Stuyvesant to deny any intentional wrong.

In 1650 an attempt was made by the English colonies and the Dutch to settle the boundary line between them. A conditional agreement[1] was entered into, subject to ratification by England and Holland, whereby the dividing line was to begin on the west side of Greenwich Bay[2] and run twenty miles into the country,—Greenwich to be under the government of the Dutch. This agreement, however, was never confirmed, and a subsequent declaration of war between the mother countries created a more hostile feeling between the Dutch and English on this side of the Atlantic, which continued until the conclusion of peace, in 1654.

Prior to this time, in 1642, a few families from Massachusetts, under the leadership of John Throckmorton, settled on Throgg's Neck, and that remarkable woman, Anne Hutchinson, with her family, settled on Hutchinson's River, in what is now Pelham. In 1643 the Hutchinson family was entirely swept away by the Indians in their retaliatory war with the Dutch, and a part only of Throckmorton's colony survived. These, with the exception of Thomas Cornell and the Mondys, all New England people, were the only persons who attempted settlements east of the Bronx River until 1654, when Thomas Pell, acting under special authority from Connecticut, purchased of the Indians the land which embraces the present town of Westchester, and obtained a grant of the territory[3] bearing date the 14th day of November.

In 1652[4] the West India Company had instructed Stuyvesant to engage the Indians in his cause against the New England colonies, but the friendship of the Narragansetts for the Puritans could not be shaken. "I am poor," said Mixam, one of the sachems, "but no presents of goods or of guns or of powder and shot shall draw me into a conspiracy against my friends, the English." In this year the Dutch ambassadors opened negotiations in London in reference to the American colonies and the settlement of the boundary question, but the English persistently claimed the territory from Virginia to Newfoundland; the consideration of the subject was deferred, and the opportunity to secure a ratification of the Hartford treaty of 1650 was forever lost.[5]

Again, in 1654,[6] the States-General, feeling that the encroaching disposition and superior numbers of the English rendered their North American possessions insecure, instructed their ambassadors at London to negotiate a boundary line. But this effort, like those which had preceded it, proved unsuccessful, and throughout the protectorate[7] England declared the Dutch to be intruders. During the next four years[8] a good understanding was maintained between the Dutch and their New England neighbors,—the Dutch, as the weaker party, being very careful not to give offense.

The situation was substantially unchanged, when, in April 1662, John Winthrop obtained from King Charles II. a charter for the colony of Connecticut,[9] confirming the whole of the country granted by Charles I. to the Earl of Warwick, and conferring many powers not included in former charters.[10] Winthrop, the new Governor of Connecticut, now gave notice to Director Stuyvesant that he must not trouble any of His Majesty's subjects within the limits of the new patent; Westchester (Orsdorp) was advised that it was included within the colony of Connecticut, and Stuyvesant, on the 15th of November, 1663,[11] wrote to Hartford, consenting that West-

[1] 2 O'Callaghan, 153.
[2] 2 O'Callaghan, 153.
[3] 2 Bolton, 263.
[4] 2 Bancroft, 295.
[5] 2 O'Callaghan, 202.
[6] 2 O'Callaghan, 277.
[7] 2 O'Callaghan, 342.
[8] 2 O'Callaghan, 402.
[9] 3 New Haven Hist. Soc. Papers, 441; Trumbull, 259.
[10] 2 O'Callaghan, 455.
[11] 2 O'Callaghan, 505.

chester be annexed to Connecticut. Thus, one after another, the Dutch abandoned every point their enemies assailed; the Connecticut River had been given up, and now Westchester and shortly afterward Long Island were relinquished.

On March 22, 1664,[1] Charles II. granted to his brother, the Duke of York, the whole of Long Island and all the country in the possession of the Dutch. To secure the conquest of the district in question, the



Duke of York organized an expedition to take possession of the country, and appointed Richard Nichols his Deputy Governor, with authority to establish and maintain his government and to settle boundaries. In the latter part of August[2] the ships carrying the Governor and his forces anchored near Fort Amsterdam; on the 29th Nichols sent to the fort a summons to surrender, and on Monday morning, September 8th, the Dutch marched out of the fort and the English marched in. Fort Amsterdam was named Fort James, New Netherland became New York, and a few days later Fort Orange, having also surrendered, received the name of Albany; and the Dutch sway in America was at an end.

On the 30th of the following November the boundary between New York and Connecticut was settled as follows: "We also order and declare that the Creek or River called Mamaroneck, which is reputed to be about twelve miles to the east of Westchester, and a line drawn from the East point or side where the fresh water falls into the salt at high-water mark, North-Northwest to the line of Massachusetts, be the Westward bounds of the said Colony of Connecticut, and all plantations lying Eastward of that Creek[3] and line to be under the government of Connecticut." This north-northwest line from the mouth of Mamaroneck River continued to be the eastern boundary of New York; and the White Plains were thereby included in the province of Connecticut.

Resuming the consideration of title, we find that the Indian deed to John Richbell, purported to convey three necks of land, and included most of the present town of Mamaroneck. The deed was as follows:

"I, Wompoqueum, together with my brother Mahatahan, being the right owners of three necks of land, lying and being bounded on the east side with Mamaroneck, and on the west side with stony river, which parts the said lands from Mr. Pell's purchase; now these are to certify to all and Everyone whom it may concern, that I, Wompoqueum, did by myself, and in behalf of my aforesaid brother Mahatahan, firmly bargain and sell to Mr. John Richbell, of Oyster Bay, to him and his heirs forever, the above-mentioned three necks of land, together with all other privileges thereunto belonging, six weeks before I sold it to Mr. Revell (Pell) and did mark out the bounds, and gave Mr. Richbell possession of said land, and did receive part of my pay in hand, as witness my hand.

"The mark O of Wopoqueum.

"Witness, Jacob Yough, Catharine Yough."[4]

From the time of Richbell's purchase down to October 16, 1668, he was engaged in a constant dispute with Thomas Pell in regard to the boundaries of their respective purchases. This difficulty having finally been settled, a patent of the last-mentioned date was issued by Governor Lovelace to Richbell, wherein the land granted is described as follows:

"Whereas there is a certain parcel or tract of land *within this government*, upon the main, contained in three necks, of which the Eastermost is bounded with a small river, called Mamaroneck river, being also the east bounds or limits of this government upon the main, and the westermost, with the gravelly or stoney brook or river, which makes the east limits of the land, known by the name of Mr. Pell's purchase. Having to the South the Sound and running northward from the marked trees upon the said neck, twenty miles into the woods, which said parcel of land, &c., &c."

It will be noticed that the Indians sold to John Richbell only three necks of land, their sale and conveyance not including the "twenty miles into the woods," which seems to have gotten into the Richbell patent without the pre-requisite of purchase from the original proprietors.

[1] 2 O'Callaghan, 516.
[2] 2 Bryant, 262.
[3] Boundaries of the State of New York, 25.
[4] Westchester Records A, page 238.

However, the lands granted by this patent were "within this government" (New York), and the patent did not attempt to, and of course, could not convey lands in the colony of Connecticut, or beyond the boundary line which ran from the mouth of Mamaroneck River north-northwest.

By deed dated April 23, 1669, John Richbell conveyed to John Ryder, as trustee for Ann Richbell, his wife,—

"All that certain parcel or tract of land, where he now lives, called the East Neck, and to begin at the westward part thereof at a certain creek lying, being and adjacent, by and betwixt the neck of land commonly called the Great Neck and the East Neck, and so to run eastward as far as Mamaroneck river, including therein betwixt the two lines all the land as well north into the woods above Westchester path, twenty miles, as the land below the path, south and towards the river, &c." [1]

Next in order of time was the purchase of the White Plains from the Indian proprietors by the inhabitants of the town of Rye. The deed, set forth in full above, bears date November 22, 1684. That the purchase was followed by actual occupation is shown by the fact that Mr. Richbell, in a petition to Governor Dongan, dated March 12, 1683, prays the Governor "to grant an order to clear the same"—*i. e.* the White Plains. The inhabitants of Rye were accordingly summoned to show cause at the next Court of Assize in Westchester County "why the said lands do not of right belong to John Richbell." [2] It does not appear how the suit was determined; certainly not in favor of Richbell's claim, as the possession of the land by the Rye people seems from that time to have been uninterrupted and their right unquestioned.

By a deed dated December 23, 1697, acknowledged March 22, 1698, Ann Richbell, widow of John Richbell, conveys all her estate and rights in and to the East Neck and twenty miles north into the woods, to Caleb Heathcote, of Westchester.[3] This conveyance recites the deed from John Richbell to John Ryner in trust for Ann Richbell, above referred to. It is by virtue of these conveyances that Caleb Heathcote became seized of the lands embraced in his patent granted in 1702.

By the close of the year 1697 White Plains had already, in a measure, become settled; the street now known as Broadway was laid out, and home-lots upon it built upon. The east part of the house which lately stood north of the residence of W. R. Brown, Esq., was then standing, and occupied by Samuel Odell. [4]

On the 2d day of August 1699, the Indians of Mamaroneck presented a petition [5] to Governor Nanfan, setting forth that their nation had sold several parcels of land to John Pell, Esq., and to Mr. Richbell, deceased, for which they had never received the satisfaction promised them, although for these many years they had looked for the same; "but the said persons have and do refuse to satisfy your petitioners, and have more land than ever was sold to them," and praying that "John Pell and the heirs of Richbell may be ordered to satisfy your petitioners, and that they may have no more land than was ever sold unto them." What action, if any, was had upon this petition does not appear, and we hear no more of claims by the Indians.

Soon after this time Colonel Heathcote petitioned the Governor and Council, praying that the title to his lands might be confirmed, and the same erected into a manor, by the name of the Manor of Scarsdale; whereupon the Lieutenant Governor, Nanfan, and Council, directed a writ to issue to the high-sheriff of Westchester County, to inquire what damage such patent could be. The writ was issued, with a proviso, that it

"Shall not give the said Colonel Heathcote any further title than that which he already hath to the land called White Plains, which is in dispute between the said Caleb Heathcote and the inhabitants of the town of Rye. The sheriff returned that the 'jurors found there is no damage to the King or his subjects in erecting the manor aforesaid, except the White Plains, which are in dispute and contest between said Caleb Heathcote and the town of Rye, and excepting James Mott and the rest of the purchasers of Mamaroneck, which have land within the patent of Richbell.'"

After the return of this writ, and on the 21st of March, 1701, letters patent were issued; the lands of Colonel Heathcote were erected into the lordship and Manor of Scarsdale. The letters, however, contained an express provision that nothing therein contained "shall be construed, deemed or taken to give the said Colonel Heathcote any further title or jurisdiction within the said White Plains until the same shall happen to belong to the said Caleb Heathcote." [6]

Soon after this, Colonel Heathcote purchased of certain Indians their rights to the lands embraced in his patent. With this exception, he did nothing further to perfect his title to the White Plains; but he persistently refused the solicitations of the Rye people to relinquish his claims, and thereby remove the cloud upon the title to this coveted inheritance.

After long years of delay, Daniel Brundage and Joseph Hunt, on the 28th day of June 1721, presented a petition [7] to the Governor, praying for a warrant of survey of the White Plains, and a warrant was issued the same day. [8] No report of a survey having been made, the same parties, on the 7th day of December, 1721, petitioned for a new warrant of survey to embrace the whole of the White Plains upon which the following order was issued.:

"New York, Decr. ye 7th, 1721.—Ordered that a Warrant do issue to the Surveyor-General for surveying all lands ungranted by the Crown in and about the White Plains, and that he describe and ascertain the pretensions of Daniel Brundage and Samuel Hunt in and about the same.

[1] Westchester County Records A, page 248.
[2] Council Minutes V, page 47.
[3] Westchester County Records B, page 371.
[4] Westchester County Records F, pages 74 and 170.
[5] Council Minutes, Albany.
[6] Book of Patents, Albany, vol. vii. page 226.
[7] Land Papers, Albany, viii. page 44.
[8] Land Papers, Albany, viii. page 45.

The petitioners giving notice of the time of the said survey to all Patentees whose grants they are informed joyne to the said White Plains."

"W. BURNET."[1]

On the 21st day of December 2, 1721, Joseph Budd, John Hunt and sixteen others present their petition to the Governor, setting forth

"That by virtue of a license from the Government of Connecticut, they and those under whom they claim, did purchase from the Indians a tract of land called White Plains, the same at the time of the purchase being deemed and esteemed to lye within the Government of Connecticut, by virtue of which purchase your petitioners were, for a considerable time, in possession of the said land under the Government of Connecticut, and until said time as the same was found to be within the bounds of the Government of New York, since which time they have continued in possession of and made great improvements upon the same, and they being desirous to secure the same lands and their improvements thereon to themselves and their heirs under such interests, provisions and restrictions as to your Excellency and Council shall be thought fit; Therefore, humbly pray his Majesty's Letters Patent to them, their heirs and assigns, for the said tract of land, and that such methods may be ordered as your Excellency and Council shall think fit for ascertaining the limits and bounds of the said tract and of the several possessions of your petitioners. And your petitioners will ever pray, &c."

On this petition is indorsed,—

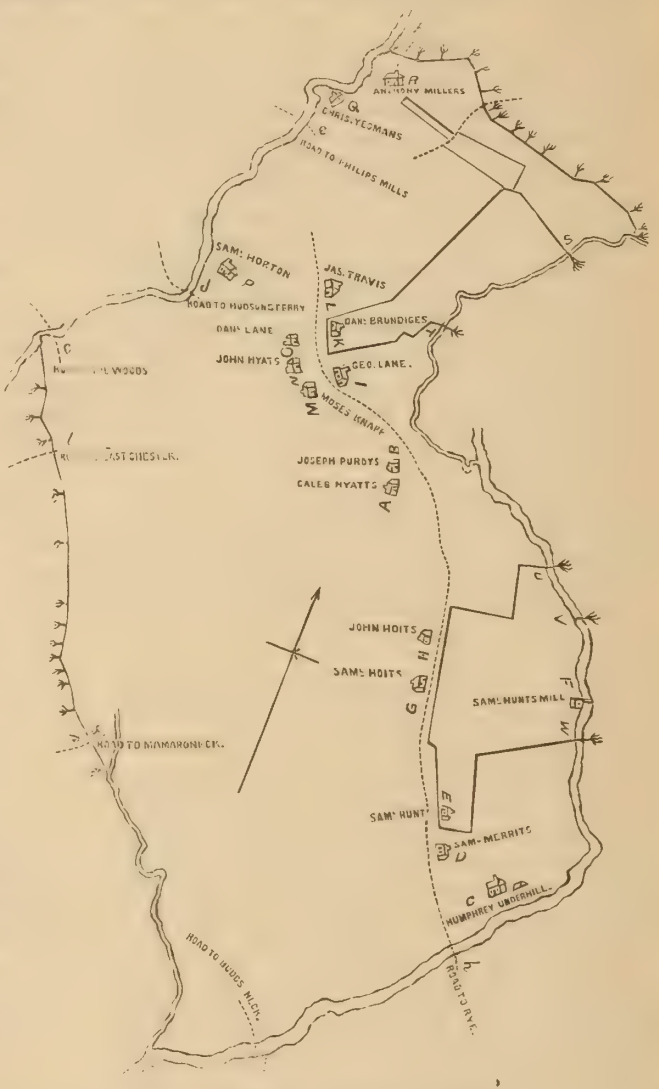
"The Petition of Joseph Budd, et al., being read ye 21st Decr., 1721 Is referred to the Gentl. of the Council or any five of them."[2]

The same day the Council reported that they had considered the matter of the petition and directedthat a warrant should issue to the surveyor-general to survey the tract in question and make return thereof, with a map of the tract, and furthermore that all parties claiming any lands which are patented, adjoining thereto, should have notice of the survey, with the time and place of beginning the same.[3]

Before the issuing of this warrant a report[4] of survey, made by Robert Crooke, deputy surveyor, was filed (December 23, 1721), which is valuable as being more definite and specific in courses, distances and monuments than the Colden survey and report subsequently made under the last-mentioned order and incorporated into the patent.

No action appears to have been taken on this report of the Council, made December 21, 1721, until the 10th of January following, when a warrant was issued, reciting all the material statements in the petition, and directing the surveyor-general "to survey the said White Plains; and in his return thereof to ascertain and describe the particulars of the claims of the petitioners, with a map of the said tract, and that the said petitioners give timely notice of said survey to all patentees whos grants they are informed joyne to the said White Plains."

This warrant was indorsed by Cadwallader Colden, surveyor-general to William Foster, deputy surveyor, who proceeded to execute it. He completed the survey and made his report, in which he first describes the land generally, as in the patent; afterward he bounds the tracts by streams, monuments, courses and distances. He also made a map of the White Plains, a copy of which is here shown.



MAP OF WHITE PLAINS IN 1721.[5]

EXPLANATION.

A–Caleb Hyatt's.
B–Joseph Purdy's.
C–Humphrey Underhill's.
D–Samuel Merrit's.
E–Samuel Hunt's.
F–Samuel Hunt's Mill.
G–Samuel Hoit's.
H–John Hoit's.
I–George Lane's.
K–Daniel Brundige's.
L–James Travis's.
M–Moses Knapp's.
N–John Hyat's.
O–Daniel Lane's.
P–Samuel Horton's.
Q–Christopher Yeoman's.
R–Anthony Miller's.
S & T–Daniel Brundige's bound trees.
U–The beginning of Mr. Bridges' patent.
V–The bound tree between Umphrey Underhill and Samuel Hunt.

[1] Land Papers, Albany, viii. 89.
[2] Land Papers, Albany, viii. page 91.
[3] Land Papers, Albany, viii. page 91.
[4] Land Papers, Albany, viii. page 92.
[5] Copy of a map of White Plains found in the office of the Secretary.

a–Road to Mamaroneck.
b–Road to East Chester.
c–Road up to the woods.
d–Road to Hudson's ferry.
e–Road to Phillips' mills.
f–Road to Bedford.
g–Road to California patent.
h–Road to Rye.
i–Road to Budd's Neck.

The report of William Foster,[1] and the interesting map made from his survey, were filed February 21, 1722. On the 24th of the same month the matter of the petitioners was brought before the Council for consideration, when the proceedings took place of which the following is a partial report:[2]

"At a Committee of the Council held at New York, Feb'y 24, 1721–2, Present,—

"Capt. Walters.	Mr. Harrison.
Coll. Beekman.	Mr. Colden.
Mr. Van Dam.	Mr. Lewis Morris, Jr.

"The Committee proceeded upon the Surveyor-General's return of the claims of Joseph Budd & al. in the White Plains Purchase, Referred to them.

"The Committee unanimously chose Francis Harrison, Esq., their chairman.

"Resolved that all parties concerned be called in. Then all parties attending were heard as to their several claims. The parties withdrawing, the several papers relating to the affair were read."

The proceedings at this meeting related solely to the claims of Hunt and Brundage. The committee met again on February 26th,[3] when the Hunt and Brundage claims were passed upon and confirmed, as shown on the map. The following resolution was then adopted:

"*Resolved*, yt ye Remaining part of ye White Plains after the lands of Hunt and Brundage be laid out according to ye former Resolution, be granted to Joseph Budd, John Hoit, Caleb Hyat, Humphrey Underhill, Joseph Purdy, George Lane, Daniel Lane, Moses Knapp, John Horton, David Horton, Jonathan Lynch, Peter Hatfield, James Travis, Isaac Covert, Benjamin Brown, John Turner, David Ogden and William Yeomans, saving to all persons any Right w^ch^ they may have within the s^d^ Tract of ye White Plains, founded upon ye title set forth in ye Petition of the above-named Persons Praying for a Patent of ye land now intended to be granted.

"*Resolved*, that the Quit Rent be conformable to his Maties Royal Instructions."

On the same day (February 26, 1722), the chairman, Francis Harrison, reported that the committee had considered the claims of all the parties concerned in the White Plains, and after setting forth the rights of Hunt and Brundage, recommended "That the remaining part of the White Plains, after the lands of Hunt and Brundage be laid out as before mentioned, be granted to Joseph Budd, John Hoit" and the others named in the above resolution, subject to the saving clause therein contained. The report is indorsed, "March ye 1st, 1721–2. Reported and approved of by the Council, J. S. Bolin, D. Cl. Coun."[4]

In compliance with this report, Cadwallader Colden, the surveyor-general, "laid out for Joseph Budd, John Hoit" and the others,

"A certain tract or parcel of land, situate, lying and being in the County of Westchester, and is commonly known by the name of White Plains. Beginning at a large White-oak tree, marked with several letters, where two brooks fall into the West branch of Mamaroneck river, and runs thence by marked trees to Brunxes River, near to the place where a small brook falls into the said River by a bunch of Alders, some of which are marked. Thence up the stream of Brunxes River to an oak-tree about seventeen chains, above Anthony Miller's fulling-mill. Thence by marked trees to a White-oak marked, near Long Meadow Brook. Thence down the stream of the said Brook to the land laid out for Daniel Brundage; thence along his line to the said Long Meadow Brook; thence down the stream of the said brook to the place where it falls into Mamaroneck River and down the stream of said River to the land granted to Christopher Bridge; then along his lines and the lines of the land laid out for Samuel Hunt to Mamaroneck River; then down the stream of the said River to the place where the West Branch falls into the said River, and then up the stream of the said West Branch to the place where it began, containing four thousand four hundred and thirty five acres, with all allowance for highways.

"Given under my hand, at New York, the tenth day of March, in the eighth year of his Majesty's Reign, Anno Dom. 1721.

"CADWALLADER COLDEN, *Surv. Genl.*"

On the 13th day of March, 1721–2, a royal patent was granted to Joseph Budd and the other persons named in the preceding resolutions and in the report of the surveyor-general, which letters patent recited the petition of Budd and his associates, and the proceedings subsequent thereto, and granted, ratified and confirmed unto the said petitioners,—(naming them), their heirs and assigns, "All that said tract or parcel of land situate, lying and being in the County of Westchester, which is commonly known by the name of the White Plains," and described as in the report of Cadwallader Colden, surveyor-general.[5]

For forty-five years the marks and monuments indicating the boundaries of the White Plains purchase had been carefully renewed and preserved.[6] For twenty years Colonel Heathcote had persistently refused the solicitations of the Rye people for an adjustment of the differences growing out of his unfounded claims. Now that Heathcote was dead, and his powerful influence with the Governor and Council no longer stood between the people and their rights, it only remained for them to submit to the excessive exactions of the Governor and Council before their territory should be finally confirmed to them. Three times were they compelled to make surveys of their goodly land,—three times required to notify the owners of adjoining lands that such surveys were about to be

of State at Albany, in vol. viii. of Land Papers, p. 124, and entitled "Return of a survey of the White Plains, Feb. 24, 1721–2. Also, survey for Hunt and Brundige and dated March foll. Read and referred to ye Gentl. of ye Council or any five of them."

The return, accompanying the map states that, "Pursuant to a warrant dated January 11th, 1721, endorsed to William Forster, Deputy Surveyor, he surveyed the Bounds of ye White Plains as they were shown to him by Joseph Budd, John Hoit, Umphrey Underhill, George Lane, Moses Knap and Caleb Hyatt, and they were as follows:

"Beginning at a large white oak tree marked with several letters, where two brooks falls into ye west branch of Momaroneck River; thence by marked trees to Brunxes river near to where a small brook falls into said river, by a bush of Alders, some of which are marked; thence up Brunxes river to an Ash tree about 17 chains above Anthony Miller's Fulling Mill, and thence by marked trees to a white oak near Long Meadow Brook; then down said Brook to where it falls into Momaroneck River, and then down said River to the place where ye west Branch falls into the river, and then up the said Branch to ye white oak where we began—Containing 5225 acres, after 5 per cent. deducted for Roads."

[1] Land Papers, Albany, viii. page 124.
[2] N. Y. Col. MSS., lxiv. page 29.
[3] N. Y. Col. MSS., lxiv. page 30.
[4] Land Papers, vol. viii. page 126.
[5] Book of Patents, Albany, vol. viii. page 450.
[6] Baird's Rye, 156.

made, and all to furnish pretexts for oppressive charges by the officers of the Governor's Council. But at length the royal patent was obtained and the long controversy was ended; the cloud that had so long hung, like an evil omen, over the title to the White Plains,—forever disappeared, and the sun of prosperity once more shone brightly on the land and its people. Many of the most enterprising citizens of Rye removed to White Plains, and at the present day some branches of nearly all the ancient families are more numerously represented in White Plains than in the parent settlement.

The patent was obtained for the benefit of all the owners of the White Plains lands, although but one-half of them were named as patentees; and in order to establish the rights of the other owners, the patentees executed a conveyance to Joseph Horton, Sr., Joseph Horton, Jr., John Travis, James Travis, Jr., Solomon Yeomans, John Hyat, Thomas Travis, Jonathan Purdy, Monmouth Hart, Abraham Smith, Robert Travis (son of Philip), Daniel Horton, Jonathan Horton (son of Jonathan Horton), Nathaniel Baylie, Caleb Horton, John Rockwell, Samuel Merritt and Still John Purdy, in which their rights were declared, and whereby the patentees quit-claimed "to the said grantees, their several and separate heirs and assigns forever, all such right, title, interest and demand as the said grantors, or any of them, have, by virtue of said patent, in or to the lands heretofore laid out to the said grantees, and the proportionate share of such lands as are yet undivided." This conveyance bears date January 18, 1722, and is recorded in Westchester County register's office, in Liber G of Deeds, page 393. It is from the parties to this instrument that all the titles to the White Plains lands are derived, and through them the chain of title to much of the real property in the town may be traced, link by link, from the aboriginal proprietors to the present owners.

At the time this patent was issued Broadway, with its home-lots, had long been established. The old house but lately torn down, north of Mr. William R. Brown's, was then owned and occupied by Daniel Brundage. It was erected prior to 1697 by Samuel Odell. George Lane—"gentleman"—removed from Rye to White Plains as early as 1714; his house was on what is now the Squire place, and his brother Daniel lived opposite, near the present residence of Elisha Horton, Esq.; Moses Knapp's house was on the road in front of the Mitchell homestead; James Travis occupied a house on what is now Mr. Tilford's place.

The old Jacob Purdy house, standing to-day on Spring Street, between Mott and Water Streets, was built by Samuel Horton, a son of Joseph Horton, and grandson of Barnabas Horton, the first of that name in this country, who settled in Southold, Long Island, about 1640.

On the rising ground east of the residence of Mr. Onderdonk, on North Street, was the house of Joseph Purdy, and a few rods further east was the house of Caleb Hyatt, both prominent in the early history of the town. Caleb Hyatt, with his brother John, removed from Rye to White Plains about 1715. John Hyatt's house stood near the present residence of Mr. Charles Horton.

Humphrey Underhill's house was on the west side of Mamaroneck River, some distance north of the North Street road; his was one of the first houses erected in White Plains, probably before 1694, as in October of that year Mrs. Ann Richbell procured a warrant from the Governor to survey the easternmost bounds of her lands. The surveyor, Augustine Graham, proceeded along the west bank of Mamaroneck River until he came to the "*improved* land claimed by Humphrey Underhill, where the said Underhill, with three others, with guns, stones and staves did obstruct the execution of his Excellency's warrant." Mr. Underhill was a man of high standing in the estimation of his townsmen, and Dr. Baird supposes he was a son of the famous Captain John Underhill.

On the hill west of Humphrey Underhill, and near the road, stood the house of Samuel Merritt; about a quarter of a mile north of Merritt's, and near the present residence of Mr. Seymour, was the house of the patentee Samuel Hunt; he had a tract of three hundred and eighty acres, and a mill on Mamaroneck River, easterly from his house. Northerly, on the same North Street road, were the residences of John and Samuel Hoit, active men in town affairs, who in 1726–27 were leaders in building the Presbyterian Church.

On the north side of the road crossing Bronx River, near Mr. Champanois' residence, was the house of Christopher Yeomans; Anthony Miller lived where the Misses Tompkins' house stands, north of the cemetery, and his fulling-mill was on the brook, south of the house. These were all the houses in White Plains at the date of the patent, and all the occupants were men of sufficient education to read and write.

So rapidly did the population increase, that, in 1725, the inhabitants assumed an independent organization, elected officers and proceeded to manage their own affairs. Some of the good people had held office in Rye before removing to White Plains, and official positions, either civil or military, were regarded, in those days, as posts of honor to which all good citizens should aspire. The first in importance and most lasting in tenure was the position of clerk; and for fifty consecutive years the duties connected with that office were discharged by Caleb Hyatt.

In 1726 the Rev. John Walton, a graduate of Yale College, and a lay preacher, purchased a farm which was bounded on the north by the road to Dobbs Ferry, which ran a few feet north of the present Presbyterian Church, and on the south by land then of Jonathan Lane, now of Elisha Horton, and the



"RIDGELAWN."
RESIDENCE OF L. V. SONE,
WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.

south side of Railroad Avenue. Mr. Walton was a man of great activity. On the Sabbath he preached; during the rest of the week he devoted himself with energy to the carrying on of divers secular enterprises. He donated the land where the Presbyterian Church now stands; and it was mainly through his efforts that a church was erected there in 1727.

The houses of the first settlers were small, and of but a single story. The furniture was scant and simple; each room, even the kitchen, contained a bed; a cupboard held the household dishes, which were mostly wooden; a few only, of pewter, were kept and handed down as heirlooms from generation to generation. Several wooden chests did double duty as receptacles of the family bedding and clothing, and as chairs, which, if not remarkably comfortable, were at least solid and substantial; these, with a rude bench or stool, constituted the furniture of an ordinary farm-house. Carpets there were none, even on the spare room; but excellent feather-beds and pillows, the pride of every good housewife, were never wanting. A great fire-place, ten or twelve feet wide and three or four feet deep, formed one side of every kitchen, which was also the sitting-room of the family. In the best room the family Bible was carefully kept and daily used. The clothing was no less simple and durable than the furnishing; all linen and woolen clothing was home-made, spun and woven in the house; garments of leather, made chiefly from the skin of the bear or other wild animal, were in common use.

The life of the settlers was one of constant toil the father, with his stalwart sons, cleared the forest and tilled the virgin soil, while the busy wife and daughters, in addition to the daily cares of the household, spun the yarn and made the garments for the family. Little or no money was to be found anywhere; those articles which their own industry and skill did not supply were obtained by barter, chiefly of cattle and wood.

One of the first acts of this little community was to build a school-house. When it was raised and where it stood are interesting questions to which the utmost research does not vouchsafe answers. At any rate, it had grown old or dilapidated in 1737–8; for at a meeting of freeholders held in that year it was resolved that "the public pound should be where the old school-house stood." The new school-house was built on the highway, at the northwest corner of the Squire place, and remained there nearly a century.

It was a fundamental law of the New Haven jurisdiction "that the sonnes of all the inhabitants shall "be learned to write a ledgible hand as soone as they "are capable of it." And when, in 1664, the New Haven colony came under the jurisdiction of Connecticut, the law still read much the same,—

"The Select men of every town and precinct where they dwell, shall have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors, to see, first, that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in any of their families as not to endeavor to teach, by themselves or others, their children and apprentices to read the English tongue, under penalty of twenty shillings for each neglect therein."

It was under the influence of such wholesome laws that the founders of White Plains erected the first school-house in which their children were to be educated; and it is but justice to this intelligent people to say, that the public records prove that, with very few exceptions, the proprietors of White Plains could both read and write. And yet it is of these people Colonel Heathcote wrote, from Scarsdale, under date of November 9, 1705,—

"I dare aver that there is not a much greater necessity of having the Christian religion preached any where than amongst them; many, if not the greater number of them, being a little better than in a state of heathenism."[1]

At another time (1704) he writes,—

"When I first came among them (1692) I found it (Westchester) the most heathenish county I ever saw in my whole life which called themselves Christian, there being not so much as the least marks or footsteps of religion of any sort, Sundays being the only time set apart by them for all manner of vain sports and lewd diversions."

The Rev. Mr. Pritcher also, who, by the warrant of that imbecile aristocrat, Governor Cornbury, had been put in possession of the dissenting church property in Rye, writes, in 1704,—

"I must not omit to inform you that his Excellency, my Lord Cornbury, is pleased to show an unparalleled zeal for the carrying on of that great and glorious design of propagating the faith and settling the Church as well in this as in others of His Majesty's plantations, thereby rescuing them from the grossest ignorance, stupidity and obstinacy, and therein righting them in those damnable and dangerous tenets which have been imbued and instilled into their poor, unwary, deluded souls by blind, ignorant and illiterate guides."

It may not be significant, but it is certainly worthy of note, that in the large volume of these letters, laboriously collected by Mr. Bolton, we find so much mention of propagating "the faith," and "the Church," and so little of propagating the Gospel,—so frequent requests for prayer-books and catechisms, and so very few for Bibles.

These reproachful accusations should have been allowed to sleep in oblivion, but when we read in an historical discourse in our day, that it was "this moral condition of things which led to the passage, on the 24th of March, 1673, of the act entitled, 'An Act for settling a Ministry and raising a maintenance for them, in the city of New York, counties of Westchester, Richmond and Queens,'" a brief statement of the facts, in relation to the passage of this law and its subsequent enforcement, seems proper.

A few months previous to the passage of this act there arrived in New York Benjamin Fletcher, with a commission as Governor (recalled in 1698 to answer numerous charges of mal-administration), and Caleb Heathcote. The Governor came with special instructions to introduce the Book of Common Prayer among the Presbyterians, Huguenots and Dutchmen,

[1] Bolton's "Church History," 158.

where, perhaps, James II. would have been glad to have introduced a Mass-Book.[1] Governor Fletcher proposed to the Assembly "that provision be made by law for the settlement and support of an able ministry," but the majority of the Assembly were Dissenters and not inclined to aid him in his schemes.

At the next following session of the Assembly the Speaker, Mr. James Graham, who had the drawing of all their bills, so managed the title and induction of this one, that, although it did not do very well for the Dissenters, yet it did not appear to make any concessions to the Church, and the honest, simple-minded Dissenters, not suspecting the fraud and trickery of the Governor, passed the bill as above entitled. As Colonel Lewis Morris wrote, in a letter to the Propagation Society, "It was the most that could be got at the time, for had more been attempted, the Assembly had seen through the artifice, and all had been lost."

The bill having become a law, the Governor insisted that there was no ministry but of the Church of England, and declared that under this act, all lands in towns, that had been set aside for ministers' parsonages or for meeting-houses, became vested in the English ministry.[2]

Colonel Morris relates a conversation which he heard between the Governor and a dissenting minister at the time this act of the Assembly was talked of. The minister said "that the intention of the Legislature was to raise a maintenance for a dissenting minister, all the Assembly but one being Dissenters, and knowing nothing of the church, and *that* being the intention of the law-makers, was the meaning of the law, and he hoped the Dissenters might enjoy what was so justly their due, or at least not be deprived of it without due course of law." I told him the Legislature did not consist of the Assembly only, but of the Governor and Council joined with them; and I believed it was most certain the Governor never intended to settle a dissenting clergy.[3]

In the spring of 1695, the Assembly, in explanation of the act, declared that churches have power to call a dissenting Protestant minister, and that he be maintained as the act directs; but the Governor rejected this interpolation of the Assembly, and decided that the act applied solely to the Episcopal ministry.[4]

Governor Fletcher was so occupied with schemes for money-making that he neglected the affairs of the church, and in 1698 he was recalled to answer for his misconduct. Fletcher's successor was the kindlier Earl of Bellamont, an Irish peer, with a sound heart and honorable sympathies for popular freedom; his death, however, interrupted the short period of harmony in the colony.[5]

Bellamont was succeeded in 1702 by Lord Cornbury, a disreputable cousin of Queen Anne, who only escaped jail by quitting the kingdom. Cornbury was as zealous in behalf of the church as he was destitute of any sense of public or private virtue. His zeal was not for religion, but for the established Church of England. To him a Dissenter was intolerable, unworthy of mercy or even of justice. The act of 1693 had not been oppressively enforced against the Rye people until after the arrival of Lord Cornbury; but now, with a willing, nay even anxious, Governor, Colonel Heathcote could revenge himself upon this people for thwarting him in his attempt to include the White Plains within his patent.[6] He had been ten years in this country, and the dissenting clergy of Rye had not been interfered with; it was not until after 1701 that he declares that "these people are heathenish Sabbath-breakers and without religion of any sort."

Rye submitted quietly to these exactions for the support of the English clergy, but the White Plains people refused to pay, and only did so when threatened with being sold out or imprisoned under execution. This forced tax upon the slender means of the dissenters continued until the War of the Revolution; and a history that ignored the religious element in that war, or placed a low estimate upon the moral forces that stood behind and sustained the opposing parties in that great struggle, would be false and worthless.

The year 1729 brought with it an important acquisition to the wealth of the White Plains in the arrival of Moses Owen, who purchased the farm then lately owned by the Rev. Edmund Ward, embracing all the land between Railroad Avenue and Spring Street west of Broadway, excepting the church grounds. The new-comer was soon honored with the office of "Pounder," and for more than thirty years he held various positions in the town. He built the house afterwards occupied by William Barker for more than half a century prior to his death. This house is still standing, in good condition, on Spring Street, near the old Purdy house. The Owen farm passed by will to Moses Owen, Jr., who covered it with mortgages, under which it was divided into two parcels and afterwards sold.

From 1730 to 1740 the leaders in White Plains affairs were Caleb Hyatt, Sr., Caleb Hyatt, Jr., Francis Purdy, Moses Owen, Gabriel Lynch, James Gedney, Daniel Knapp, George Merritt, John Turner, Jacob Griffin, Samuel Hunt, Daniel Cornell, Robert Travis, Jonathan Purdy, Daniel Horton and George Lane.

From 1740 to 1750 some of these names disappear from the records of the annual meetings, and new names take their places and become prominent. Such are Peter Hatfield, William Anderson, John Hosier, Joshua Hatfield, Abraham Hatfield, Benjamin Knapp, Elisha Hyatt, Henry Purdy, Samuel Thorn, Nehemiah Tompkins, John Ray and Bartholomew Gedney.

[1] 3 Bryant, 26.

[2] "Doc. History of New York," vol. iii. page 245; Bolton's "Church History," xvi.

[3] Bolton's "Church History," xvii.

[4] Bolton's "Church History," xvii.

[5] Bryant 31.

[6] Patent, 1701.



"ROCKY DELL FARM."

RESIDENCE OF J. REYNAL,

WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.

The freeholders were careful to keep a record of the bounds and limits of the lands of each owner, and two of the citizens best qualified for that purpose were appointed to prepare such a record. In 1751 the first record had become worn and torn, and Caleb Hyatt was allowed twelve shillings for copying it in a new book.

In the last year of this decade there came to the town from Woodbury, in Connecticut, Dr. Robert Graham, a young physician of genius and enterprise, son of the Rev. John Graham, a Scotch clergyman, who was himself the son of one of the Marquises of Montrose. Dr. Graham, in 1749, purchased the farm on which Mr. Samuel Faile now lives. He at once became interested in the welfare of the town, and for more than thirty years was the ruling spirit in all matters of public interest. His energy, enterprise and learning, inspiring the people with new vigor, soon raised White Plains to prominence in the county.

In the records of proceedings at the annual meetings for the next ten years we find some newnames, among them that of Isaac Oakley, from Westchester, who, in 1746, purchased the farm now known as the Asylum Farm. Another was Monmouth Hart, a son of Monmouth Hart, of Rye Neck, whose farm was east of the present residence of Bartholomew Gedney. He was a great-grandson of Edward Hart, one of the early settlers of Flushing, Long Island (then called by the Dutch "Vissengen"). Edward Hart, whom Governor Stuyvesant arrested and imprisoned as the author of a spirited remonstrance against an order of Stuyvesant, which required the people of Vissengen to cease giving countenance to the Quakers. It was about the same time that John Fisher, the first of that family, settled in White Plains, on the south side of the road leading east out of Broadway, near the cemetery; he died in 1771. Another name that appears prominently about this time was that of Joseph Lyon, who lived in North Street; his ancestors early came to Rye from Stamford.

It was chiefly through the efforts of Dr. Robert Graham that the court-house was built in White Plains, and the courts removed thither from Westchester. He gave to the county the land upon which the court-house was erected, by deed to John Thomas, of Harrison, then a member of the Colonial Assembly, through whose assistance in that body the change from Westchester was effected. White Plains then soon became a business centre. Two hotels for the accommodation of guests and travelers were opened, and the first country store was built and stocked by Doctor Graham. This store stood opposite the court-house, and here the people, for more than half a century, gathered to discuss politics and to sell their surplus produce.

The old French War, which terminated in 1760, had drawn heavily on the town of Rye, both for men and money. A list of twenty-four names is given by Dr. Baird in his "History of the Town of Rye" (p. 213), many of them members of families then living in White Plains, and most of them young men under thirty years of age: as for example, Ezekiel Brundage, aged twenty-seven; Joseph Merritt, twenty-four; Abraham Lyon, twenty-two; Joseph Merritt, twenty-three; Ezekiel Merritt, twenty-three; Samuel Lane, twenty-two; John Lounsbury, twenty; Val. Lounsbury, twenty-one; John Budd, twenty-seven; Abraham Haight, seventeen; Reuben Lane, sixteen; Nathaniel Haight, seventeen; Caleb Sherwood, nineteen; Joseph Haight, twenty; Elisha Merritt, eighteen; Peter Merritt, nineteen. For many years the stories of that French and Indian War furnished entertainment for many households, as they spent the long winter evenings gathered about the great open fire-places. This war brought with it a heavy debt, the payment of which, while it severely taxed the resources of the people, proved valuable as teaching them how great was their strength in emergencies, a knowledge that was of inestimable benefit to them in the conflict with the mother country that soon followed. The mother country, also seeing, from the payment of this debt, that the colonists were capable of meeting such heavy liabilities, was led to impose the burdens from which her colonies revolted.

We now approach the time of that conflict of principles which preceded and produced the Revolution. In twelve of the thirteen colonies it was a contest for the maintenance of chartered rights and privileges; the other colony, New York, was a conquered province, over which the King might exercise such authority as he thought fit, and the conflict in that colony was for the rights of its people as Englishmen. And it seems to be a well-established fact that New York was the first of the colonies to point to freedom and independence in tones distinct and clear.

The uprising in 1764—call it mob, if you will—against the impressing of four fishermen, and the gathering of the people as one man on the 1st day of November, 1765, in opposition to the stamps, which are often spoken of as the first steps toward revolution, were long antedated by a religious controversy which was certainly not without its influence in preparing the people for the great events soon to follow. Leading Presbyterians had formed an association bearing the name of the "Whig Club," in organized opposition to the Church of England and the English government.

In the year 1719 Thomas Smith, with three other Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, purchased a piece of land on Wall Street, upon which to erect a church edifice. They subsequently applied for a charter of incorporation, to secure to them their estate for religious worship, but were defeated by the violent opposition of the Church of England. After years of unsuccessful solicitation, the land was finally conveyed to the moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, upon which the Church of Scotland de-

clared that the property was held for the purposes for which it was originally purchased and designed.

The opposition of the Church of England, instead of crushing out the Presbyterians, stimulated them to increased efforts, and developed a force that eventually drove English sway from the country. Much that is entertaining and instructive in regard to these men and their followers may be found in the "The Sons of Liberty in New York," by Henry B. Dawson, Esq., a book that should be in every district school library, instead of being a rare volume found only in our best libraries. These Presbyterian Sons of Liberty were William Smith, Sr., William Smith, Jr., William Livingston, John Morin Scott and others. Of this conflict there was an interested witness in White Plains, for the Rev. John Smith, of that town, was a brother to the one and an uncle to the other of the Smiths. It is of these Presbyterians that a learned historian has said: "The first voice publicly raised in America to dissolve all connection with Great Britain came, not from the Puritans of New England, or the Dutch of New York, or the planters of Virginia, but from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians."[1]

The central location of White Plains, with its court-house, made it a convenient place for public assemblages of the people; and the Revolutionary events connected with this town will ever retain a prominent place in American history. The conflict seemed rapidly approaching in 1774, and soon entered into and divided the family circle. A marked instance of this is found in the family of Jonathan P. Horton, who was himself a determined Loyalist, while some of his sons were among the most active Whigs who fought in the vicinity of the "Neutral Ground."[2] In striking contrast to this is the following notice, taken from *Rivington's Gazette* of April 20, 1775, of a marriage in a more united family: "March 28. This evening was married, at the White Plains, Westchester County, Mr. Gabriel Purdy, youngest son of Mr. Samuel Purdy, to the agreeable Miss Charity Purdy, daughter of Mr. Joseph Purdy, both of that loyal town. What particularly is remarkable in the affair is this, the guests consisted of forty-seven persons, thirty-seven of whom were Purdys, and not a single Whig among them."

This day (March 28, 1775) was a memorable one in the history not only of White Plains, but of Westchester County. Public notice had been given of a meeting of persons from different districts of the county to consider the most proper method of taking the sense of the freeholders of the county upon the expediency of choosing deputies to meet the deputies from other counties for the purpose of electing delegates to represent this colony in the General Congress to be held in Philadelphia on the 10th day of May then next. At this meeting it was recommended that a convention be held at White Plains on the 11th day of April then next. at ten o'clock in the forenoon, at the court-house. On the day appointed, a numerous body of freeholders of the county assembled at the court-house, chose Lewis Morris for their chairman, and appointed eight persons, or a majority of them, to act as the deputies of this county for the purpose aforesaid.

A few days after this meeting, a protest, bearing date the 13th of April, 1775, signed with over three hundred names, appeared in *Rivington's New York Gazette*, in which it was stated that on the 11th of April the friends of government met at the house of Captain Hatfield, and at about twelve o'clock walked to the court-house, where they found the other company collected in a body; that the friends of the government then declared that they had been called together for an unlawful purpose, and they would not contest the matter with the others by a poll, but that they came only with a design to protest against all such disorderly proceedings, and to show their detestation of all unlawful Committees and Congresses; that then, giving three huzzas, they returned to Captain Hatfield's, singing as they went, "God save great George, our King;" after which, the following protest was drawn up and signed:

"We, the subscribers, freeholders and inhabitants of the County of Westchester, having assembled at White Plains in consequence of certain advertisements, do now declare our honest abhorence of all unlawful Congresses and Committees, and that we are determined, at the hazard of our lives and properties, to support the King and constitution, and that we acknowledge no representatives but the General Assembly, to whose wisdom we submit the guardianship of our rights and privileges."

The following names appended to this declaration show that the Tory faction of White Plains was well represented: "J. P. Horton, Daniel Oakley, William Davis, Wm. Anderson, Captain Abraham Hatfield, Gilbert Horton, Joshua Gedney, John Hyatt, Nehemiah Tompkins, Bartholomew Gedney, Isaac Purdy, Elijah Purdy, Gilbert Hatfield, Gabriel Purdy, Thos. Merritt, John Gedney, Monmouth Hart, Timothy Purdy, Thomas Barker, Elijah Miller, William Barker, Jr., Samuel Purdy, James Kniffin, Joseph Hart," etc.

On the 8th day of May, 1775, a meeting of the freeholders of Westchester County was held in White Plains, and Gouverneur Morris, Lewis Graham, James Van Cortlandt, Stephen Ward, Robert Graham, Daniel Dayton, John Holmes, Jr., and Wm. Paulding were chosen delegates from this county to the Provincial Convention of the Province of New York.

Enlistments for the army immediately commenced, and Ambrose Horton reported fifty-six able-bodied men, July 26, 1775. The commissions for the officers, —Isaac Hatfield, captain; James Varian, first lieutenant; Anthony Miller, second lieutenant; and John Falconer, ensign—were issued September 13, 1775.

[1] 5 Bancroft, 77.

[2] Sabine's "Loyalists," ii. page 532.

On the 14th of February 1776, minute-men to the number of nineteen, among whom were Benjamin Lyon, Stephen Sheley, Micah Townsend, James Varian, Samuel Crawford, Isaac Oakley, James Brundage and Robert Graham, met at White Plains for the purpose of electing officers, and made choice of James Varian for captain, Samuel Crawford for first lieutenant and Isaac Oakley for second lieutenant.

The Provincial Congress of this State, which had been in session in New York, adjourned on the 30th of June, 1776, to the court-house in White Plains; and on the 9th of July, while assembled here, the Declaration of Independence was received and read in front of the court-house by John Thomas, Esq.

The battle of White Plains occurred on the 28th of October following. The details of that battle, and of the subsequent burning of the Court-house and the principal dwellings in the village, form part of a chapter which appears elsewhere in this work, written by a masterly hand, and will not be attempted here.

General Howe's retreat from White Plains was mysterious and unaccountable; commanding a magnificent army of veterans, splendidly equipped and flushed with success, why should he retreat? The question was discussed by Washington and his council of officers without arriving at any satisfactory answer.

When Howe returned to England his conduct here was investigated by a committee of Parliament, but he refused to explain further than to say that he "had political reasons." The question remained unanswered until the publication, in 1879, by that laborious historian, Edward F. de Lancey, of "The History of New York during the Revolutionary War, by Thomas Jones," in which it appears that one William Demont, the adjutant of Colonel Magaw, the commander of Fort Washington, on New York Island, on the 2d day of November, 1776, passed undiscovered out of the fort and into the camp of Lord Percy, at Harlem, carrying with him plans of Fort Washington and full information as to the garrison, and placed them in the hands of the British officer. Percy, of course, sent the information to Lord Howe at White Plains; the latter suddenly changed his plan of attacking Washington, and on the 4th of November prepared to march to Fort Washington, which he captured on the 16th of that month.

Within five months after the formal declaration of our independence the last vestige of the American army had been driven from the island of New York, and that place remained in possession of the British until the close of the war. During the war the British lines extended a few miles into Westchester County. The lines of the American army first stretched across the county at White Plains, and gradually receded to the Croton River. That portion of the county between the two armies was then, and ever since has been, known as the "Neutral Ground." This portion of Westchester County was the battle-ground of the disaffected, the prey of both friend and foe; scenes of cruelty and bloodshed unknown in civilized warfare marked these partisan engagements, and in defense of their homes, some of her valiant sons exhibited instances of personal bravery



MAP OF WHITE PLAINS IN 1776.[1]

EXPLANATION.

aa–Stage road from Bennington to New York.
bb–Road to Rye town.
cc–Road to town of Mamaroneck.
dd–Road to landing called Rye Neck.
ee–Road to Dobbs Ferry across the North river.
ff–Called the White Plains street.
gg–Road to town of Harrison.
hh–Road to town of Greenburgh.

[1] The following indorsement is on the original of this map at Albany.

ii kk–Roads for private uses.
1. Meeting-house of Methodist Society.
2. Court-house.
3. Property of Presbyterian Society.
4. Cassaway Brook.
5. Golden Pine Brook.
6. American Encampment in 1776.
7. British Encampment in 1776.

unsurpassed in ancient or modern times. Others, attaching themselves to the British side, were known as "Cowboys," and were engaged in plundering the people between the lines, of their cattle and other property. Others again, were known as "Skinners," and professing allegiance to the American side, lived chiefly within the patriot lines. Both of them, Cowboys and Skinners, were treacherous, rapacious and cruel. No region in the United States was so harassed and trampled down as this *debatable ground.* Hostile armies marched and countermarched over it, and its ruined condition eloquently portrayed the horrid desolation of war. In almost every family of



THE MILLER HOUSE.
Washington's Headquarters, White Plains.

the old residents there linger traditions that vividly illustrate the perils, torture and trials of that gloomy period.

The distress and suffering of the people, however, was not all inflicted by the "Cowboys" and "Skinners;" the soldiers of the regular army were also guilty of plundering the inhabitants in the neighborhood of the camp. When Colonel Aaron Burr assumed command of the forces at White Plains, in the autumn of 1778, he established strict discipline within and security without the camp. Soon after his arrival, some soldiers had made their tent more comfortable by beds and bedding taken from the house of Isaac Gedney, a Tory; the circumstance being brought to the notice of Burr, he commanded them to return every article to its owner.

During the summer of 1781 the French army encamped in Greenburgh and White Plains; the left wing, composed of Lauzun's Legion, covered Chatterton's Hill and the White Plains. The headquarters of Lauzun, the commanding officer, were in the Falconer house, which stood on the corner of Broadway and Lake Street, in front of Mr. Slosson's residence; the house is now standing next south of Mr. Hand's beautiful home. Lauzun was celebrated for the elegance of his person and manners; he was a general favorite and one of the bravest of men. Like many other officers in the allied army, he afterwards became engaged in the French Revolution, and perished under the guillotine.

At the close of the war business of all kinds, which had been long abandoned, was resumed; a new court-house was built, and White Plains, by an act of the Legislature, became an independent town. With but few exceptions, new men became leaders in town affairs. In 1788 John Barker purchased the Owen farm, which extended on the west side of Broadway from the Presbyterian Church to Railroad Avenue, and in 1796–97 he represented the county in the Assembly. In 1799 Dr. Archibald McDonald moved into the town, having purchased the property on the corner of Broadway and Spring Street; and for many years thereafter the sons of John Barker and of Archibald McDonald were active in town and county politics.

Richard Hatfield, a native of the town, was for many years the foremost man in every enterprise, whether it was organizing and incorporating a church or presiding at a town-meeting.

About 1795 Edward Thomas, a lawyer, located in town, on the Squire place; he was appointed surrogate, but died in 1806. In that year Minott Mitchell, a young lawyer from Connecticut, settled in White Plains, and for half a century was active in every project to benefit the town and county. For a quarter of a century he was town clerk, and during that time the town was at no expense for his official or legal services.

For more than twenty years after the war the village hotel was opposite the court-house, and was kept by Dr. Graham; he also had a store a rod or two south of the hotel. Both hotel and store passed into the possession of Stephen Barker, who continued them

N. Y.: "The northern part composed of rocks, stones, hills and valleys; the southern part the hills are less frequent but more flat and extensive; the surface much broken, with large bodies of solid rock rising a little above the earth and running nearly parallel to it; the side of which is cold, wet and heavy; the whole much worn and exhausted, and overrun with two species of pernicious and prolific weeds, very unfavorable to the interests of the proprietors."

until 1812. In that year he conveyed them to Hyatt Lyon, who retained them but two or three years, when he sold them to Richard Willis. There were then other hotels,—one kept by William Baldwin, in the house now occupied by Mr. Samuel C. Miller; another kept by Isaac Valentine, on the grounds of the present house of Captain Lyon; and the fourth a few rods west from the southeast corner of the Waller place, kept before the Revolution by Abraham Hatfield, and during the war, and for years afterwards, by his son, Joseph Hatfield, and subsequently, down to 1830, by Alexander Fowler. Prior to 1825 most of the traveling was done by private conveyance, and taverns were more necessary then than now. The farmers' light produce was carried to New York weekly by two market-wagons, while the heavy was carried to the rivers and sent by sloops.

In 1828 a number of gentlemen in White Plains, desirous that there should be a school in which their sons might be educated and fitted for college, applied to the Legislature and procured the charter for an academy, which was for many years successfully conducted.

Fifty years ago there were no roads running westerly from Broadway, between the old post road running past the residence of Mr. Samuel Faile and the road to Tarrytown, north of the Presbyterian Church. The business part of the town was on the west side of Broadway, north of the old court-house and south of Railroad Avenue. Opposite the court-house was the principal hotel, at which the daily mail stages met at noon, carrying mails and passengers between New York and Danbury. A little north of the court-house was the law-office of Minott Mitchell, and a few rods northwest from his office was his residence, erected in 1829–30. On the lot on which Mr. Elijah S. Tompkins now resides was the shop and the dwelling-house of Elisha Crawford, saddler and harness-maker, while next-door the dwelling now occupied by Samuel C. Miller was then the hotel of Robert Palmer, and about fifty feet north was the store of Palmer & Fisher. Between the hotel and the store was a building, a part of which was occupied by Purdy Tompkins, the village tailor, the other part being the law-office of Robert S. Hart, Esq., a young gentleman then lately admitted to the bar. He soon after removed to Bedford, where his clients chiefly resided. He was appointed first judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1846, and was also appointed a master in Chancery.

In a long one-story building, adjoining the store of Palmer & Fisher, were the shoe-shop of Israel Purdy, the post-office, the publishing office of the *Westchester Spy* and the drug-store of Samuel G. Arnold. The next building was the law-office of Joseph Warren Tompkins, Esq., one of the leading lawyers of the county and a skillful advocate. Adjoining was the lot and house of William Horton, the same now owned by Mr. Merwin Sniffin; on the next lot north was the store and residence of Elisha Horton, afterwards



WESTCHESTER COUNTY COURT-HOUSE, WHITE PLAINS, 1886.

county treasurer of the county, and the next building on the north was the residence of Schuyler C. Tompkins, the same in appearance now as then. On the corner of the lot, with its front on Broadway, was the hat-store and factory of Schuyler C. Tompkins, the village hatter, and a few feet farther on was the store of Purdy & Fisher (Charles A. Purdy and Nathaniel Fisher). From this store the Red Bird stage started early every morning, excepting Sunday, for New York City. On the adjoining lot the village undertaker, David Miller, with a kind and sympathetic nature, conducted his business.

At this time there were two physicians in the town, Dr. David Palmer and Dr. Livingston Roe. The former resided on the Squire place and the latter on

the place now occupied by the Misses Miller, in the southern part of Broadway.

South of the court-house was the county clerk's office, and in the house now occupied by Mrs. Prime was the hotel of Benjamin Briggs.

Subsequently two streets were opened, one called the New Post Road, the other Railroad Avenue. The extension of the Harlem Railroad to White Plains, in 1846, attracted the business to Railroad Avenue, which is now lined with stores, offices and public buildings, presenting daily a scene of bustle, activity and hurry. Places of business thus ceased to exist on Broadway, which is now bordered on each side with fine dwellings, making it, with its great width, the finest avenue in the State.

TOWN OFFICERS.—The White Plains Precinct, as it was called until 1788, held meetings of the freeholders on the first Tuesday of April in each year, for the election of a clerk, supervisor and other officers for the management of the public affairs, independent of the town of Rye, of which, however, it continued to be a part. The most important officer was the clerk, who was selected on account of his superior education. The next officer in importance was the supervisor. In the early history of White Plains changes in these officers were rarely made; the principle of rotation in office had no advocates there.

The first election was held in April 1727. Caleb Hyatt, Jr., was chosen clerk, and continued to be re-elected annually until 1776, when Miles Oakley was chosen. From 1776 to 1783 there were no elections. The following persons then were successively elected and served as clerks:

Daniel Horton	1783 to 1787
Joseph Prior	1787 to 1788
William Barker, Jr.	1788 to 1800
Stephen Barker	1800 to 1804
David Falconer	1804 to 1806
Stephen Barker	1806 to 1810
Joseph Horton	1810 to 1812
Minott Mitchell	1812 to 1838
Joseph S. Mitchell	1838 to 1842
John W. Mills	1842 to 1844
Schuyler C. Tompkins	1844 to 1849
Enoch Dick and Elias P. Purdy	1849 to 1850

The following served as supervisors:

Caleb Hyatt	1727 to 1735
Moses Owen	1735 to 1736
Jonathan Purdy	1736 to 1750
Elisha Budd	1750 to 1753
Elisha Hyatt	1753 to 1755
Elisha Budd	1755 to 1758
Abraham Hatfield	1758 to 1769
Dr. Robert Graham	1769 to 1775
Samuel Purdy	1775 to 1776

In 1776 Anthony Miller was elected, and thereafter there were no elections until 1783. From that time down to 1850 the supervisors were,—

Daniel Horton	1783 to 1787
Richard Hatfield	1787 to 1796
John Falconer	1796 to 1801
Jacob Purdy	1801 to 1810
Jonathan Purdy	1810 to 1816
Joseph Horton	1816 to 1818
John Falconer	1818 to 1831
Elisha Horton	1831 to 1838
Henry Willets	1838 to 1844
John W. Mills	1844 to 1846
Lewis C. Platt	1846 to 1847
John W. Mills	1847 to 1848
John Dick	1848 to 1849
Henry C. Field	1849 to 1850

From 1850 to the present time the following supervisors and town clerks have been elected:



VIEW OF WHITE PLAINS IN 1855.

	SUPERVISORS.	TOWN CLERKS.
1850.	John Dick.	Elias P. Purdy.
1851.	Gilbert S. Lyon.	Carlton Palmer.
1852.	Gilbert S. Lyon.	Elijah Guion.
1853.	Gilbert S. Lyon.	John Banta.
1854.	Robert Cochran.	Wm. H. Huestis.
1855–56.	John J. Clapp.	Wm. H. Huestis.
1857–59.	Gilbert S. Lyon.	Wm. H. Huestis.
1860–61.	John W. Mills.	Wm. H. Huestis.
1862–66.	E. G. Sutherland.	Wm. H. Huestis.
1867.	John D. Gray.	Caleb Morgan, Jr.
1868.	John D. Gray.	A. J. Hyatt.
1869–70.	Michael Donohue, Jr.	A. J. Hyatt.
1871–72.	E. G. Sutherland.	D. B. Stevens.
1873.	E. G. Sutherland.	Wm. H. Cutter.
1874.	Elisha Horton.	Wm. H. Cutter.
1875.	Robert Cochran.	E. Baxter and A. J. Hyatt.
1876.	Elisha Horton.	J. E. Underhill.
1877.	Stephen S. Marshall.	A. J. Hyatt.
1878.	E. G. Sutherland.	A. J. Hyatt.
1879–81.	Artemus Eggleston.	Henry A. Maynard.
1882.	Elisha Horton.	Henry A. Maynard.
1883–84.	Lewis C. Platt.	W. A. Maynard.
1885.	Lewis C. Platt.	Chas. P. Paulding.
1886.	Lewis C. Platt.	Francis H. Hessels.

VILLAGE OF WHITE PLAINS.—By an act of the Legislature of the State, passed April 3, 1866, and amended by an act passed April 22, 1867, that part of White Plains particularly bounded and described in Section 1 of said act was declared to be the "Village of White Plains," and the inhabitants resident within the boundaries were declared to be a body corporate, to be known by the corporate name of "The Village of White Plains."

Originally there were seven trustees, two of whom were elected each year for a term of three years; they chose the president from amongst their own number. In 1878 the charter was amended, dividing the village into three wards and providing for election of one trus-

tee annually from each ward for a term of two years; and the board of trustees elected a president from outside their own body, who had no vote except in case of a tie.

At the first election of officers, in 1866, the following persons were chosen:

President, John Swinburne; Clerk, John M. Rowell; Trustees, Gilbert S. Lyon and Edward Sleath for one year; H. P Rowell and J. P. Jenkins, two years; J. W. Mills, John Swinburne and Harvey Groot, three years.

1867.—President, John Swinburne; Clerk, John M. Rowell; Trustees, Hiram P. Rowell, John P. Jenkins, John W. Mills, John Swinburne, Harvey Groot, Gilbert S. Lyon and John D. Gray. (As the records previous to 1871 are lost, a complete list of officers cannot be obtained.)

1868.—President, John Swinburne; Treasurer, Gilbert S. Lyon; Clerk, Henry C. Jenkins; Attorney and Counsel, A. Jackson Hyatt; Collector of Taxes, Charles E. Johnson; Chief Constable, Henry B. Ford; Trustees, John W. Mills, John Swinburne, John D. Gray, Edmund G. Sutherland, Gilbert S. Lyon, John P. Jenkins, Harvey Groot.

1869.—President, Gilbert S. Lyon; Treasurer, Elisha P. Ferris; Clerk, Charles E. Johnson; Attorney and Counsel, Jackson O. Dyckman; Collector of Taxes, Valentine M. Hodgson; Chief Constable, Elisha C. Clark; Trustees, John D. Gray, Elisha P. Ferris, Richard C. Downing, Edmund G. Sutherland, Gilbert S. Lyon, John P. Jenkins, Harvey Groot.

1870.—President, Edmund G. Sutherland; Treasurer, —— ——; Clerk, C. E. Johnson; Trustees, Edmund G. Sutherland, Elisha P. Ferris, R. C. Downing, J. P. Jenkins, Harvey Groot, Elisha Horton, Jr., L. C. Platt.

1871.—President, Richard C. Downing; Treasurer, Theodore Van Tassel; Clerk, Valentine M. Hodgson; Attorney and Counsel, Hiram Paulding; Chief Constable, David P. Barnes; Collector of Taxes, W. H. Huestis; Trustees, Elisha P. Ferris, Harvey Groot, Elisha Horton, Jr., J. M. Rowell, Lewis C. Platt, Theodore Van Tassel, Richard C. Downing.

1872.—President, Elisha P. Ferris; Treasurer, Elisha Horton, Jr.; Clerk, Valentine M. Hodgson; Attorney and Counsel, Hiram Paulding; Collector of Taxes, Alexander W. Russell; Chief Constable, David P. Barnes; Trustees, Artemus W. Eggleston, Elisha Horton, Jr., Lewis C. Platt, J. M. Rowell, Theodore Van Tassel, Chas. Wiegand, Elisha P. Ferris.

1873–74.—President, Elisha P. Ferris; Treasurer, Elisha Horton, Jr.; Clerk, Valentine M. Hodgson;[1] Attorney and Counsel, Hiram Paulding; Collector of Taxes, James Rice; Chief Constable, David P. Barnes; Trustees, Artemus W. Eggleston, Elisha Horton, Jr., John M. Rowell, Theodore Van Tassel, D. M. Underhill, Charles Wiegand, E. P. Ferris.

1874–75.—President, Elisha P. Ferris; Treasurer, Elisha Horton, Jr.; Clerk, Charles H. Purdy;[2] Attorney and Counsel, Hiram Paulding; Collector of Taxes, Edward Shirmer; Chief Constable, David P. Barnes; Trustees, Artemus W. Eggleston, Elisha Horton, Jr., D. Morgan Underhill, T. Van Tassel, Chas. Wiegand, Michael Riordan, E. P. Ferris.

1875–76.—President, Elisha P. Ferris; Treasurer, Elisha Horton, Jr.; Clerk, John Birch; Attorney and Counsel, Hiram Paulding; Collector of Taxes, John O'Rourke; Chief Constable, David P. Barnes; Trustees, Artemus W. Eggleston, Elisha Horton, Jr., D. Morgan Underhill, Theodore Van Tassel, Charles Wiegand, Michael Riordan, Elisha P. Ferris.

1876–77.—President, Elisha P. Ferris; Treasurer, Elisha Horton, Jr.; Clerk, John Birch; Attorney and Counsel, Hiram Paulding; Collector of Taxes, Timothy Murphy; Chief Constable, David P. Barnes; Trustees, Artemus W. Eggleston, Elisha Horton, Jr., Michael Riordan, D. Morgan Underhill, Theodore Van Tassel, Charles Wiegand Elisha P. Ferris.

1877–78.—President, Elisha P. Ferris; Treasurer, Elisha Horton; Jr., Clerk, John Birch; Attorney and Counsel, Hiram Paulding; Collector of Taxes, Andrew O'Rourke; Chief Constable, John Birch: Trustees, Artemus W. Eggleston, Elisha Horton, Jr., Michael Riordan, D. Morgan Underhill, Charles Wiegand, Henry P. Stewart, Elisha P. Ferris.

1878–79.[3]—President, Gilbert S. Lyon[4] and D. Morgan Underhill; President *pro tem.*, none elected; Treasurer, Elisha Horton; Clerk, John Birch; Attorney and Counsel, Hiram Paulding; Collector of Taxes, none elected; Chief Constable, John Birch; Trustees, David Verplanck, for two years, and Michael Riordan, for one year, First Ward; Artemus W. Eggleston, for two years, and S. W. Faile, for one year, Second Ward; G. H. Mead, for two years, and Leonard Miller, for one year, Third Ward.

1879–80.—President, D. Morgan Underhill; President, *pro tem.*, Daniel J. Tripp; Clerk, John Birch; Attorney and Counsel, William A. Woodworth; Collector of Taxes, Orlando W. Eggleston; Chief Constable, Henry A. Maynard; Police Justice,[5] James H. Moran; Trustees, David Verplanck and Michael Riordan, First Ward; Artemus W. Eggleston and Samuel Faile, Second Ward; Daniel J. Tripp and Leonard Miller,[6] Third Ward.

1880–81.—President, Elisha P. Ferris; President, *pro tem.*, Edmund G. Sutherland; Treasurer, Henry T. Dykman; Clerk, John Birch; Attorney and Counsel, Charles W. Cochran; Collector of Taxes, Daniel F. Leary; Chief Constable, James Brogan; Trustees. Michael Riordan[7] and David Verplanck,[7] First Ward; Samuel Faile and Henry B. Ford,[7] Second Ward; Daniel J. Tripp and Edmund G. Sutherland, Third Ward.

1881–82.—President, Elisha P. Ferris (died February, 1882); President, *pro tem.*, Daniel J. Tripp; Treasurer, Henry T. Dykman; Clerk John Birch; Attorney and Counsel, Charles W. Cochran; Collector of Taxes, Daniel F. Leary; Chief Constable, George W. See; Police Justice, Elisha Horton; Trustees. Michael Riordan, one year, and David Verplanck, two years, First Ward; William J. Sutton, one year, and Samuel Faile, two years, Second Ward; Daniel J. Tripp, two years, and Edmund G. Sutherland, one year, Third Ward.

1882–83.—President, William Reynolds Brown; President, *pro tem.*, Daniel J. Tripp; Treasurer, Henry T. Dykman; Clerk, John Birch; Attorney and Counsel, Charles W. Cochran; Collector of Taxes, John P. Moran; Chief Constable, George W. See; Police Justice, Elisha Horton; Trustees, Michael Riordan and David Verplanck, First Ward; Samuel Faile and William J. Sutton, Second Ward; Daniel J. Tripp and James D. Wright,[8] Third Ward.

1883–84.—President, Wm. Reynolds Brown; President, *pro tem.*, Charles H. Tibbits; Treasurer, Wm. B. Tibbits; Clerk, John Birch; Attorney and Counsel, A. Jackson Hyatt; Collector of Taxes, Chester P. Little; Chief Constable, George W. See; Police Justice, Elisha Horton; Trustees, Michael Riordan and David Verplanck, First Ward; Wm. J. Sutton and Chas. H. Tibbits, Second Ward; Isaac V. Fowler[9] and James D. Wright, Third Ward.

1884–85.—President, Henry T. Dykman; President, *pro tem.*, Charles H. Tibbits; Treasurer, Wm. B. Tibbits; Clerk, John Birch; Attorney and Counsel, not elected; Collector of Taxes, not elected; Chief Constable, not elected; Police Justice, Minott M. Silliman; Trustees, David Verplanck and Richard Dowdall, First Ward; Wm. J. Sutton and Chas. H. Tibbits, Second Ward; Jas. D. Wright and Isaac V. Fowler, Third Ward.

1886.—President, Henry T. Dykman; President, *pro tem.*, Edward B. Long; Clerk, Eugene Archer; Treasurer, J. Henry Carpenter; Police Justice, Minott M. Silliman; Collector of Taxes, John P. Moran; Chief Constable, George W. See; Trustees, Richard Dowdall and John McArdle, First Ward; Mark Lyons and Charles H. Tibbits, Second Ward; Edward B. Long and James D. Wright, Third Ward.

HIGHWAYS.—The first highway was laid out on the 13th of April, 1708, leading from Rye to White Plains, six rods wide, and was called the Queen's Highway; the present North Street road is on the same route.

Broadway was in existence in 1697, but was not formally laid out and recorded until November 22, 1734, when it was described as "Beginning between the home lots formally laid out to Thomas Brown and Caleb Hyatt, where the road is laid out that goeth down to Eastchester; from thence northerly by the fronts of said home lots on each side of the street; said street or highway to be the same as now left until it cometh to the great meadow brook."

The old New York road, or road to East Chester,

[1] Valentine M. Hodgson resigned his position as village clerk January 17, 1874, and was succeeded by Charles H. Purdy.

[2] Charles H. Purdy resigned his position as clerk, and was succeeded, August 14, 1874, by John Birch.

[3] The new charter, dividing the city into wards, went into operation this year, and two trustees were elected from each ward, instead of seven from the whole village, as formerly. The president was chosen from outside the board for a term of two years, and his powers were somewhat curtailed. The election of Gilbert S. Lyon was reached after a long and obstinate contest between Elisha P. Ferris and William H. Albro. Ferris sat as president during this balloting, having been president the year before, and, finally, when he saw his own election impossible, and after there had been a number of ballots with Lyon and Albro as candidates, in which each received three votes, he threw the deciding vote for Lyon. His right to do so was contested in the courts, and during the contest no public business was transacted. The suit was not decided for many months, but was finally settled in favor of Lyon.

[4] Lyon died early in 1879, and was succeeded, April 22, 1879, by D. Morgan Underhill for the unexpired term.

[5] Police justice, an office established in 1878, was not filled till 1879, owing to the litigation over the presidency in the former year. It was for a term of three years. Moran was elected for the unexpired term of two years.

[6] Leonard Miller was elected for one year in place of George H. Mead, resigned.

[7] Michael Riordan, David Verplanck and Henry B. Ford all three resigned in March, 1881. April 4th Charles J. Quinby was appointed trustee in place of Henry B. Ford, and Harvey Groot in place of David Verplanck, until the ensuing election. Michael Riordan's place was not filled.

[8] James D. Wright resigned July 19, 1882, and was succeeded by Samuel Hopper.

[9] Henry P. Stewart was elected to the unexpired term of Samuel Hopper, but failed to qualify, and I. V. Fowler was elected in his place.

was formally laid out in 1717. It followed the old Indian Path, which led from the native settlement on the hill on the Fisher farm, south of the Fisher homestead, corner of Lexington Avenue and the post road, by a winding course over the hill, as it now runs, past Mr. Faile's and around the Waller corner to its junction with Broadway, opposite the Mitchell homestead. On the east side of the road, opposite the Waller corner, was the Indian burying-ground.

The road to the Hudson River from White Plains was laid out in 1730, along the north side of the Presbyterian Church. In 1764 the terminus of this road on Broadway was changed to its present location of Spring Street.

The road now called Lake Street was laid out in 1762.

The road to Mamaroneck was laid out the 11th of November, 1725, and commenced at the old post road. At that time James Travis owned the Samuel Faile place, and Moses Knapp owned what is now the beautiful property of Mrs. E. L. Carhart.

The highway leading from Broadway and passing the residence of Mrs. Ellen T. Donahue was laid out the 24th of April, 1735.

The road beginning at Broadway nearly opposite the road last mentioned, and now running south of the cemetery, was laid out May 22, 1740.

These are all the principal roads that were in existence prior to 1830 in what is now the village of White Plains.

White Plains was at the time of its purchase the planting-ground of the natives, and derived its name from the white balsam, a plant then covering its surface, which, although not level, presented the appearance of a plain when seen from the surrounding hills.

CHURCHES.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN WHITE PLAINS.—The history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in White Plains has been carefully written by Robert Bolton, in his "History of the Church in Westchester County," and much that follows is derived from his very interesting work.

From the time of the conquest of New Netherland by the English (in 1664) down to the arrival of Governor Fletcher (in 1692) the inhabitants of the town of Rye (which then, and until 1784, included the White Plains) were Presbyterians or Dissenters, and there existed "no trace of the Church of England in the Colony."

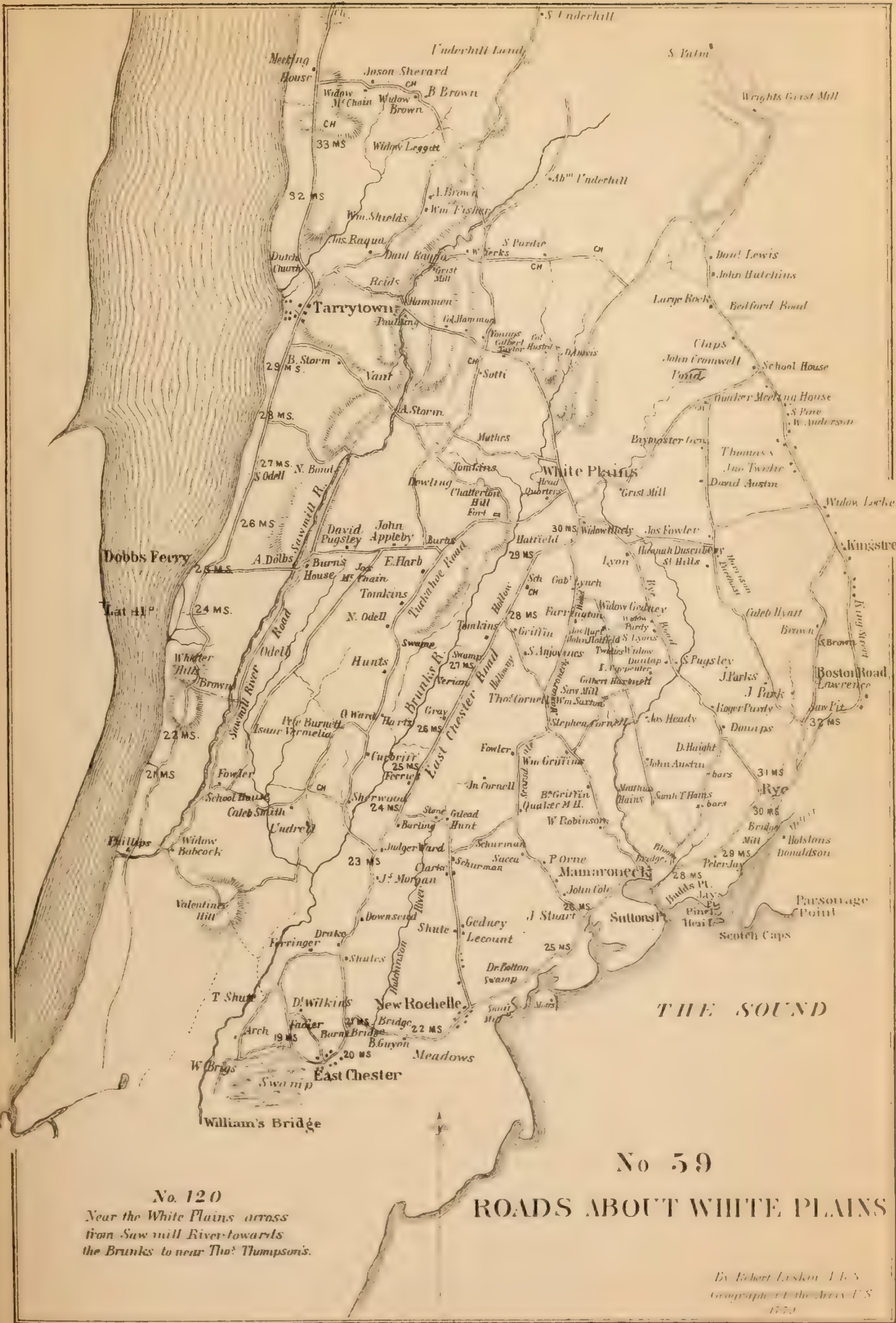
Through the efforts of Governor Fletcher, the Colonial Assembly, which was composed almost entirely of Dissenters, was induced to pass a bill "For the maintenance of a Ministry." A similar law existed in Connecticut, under whose ecclesiastical jurisdiction Rye was at this time. After the passage of this bill the Governor declared that there was no ministry but of the Church of England; and through his power, with the aid of the "Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts," a minister of the Church of England was inducted into the church at Rye in the year 1704, but Episcopal services were not introduced into White Plains until 1724, when the Rev. Mr. Jenny preached there three or four times a year; and such services were held down to the time of the Revolution, which utterly ruined the mission.

During the war the clergy were placed in an embarrassing position. Not to pray for the King, according to the litany, was to act against the dictates of their consciences, while to have used the prayers would have been to draw upon themselves persecution and destruction. The only course left them was to suspend the exercise of their functions and shut up their churches. After the war the church became an independent branch of the Church of Christ, and having organized an ecclesiastical union, free from alliances with human sovereigns, demonstrated its congeniality with our free institutions.

In 1787 White Plains and Rye united in erecting a church edifice at the latter place, of which the Rev. Richard C. Moore was chosen rector, September 5, 1787. Pursuant to the requirements of the laws of the State of New York relating to the incorporation of religious societies, a meeting of the congregation of Rye Church was held and a certificate of incorporation made, dated the 21st day of February, 1795, in which "the rector and two of the congregation of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the towns of Rye and White Plains, in the County of Westchester, certify that Peter Jay and John Barker were elected church wardens, and Joshua Purdy, Jr.," and seven others were elected vestrymen; and that "the style and title shall be 'Christ's Church in the town of Rye, in the County of Westchester and State of New York.'"

An act of the Legislature having been subsequently passed "for the relief of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the State of New York," the church determined to re-incorporate under that act, and a meeting for the purpose was duly called and held, and a certificate of incorporation, dated June 7, 1796, was made and filed, by which it appears that the officers of the Rye and White Plains Episcopal Church, chosen under this incorporation, were Peter Jay and Isaac Purdy, church wardens; and Joshua Purdy and seven others, vestrymen—the same corporate name being retained. Under this organization the church of Rye and White Plains continued services in each town—two-thirds in Rye and one-third in White Plains—until 1816, when the wardens and vestrymen resolved to discontinue services at White Plains; and accordingly such services were discontinued, although White Plains had contributed to the erection and support of the church.

From 1816 to 1823 only occasional services were held at White Plains by the neighboring clergy, and when, in 1824, it was proposed to organize a church, there was not one male communicant in the place, and only four or five females were church members.



No 59

ROADS ABOUT WHITE PLAINS

No. 120
Near the White Plains across from Saw mill River towards the Brunks to near Thos. Thompson's.

Notwithstanding such discouraging circumstances, it was determined to organize a church, and accordingly, upon the 22d of March, 1824, a church was incorporated under the title of "Grace Protestant Episcopal Church, White Plains," with Richard Jarvis and Alan McDonald as church wardens; William Purdy, John Horton, Gilbert Hatfield, James Dick, Alexander Fowler, Joshua Horton, William Bulkley and James D. Merritt, vestrymen; and the same year the Rev. William C. Mead was elected rector, and proceedings were instituted for the erection of a church edifice.

Mr. Mead was very acceptable to all, both in and out of his church, and his efforts to build a house for worship were generously aided by the people, without regard to creed or sect. How well this kind assistance was appreciated the records of the vestry show by an entry in the minutes, June 25, 1826, after the church was completed, of a vote of thanks to the officers and members of the Presbyterian Society in White Plains, for the use of their church.

Mr. Mead removed in 1826, and was succeeded by the Rev. Alexander H. Crosby, a laborious student and earnest preacher. He remained but two years, and was followed by the Rev. John W. Curtis, who continued here for two years. Mr. Curtis was a Christian gentleman, of fine personal appearance and of a cheerful and social nature, which endeared him to all within his influence. His health failing, in 1831 he applied to the bishop for a change, and became the editor of the *Churchman*, then first established. The change from the country to the city, however, operated for the worse; he declined rapidly in health, and died in 1835.

The Rev. Robert W. Harris took charge of the parish in 1831, and for nearly a quarter of a century faithfully served his Master and his flock. About him there was no sectarian bigotry; deeply taught by the Spirit, he belonged less to any human school of divinity than to the one great body of Christ's true disciples. He was an Episcopalian by birth, education and preference, but in his highest aspirations a member of the general assembly and church of the first born. He was ever bold in opposing error, and ever zealous in defending truth. In preaching he was earnest and impressive rather than eloquent. He loved the church and its order, and did not undervalue its external and formal arrangements. His catholicism was broad enough to cover all who rested their hopes for salvation on the same Jesus whom he served, whether in or out of his church. Few are now living who can remember the time when he first appeared here in the fresh glow of youth; and of the wardens and vestrymen who then directed the affairs of the church not one remains.

In the year 1855, Dr. Harris resigned so far as to have an associate rector appointed. Under this arrangement the Rev. Theodore Rumney was elected associate rector, and commenced preaching on the first Sunday of October, 1855. Soon afterward Dr. Harris resigned the whole charge of the parish, and for nearly fifteen years Mr. Rumney faithfully, laboriously and warm-heartedly devoted himself to his church and people.

In 1870, having received a call from Christ's Church, Germantown, Pa., he resigned, and the present rector, that genial Christian gentleman, the Rev. Frederick B. Van Kleeck, began his labors here, and for sixteen years has gone about doing good; and everywhere, whether in the pulpit, the social circle or beside the sick-bed, his presence is most acceptable.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.—Prior to 1727 the people of White Plains were members of, and attended, the Dissenting or Presbyterian Church of Rye. In that year a church edifice was erected in White Plains, chiefly through the efforts of the Rev. John Walton, a native of New London, and a graduate of Yale College, who came to Rye in 1723,[1] and to White Plains in 1726.

Mr. Walton was highly gifted as a preacher, and although self-willed and erratic, did much to strengthen the Presbyterians, and induced many, who had been drawn over to the Church of England, to return. His eloquence and persistent efforts as a preacher provoked the hostile criticism of the Rev. Mr. Wetmore, the English minister at Rye, who, in his letter to the secretary of the Propagation Society,[2] calls him "a bold, noisy fellow, with a voluble tongue, drawing the greatest part of the town after him."

A church was erected in 1727 on land given by Mr. Walton, on the spot where the present church stands. In 1728 Mr. Walton was succeeded by the Rev. Edmund Ward, also a graduate of Yale College, and a native of Killingworth, Connecticut.

Mr. Ward remained but two years, when he removed to Guilford, Connecticut, and the pulpit was vacant for several years after his departure, during which time occasional preaching was had by ministers from Connecticut.

On the 30th of December, 1742, a council of the Eastern Consociation of Fairfield County met at Rye and ordained the Rev. John Smith as minister. We are under great obligations to Dr. Baird for procuring and giving us a particular account of that occasion, and of the life and services of this eminent man.

Mr. Smith, like his predecessors, was a graduate of Yale College. His father, Mr. Thomas Smith, was one of the little band of Christians who organized the first Presbyterian Church in New York City. His brother, William Smith, and his nephew, William Smith, Jr., were leaders among the Sons of Liberty in New York City, and organizers of the "Whig Club," from which came the first utterances in favor of liberty. Previous to his coming to Rye, Mr. Smith had married a daughter of Mr. James Hooker, a grandson of the famous Thomas Hooker, the founder of

[1] Dr. Baird's "Rye," 322. [2] Bolton's "Church History," 246.

the colony of Connecticut. After a few years' residence in Rye, Mr. Smith removed to White Plains. The house in which he lived and died is still standing.

Owing to the feeble health and declining strength of Mr. Smith, the Presbytery, on the 11th of October, 1769, ordained Mr. Ichabod Lewis, also a graduate of Yale, as pastor. It is supposed that Mr. Smith continued to preach until a short time before his death, which took place on the 26th of February, 1771. His remains lie under the pulpit of the present church.

Soon after the battle of White Plains, and on the night of the 5th of November, 1776, the church was burned, and the congregation, owing to the troubles of the times, was scattered; many of them, being stanch Whigs, removed from this disputed territory, in order to escape the depredations of Tories and the British troops. The Rev. Mr. Lewis removed to Bedford.

In 1784 an act of the Legislature enabled religious societies or congregations to become corporate bodies, in pursuance of which this church, on the 12th of December, 1787, became incorporated under the name of "The Trustees of the Presbyterian Church in the White Plains in Westchester County;" from 1784 to 1821 the congregation enjoyed only irregular preaching, the services being held in the court-house, which stood in front of the present residence of Mr. Fiero.

From 1821 to 1823 the Rev. Thomas G. Smith officiated as stated supply. He was succeeded by the Rev. Marcus Harrison, who soon resigned, and the Rev. Mr. Ely supplied the pulpit until October, 1823, when the Rev. Samuel Robinson was installed as pastor. A new church was erected in 1824 on the foundation of the old one.

From 1825 to 1834 the Rev. Chester Long was the acceptable pastor, and on his resignation the Rev. John White was called, but remained only one year, when he resigned. In 1835 the Rev. Edward Wright was installed, and continued for nine years to fill the pulpit acceptably, till failing health compelled him to resign, and in July, 1844, the Rev. Elias S. Schenk was installed and supplied the pulpit for five years.

From January to July, 1850, the Rev. Bronson B. Beardsley officiated as stated supply; and from July, 1850, to July, 1853, the Rev. Joseph Forsyth was pastor. He was succeeded in 1853 by the Rev. David Peese, who served as stated supply for sixteen years.

In June, 1871, the Rev. T. C. Steele was called as pastor, and continued until ill health compelled him to resign, in November, 1873.

On July 19, 1874, the congregation called the Rev. E. L Heermance, who has since faithfully discharged his duties, never having failed to be at his post either in person or by proper representative.

By an act of the Legislature passed May 5, 1863, the name and title was changed from "The Trustees of the Presbyterian Church in the Town of White Plains, Westchester County," to "The White Plains Presbyterian Church."

THE METHODIST CHURCH.—There is no record evidence of an organized Methodist society or church in White Plains until after the Revolutionary War, but there is unquestionable proof that there was a Methodist society in White Plains as early as 1741. At this time the people, who were Dissenters, had no regular minister of their own persuasion, and no means wherewith to provide a support for one, being compelled by taxation to sustain the Church of England, which they regarded as little better than the Church of Rome, and the pulpit of the White Plains Church was vacant.

In the fall of the year 1740 George Whitefield visited and preached in Rye, and although he only passed through the town without stopping a night, the good seed sown by him on that October day brought forth an hundred-fold.

At this time John Wesley was organizing his followers in England in classes, appointing over each a leader who was to look after their spiritual interests; and a Methodist society, as it existed in England in 1740, was composed of Gospel Christians in a town or village drawn toward each other by their common trust in Jesus the Christ, formed into a class, with a leader, and governed by the rules laid down by Wesley for their guidance.

The people having no acceptable minister, neglected religious worship, and a general decline and deadness in matters of religion followed. While in this sad condition the new Methodism in England, with its simple, social and informal worship, which was exactly suited to the condition of the people, naturally attracted their attention and enlisted their feelings.

At this time the Rev. James Wetmore, a minister of the Church of England, sent by the Propagation Society, placed over this people by the power of the Governor, and supported by oppressive taxation, was the minister of Rye and the White Plains—the White Plains being then, and until 1783, within the town bounds of Rye.

Mr. Wetmore was required to report to the society several times a year the condition of his parish, and it is from his communications, which follow, that the existence of an organized Methodist society in this town as early as 1741–43 is established.

Under date of September 28, 1741, not quite a year after the Whitefield visit, the Rev. Mr. Wetmore, in a letter to the secretary of the Propagation Society, says: "The efforts of the sectaries in this parish have been various the past year, and their endeavors indefatigable to weaken and destroy the Church. However, by God's help, we maintain our ground, and though some of our members are corrupted with the wild enthusiasm of the new sect, I hope the measures I use to strengthen and establish my people in the faith of Christianity according to the doctrines of the Church of England, will by God's blessing prevent this new Methodism, or, rather, down-right distraction in the shape it now appears among the itinerant sectaries, from gaining much ground among us."



"WOODSIDE."

RESIDENCE OF JOSEPH H LEWIS,

WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.

In another letter, written eighteen months later, dated March 25, 1743, he complains that the people "are unsettled in their principles, and go after all sorts of teachers that come in their way, and many of them are much confused by the straggling Methodist teachers that are continually among us." From these letters it appears that the "new Methodism" was fast gaining ground.

In Mr. Wetmore's letter in September of the same year he writes: "As to the state of my parish, nothing very remarkable has happened since my last, but I find my cares and labors much increased by having two (probably one at White Plains and the other at Rye) Independent Methodist teachers settled by that party in my parish, besides exhorters and itinerants that frequently call people together and instil wild and enthusiastic notions into them; they have made much confusion in the remote parts of my parish, but chiefly among those who always were Dissenters."

Only two years had elapsed since his first letter complaining of the corrupting influences of the new sect of Methodists, and already this "wild sect" had become organized, and had two "Independent Methodist teachers" settled in his parish. He called them "teachers;" he would not call them "ministers," for he recognized no minister outside of the Church of England, and these were "settled" in his parish.

Although no record has been preserved of that little society, with the name of the teacher or of the members who composed the class or congregation, or in what commodious farm-house they assembled for worship, the fact that such a teacher and such a class or congregation, in an organized shape, existed in White Plains in 1743 cannot be controverted; and this was seventeen years before Philip Embury and Barbara Heck came to America, and twenty-three years before Philip Embury organized his class-meeting or society in his house in Barrack St., New York City, which the learned historian, Dr. Abel Stevens, states was the foundation of Methodism in America.

During the American Revolution no regular meetings for public religious worship by any denomination of Christians were held in White Plains, but very soon after the war, little companies were gathered without any formal organization, one of which met at the house of Mrs. Ann Miller, in North Castle (Washington's headquarters). When the New Rochelle Circuit was organized, in 1787, Mrs. Miller's house was one of the regular appointments on the circuit; the Rev. Samuel Talbot, who organized the first class, consisting of six persons, was preacher. In 1792 and 1793 some six members were added to the little society, three of whom—Abraham Miller, Abraham Davis and John Hatfield—were men of influence in the neighborhood; and through their efforts the embryo church grew vigorous and strong.

As a church it had no corporate existence until July 20, 1795, when Elijah Crawford, John Lynch, Nicholas Fisher, Abraham Miller, Azariah Horton and Abraham Davis were elected trustees. The title of the corporation was "The Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the town of White Plains, in the County of Westchester." [1]

Owing to failure to hold the annual meeting and elect trustees, it became necessary to, and the church was, re-incorporated on November 24, 1834, under the title of the "Trustees of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of the town of White Plains, in Westchester County." [2]

The church edifice being located on the extreme limit of the village, a new society was organized and incorporated October 20, 1834, under the name or title of "The Trustees of the Second Methodist Episcopal Church in White Plains, Westchester County," [3] and a house of worship was erected on the central part of Broadway.

On the 13th of April, 1871, some of the members of the First Church united with those of the Second Church in forming a new society, which is in a prosperous condition. The name was changed from the "Second" to "The Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church of White Plains," [4] and a commodious house of worship was erected on Railroad Avenue.

White Plains was embraced in the New Rochelle Circuit from the time of its organization, in 1787, until 1832, and the ministers on the circuit were as follows:

Samuel Q. Talbot	1787
Peter Moriarty	1788
Peter Moriarty and Samuel Smith	1789
William Phœbus, M. Swain and J. Brush	1790
Jacob Brush, T. Everard and T. Lovell	1791
James Bell and Benjamin Fisler	1792
Peter Moriarty and David Valleau	1793
Sylvester Hutchinson, Peter Moriarty and D. Dennis	1794
Thomas Woolsey, Albert Van Nostrand and Jacob Perkins	1795
Joseph Totten, David Brown and Ezekiel Caulfield	1796
David Brown, John Wilson and John Baker	1797
Joseph Totten and John Clark	1798
John Clark, Timothy Dewey and Epenetus Kibby	1799
David Brown, John Wilson and Elijah Chichester	1800
John Wilson, James Campbell and William Pickett	1801
William Thacker and George Dougherty	1802
William Thacker and Aaron Hunt	1803
James Coleman	1804
James Coleman and Joseph Sawyer	1805
Joseph Crawford and Henry Redstone	1806
Billy Hibbard, Mitchel B. Bull, Henry Redstone and Ezekiel Caulfield	1807
Billy Hibbard, Zalmon Lyon and Ezekiel Caulfield	1808
Luman Andrus and Phineas Peck	1809
Noble W. Thomas and Henry Ames	1810
Eben Smith, W. Swayze and Henry Ames	1811
Eben Smith and Jonathan Lyon	1812
William Phœbus, William Thacker and O. Sykes	1813
William Thacker and Jonathan Lyon	1814
Smith Arnold and Samuel Bushnell	1815
Nathan Emery and Smith Arnold	1816
Nathan Emery and Charles Carpenter	1817
Daniel Ostrander and Charles Carpenter	1818
Samuel Bushnell and M. Richardson	1819–20
Elijah Woolsey, William Jewett and Robert Seney	1821
Elijah Woolsey, William Jewett and Noble W. Thomas	1822
Heman Bangs, Noble W. Thomas and Richard Seaman	1823
Stephen Martindale, Heman Bangs and L. Andrus	1824
Stephen Martindale and Phineas Rice	1825
P. P. Sandford, Ph. Rice and J. M. Smith	1826

[1] Rel. Incorp., A, page 52, Co clerk's office. [2] Ibid, p. 23.
[3] Ibid, page 25. [4] Ibid, B. p. 452.

Peter P. Sandford, Josiah Bowen and J. M. Smith 1827
Elijah Woolsey, S. Cochran and Josiah Bowen 1828
Samuel Cochran and Elijah Hibbard 1829
Elijah Hibbard and Daniel De Vinne 1830
Ebenezer Washburn and Daniel De Vinne 1831

In 1832, White Plains and Greenburgh were set off from the New Rochelle Circuit and constituted a separate charge, and the preachers were as follows:

Robert Seney and Harvey Husted 1832
Robert Seney and John B. Merwin 1833
Peter P. Sandford and Zachariah Davenport 1834
P. P. Sandford and S. C. Davis 1835
Horace Bartlett and Ezra Jagger 1836
Stephen Martindale and Daniel I. Wright 1837
Stephen Martindale and John A. Sillick 1838
Valentine Buck and John A. Sillick 1839
Valentine Buck 1840

In 1841 White Plains became a separate charge, and the preachers were,—

Valentine Buck. . . .	1814	Peter P. Sandford. . .	1853
Buel Goodsell.	1842–43	William S. Stilwell . .	1854–55
Richard Wymond. . .	1844–45	Benjamin Griffin . . .	1856–57
Julius Field	1846–47	Henry Lounsbury . .	1858–59
Paul R. Brown . . .	1848–49	William M. Chipp . .	1860–61
Charles B. Sing . . .	1850–51	William H. Evans . .	1862
John Luckey	1852		

In 1863 White Plains became two separate charges, —namely, White Plains and White Plains village—and the preachers were,—

White Plains (Old Church).

William H. Evans . .	1863	Asa P. Lyon.	1874–75
Darius D. Lindsley . .	1864	Ezra Tinker	1876
Albert H. Wyatt . . .	1866–67	Thomas W. Chadwick .	1877
Thomas B. Smith . . .	1868–70	O. V. Haviland.	1878–79
John E. Gorse	1871–73	Thomas Lodge	1880

In 1881 the Old Church disbanded and united with the Village Church.

Village Church.

Gideon Draper	1863–64	William F. Hatfield .	1873–75
William M. Chipp . .	1865–66	Phineas Hawkshurs .	1878
John P. Hermance . .	1867	James Y. Bates . . .	1877–79
John W. Beach . . .	1868–69	Gilbert H. Gregory . .	1880–81
E. B. Othaman . . .	1870	F. Mason North . . .	1882–83
Richard Wheatley . .	1871–72	De Loss Lull	1884–86

St. John's Roman Catholic Church—The first Mass said in Westchester County was said at the house of Dominick Lynch, on Throgg's Point, in the town of Westchester, where the Academy of the Sacred Heart is now located. Dominick Lynch was a prominent man during the Revolution, and after the election of Washington as first President of the United States, was one of the signers of the Catholic address to Washington,[1] which received a generous reply, and was followed by a memorial to Congress representing the necessity of adopting some constitutional provision for the protection and maintenance of civil and religious freedom, which had cost so much blood and treasure of all classes of citizens. It was through the influence of Washington that this memorial was favorably received, and it resulted in the enactment of that article in the constitution which declares that Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or the free exercise thereof, and which has since been incorporated in the fundamental law.

[1] History of the Irish Settlers in North America, by T. D'Arcy McGee, p. 77.

Dominick Lynch, of New York, in 1795, purchased the farm of Lewis Graham, on Throgg's Point, and it was in his house on this farm that the first Mass in Westchester County was said.

In 1839 Throgg's Point and Sawpits (now Port Chester) were missions attended from Harlem, the former every second Sunday in the month, the latter occasionally, by Rev. M. Curran and Rev. Bernard O. Farrell. In 1842 these missions were attended from St. John's College, Fordham. In 1843 and 1844 Rev. Father Vilanus, D.D., of St. John's College, Fordham, attended New Rochelle once a month; also Sawpits, Westchester, Throgg's Point and Sing Sing. In 1845, Rev. William O'Reilly, of Westchester, had charge of these missions. In 1846 and 1847, Rev. Matthew Higgins, of Westchester, attended New Rochelle and Port Chester. In 1848, Rev. Valenive Burgos resided in Port Chester, and was succeeded towards the end of 1848 by Rev. Edward J. O'Reilly.

Father O'Reilly was the first Catholic priest to conduct services in White Plains. He began to hold meetings there about the year 1848. At this time he had charge of the Roman Catholic mission in Port Chester. In 1849 or the early part of 1850 he removed to New Rochelle, having been appointed pastor of St. Matthew's Church, at that place, in addition to his Port Chester charge.

Father O'Reilly was a zealous worker for the advancement of the Roman Catholic faith, and a man of more than ordinary ability and force of character. For several years after the beginning of his ministrations in White Plains, the Catholics there were without a house of worship of their own. Father O'Reilly, anxious to supply this need, solicited subscriptions from Catholics and Protestants, and was finally able to effect his wish. A plot of ground, located where Hamilton Avenue and Spring Street afterwards crossed each other, was purchased in the latter part of 1852, and shortly afterward the church was erected.

Father O'Reilly was succeeded by the Rev. Thomas McLoughlin, of New Rochelle. From 1848 to 1860 White Plains was visited once a month from New Rochelle. From 1861 to 1868 it was attended by the Rev. Matthew Dowling, of Port Chester, Port Chester having been made a separate mission in 1855.

In 1868 Rev. John McEvoy was appointed to the charge of White Plains, and White Plains as a separate mission, with a resident pastor, dates from that time. Father McEvoy was a native of Kilkenny, Ireland, and had been an assistant in St. Stephen's Roman Catholic Church, in Twenty-eighth Street, New York City, immediately before coming to White Plains. During the first year of his ministry a larger building was erected just across Hamilton Avenue from the old structure, and the congregation moved thither, retaining the old church as a Sunday-school. Father McEvoy became chaplain of St. Vincent's Retreat, in the town of Harrison, in 1878, and died there some time later.

His successor at White Plains was the Rev. Bartholomew Galligan, who assumed charge in November, 1878. Father Galligan was born December 19, 1838, in County Cavan, Ireland; he was ordained December 19, 1868, and died July 9, 1884. He was at one time an assistant in St. Bernard's Church, New York City, and afterwards in St. Gabriel's Church, New York City. Previous to coming to White Plains he was pastor of St. Mary's Church, at Cold Spring, Putnam County, N. Y.

In January, 1884, Father Galligan's health failed, and the Rev. Michael J. Murray became his assistant and remained such until the death of the pastor. He then assumed the duties of acting pastor and remained such until about the 1st of September, 1884, when the Rev. Edward A. Dunphy, the next pastor of the church, took charge.

Father Edward A. Dunphy was born at Newburgh, Orange County, N. Y., November 1, 1845. At an early age he entered St. John's College, at Fordham, and was graduated from there with the highest honors of his class in 1865. He then attended the Troy Theological Seminary, where he was ordained in December, 1868. Shortly afterward he was appointed an assistant at St. Mary's Church, New York City, but was soon transferred across town to St. Joseph's, where he remained several years. Subsequently he accepted the chair of sacred eloquence in the Troy Theological Seminary, tendered him by the late Cardinal McCloskey. Upon his resignation from this post he was assigned to Rossville, Staten Island, where he remained four years, until his removal to White Plains, in 1884. A man of scholarly attainments, impressive eloquence and great generosity, he did much to strengthen and advance the interests of the Roman Catholic Church in White Plains. He remained pastor of St. John's Church until his death, December 18, 1885.

Father Edward A. Dunphy was succeeded at White Plains by his brother, Rev. William A. Dunphy, a genial Christian gentleman, who was appointed to this charge December 21, 1885, and is the present faithful and acceptable pastor of St. John's.

St. John's Church will seat six hundred persons, and is comfortably filled at the two Masses said there every Sunday morning, as well as at the vespers and benediction every Sunday afternoon. The Sunday-school, now held in the church, has an average attendance of about three hundred scholars. In connection with the church is a society, composed of men, known as St. John's Temperance Society; an altar society, composed of ladies, who have the care of the altar; and also the St. John's Literary and Social Union, composed of both sexes, and numbering over one hundred members. This union has founded a library for the use of its members.

THE BAPTIST CHURCH OF WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.—This church was organized in the spring of 1871, and was regularly incorporated April 13, 1871, with John M. Rowell, Samuel Taylor, George R. Hopkins, James H. Purdy, Richard S. Geary, Sellick Roberts and Enoch Harris as trustees.[1] During the winter preceding the incorporation there were held meetings of about twenty persons desirous of organizing a Baptist Church, and as a preliminary effort, the Rev. Jerome B. Morse was invited to and did preach on the 26th of March, 1871. At the close of the services it was resolved to organize a church under the name of "The First Baptist Church of White Plains," and twenty-two persons became members. Rev. Jerome B. Morse was chosen pastor; John M. Rowell, treasurer; and Daniel M. Tucker and John M. Rowell, deacons.

On the 1st of June, 1871, at a meeting of sister congregations, the White Plains Church was formally recognized, and services were thereafter held in the Methodist chapel, on Hamilton Avenue, until August, 1871, when Mr. James B. Colgate, of Yonkers, purchased, for twenty-five thousand dollars, and donated to the society, the fine building which had been erected by the Reformed Dutch Church, on Mamaroneck Avenue, and which the society continues to occupy and enjoy.

Ill health compelled the Rev. Mr. Morse to resign, November 10, 1872; he was succeeded, April 1, 1873, by the Rev. George W. Clowe, who continued to be pastor until June 1, 1879, with the exception of one year, beginning March 1, 1877, and ending March 1, 1878, during which time Rev. J. L. Benedict occupied the pulpit.

On July 9, 1879, the Rev. F. P. Sutherland was installed and remained until January 1, 1884, when Rev. W. W. Covel was chosen pastor and still continues faithfully and acceptably to discharge his duties.

ACADEMIES AND SCHOOLS.

THE WHITE PLAINS ACADEMY was incorporated by an act of the Legislature, passed in 1828, under the management of trustees. A building was erected on the east side of Broadway (now a dwelling-house next south of the residence of Mr. Jarvis). The Rev. John M. Smith was employed as the principal of the school, and held that position until 1832, when he resigned. He was succeeded by Prof. John Swinburne, a popular and successful instructor. In 1840, Prof. Swinburne withdrew from the academy, and opened a private boarding-school, which he conducted with signal success until 1851, when he retired on a competence. His school was on the west side of Broadway, in the buildings now occupied by Dr. Kingsley.

A female seminary was founded in 1835 by Andrew L. Halsted, who erected and occupied the dwelling now owned by Mrs. A. C. Tompkins, on Broadway. It was transferred in 1839 to Mr. N. C. Hart, who soon after relinquished it.

The Rev. Robert William Harris opened a boarding-school for boys about 1835, in the rectory (now

[1] Recorded in book of "Religious Incorporations," Westchester county clerk's office, June 16, 1871.

occupied by Mr. Samuel Faile), which was very successful until his removal to Astoria, about 1857.

A school for girls was successfully conducted for a long time by Mrs. R. B. Searles. It was known as the White Plains Female Institute. It closed about 1873.

At present (1886) there are three private schools in White Plains. The ALEXANDER INSTITUTE, the most important, was established in 1845, and conducted for twelve years by Mr. William S. Hall, under the name of the Hamilton Military Institute. For the next six years it was under the supervision of General Munson I. Lockwood, who called it the White Plains Military Academy.

During the year 1863, Mr. Oliver R. Willis, the present principal, assumed charge, and the name was changed to the Alexander Institute. Mr. Willis has a corps of competent teachers to assist him, and pupils are taught in military manœuvres as part of the course. Instruction is given in the ordinary English branches, and in all studies necessary to enable a youth to enter college. The capacity of the school is for thirty boarders. It is pleasantly situated on Broadway, a short distance north of the Presbyterian Church.

MISS FRANCES HARRIS' SCHOOL.—This school was started in 1867, and is now located on Lexington Avenue, near the post road; she receives but a small number of pupils.

MISS MARY ADLER'S SCHOOL.—In 1875, Miss Adler opened a school for boys and girls on Lexington Avenue. She subsequently removed to Lafayette Hall, and in 1885 removed into a neat building which she had erected on Church Street. The number of pupils averages about forty.

PUBLIC OR DISTRICT SCHOOL.—It is not known where the first school-house was located. All that is known is that it was abandoned in 1739; afterwards the second school-house was erected on the highway, opposite the northwest corner of the Squire place. This house was abandoned about 1829, and the school was kept in the academy building until about 1840, when a school-house was erected on the road to Rye, southwest of the residence of Mr. Timothy Dick. This building was burned in 1848, and the place occupied as a school was rented.

In 1856 the present brick structure was erected; in 1875 a large addition was made, and in 1886 still further additions were made. In 1874, Mr. Charles A. Ganung was appointed principal of the school, and is still in charge. The average daily attendance is three hundred.

CEMETERIES.

The oldest cemetery in White Plains surrounds the Presbyterian Church, on Broadway, and contains about four acres. It dates back to 1730. The graves are all directly east and west, and not in line or at right angles with either side of the grounds.

THE WHITE PLAINS RURAL CEMETERY.—This cemetery was incorporated November 20, 1854. A tract of thirty-six acres was purchased, bounded on the east by Broadway and on the south by the highway leading from Broadway to Greenburgh. About 1862, the affairs of the company having fallen into disorder, its creditors were induced, through the efforts of Wm. H. Albro, Esq., to exchange their claims for cemetery lots of corresponding value. Under its present management the cemetery is well kept, and is in a prosperous condition.

The officers are Wm. H. Albro, president; Wm. H. Huestis, secretary; John R. Sherwood, treasurer; and Wm. H. Albro, Eugene T. Preudhomme and John R. Sherwood, working committee.

NEWSPAPERS.

THE WESTCHESTER SPY.—In the spring of the year 1830, Alan McDonald and Minott Mitchell, with one or two others, purchased the necessary material for establishing a newspaper, and employed as editor Mr. Peter C. Smith, a young gentleman from New York, who, in May, 1830, issued the first number of the first newspaper published in White Plains, under the title of *The Westchester Spy*.

Its publication was continued by successive editors until 1847, when it was discontinued.

THE EASTERN STATE JOURNAL.—This paper was founded at White Plains in May, 1845, by Edmund G. Sutherland as its proprietor and publisher, assisted by a half-brother, Thomas Jefferson Sutherland.

This business arrangement continued about eleven months, when Thomas J. Sutherland withdrew and the paper remained in the hands of Edmund G. Sutherland, under whose managment it became the leading Democratic paper of the county, and so continued until his death, in May, 1883.

It is now under the prudent and successful management of Ezra J. Horton, Esq.

THE WESTCHESTER NEWS.—This paper first appeared in October, 1871, as a Democratic organ, under the charge of Ezra J. Horton, Esq., and was continued under changing management until August 1876, when it passed into the hands of its present proprietor, Edward B. Long, Esq., under whose spirited direction it has become one of the leading Republican papers in the county.

THE WHITE PLAINS STANDARD.—In 1885 Mr. J. O. Spencer established the *White Plains Standard* as a weekly paper; but finding its management required more time than he could spare from his other business engagements, sold it in 1886 to Mr. Peter Paulding, who now controls it.

THE FIRE DEPARTMENT.

The first fire company was organized in White Plains about 1854, and was known as the Hope Fire-Engine Company. There was also organized about the same time the Union Hook-and-Ladder Company. These companies did good service in the village until 1874, when they disbanded, and for about ten years there was no regularly organized fire company.

THE HOPE ENGINE COMPANY.—In October, 1883, the Hope Fire-Engine Company was reorganized and

placed under the control of the village authorities. The following were the first officers elected: Chief Engineer, Stephen W. Smith; assistant chief engineer, Frank Gempler; foreman, Elliott H. Sniffin; first assistant foreman, John Ferguson; second assistant foreman, John McCarty; secretary, John T. Rehill; assistant secretary, William Gentleman; treasurer, Theodore Doll.

The number of members is limited to sixty.

The present officers are: Foreman, John Ferguson; first assistant foreman, Lewis C. Platt, Jr.; second assistant foreman, Peter F. Tracy; secretary, Edward Baxter; treasurer, Thomas J. McCarty; steward, James Stines.

The Union Hook-and-Ladder Company.—This company was also reorganized in 1883. Its first officers, on reorganization, were: Foreman, Feltus Pullen; assistant foreman, John Emberson; secretary, Charles P. Sherwood.

At present the officers are: Foreman, William Sterling; assistant foreman, William Godwin; secretary, Edward Barnes; treasurer, Frank L. Cox.

Hope Hose Company.—This company was organized in 1884 with twenty members, and the following officers elected: Foreman, Frank E. Benson; assistant foreman, Henry Armbruster; secretary, George Robinson; treasurer, Charles Nowill.

Present officers: Foreman, Frederick Underhill; assistant foreman, John Shay; secretary, Livingston R. Hartnett; treasurer, Barney Gilligan; steward, James Donelly.

The Independent Fire Company.—This company was organized in 1884, and supplied themselves by their own contributions with an engine and uniforms. The officers first chosen were: Foreman, David P. Barnes; first assistant foreman, William H. Lawler; second assistant foreman, John R. Barnes; secretary, Edward Bogart; treasurer, Thomas Holden.

The number of members was one hundred and two.

The present officers are: Foreman, John R. Barnes; first assistant foreman, William H. Lawler; second assistant foreman, Adolph Matthies; secretary, John Haley, Jr.; treasurer, Thomas Holden; steward, James Barrett.

The chief officers of the Fire Department, including the Hope Engine Company, Hope Hose Company and Union Hook-and-Ladder Company, are: Chief engineer, Stephen W. Smith; assistant chief engineer, Elliott H. Sniffin.

SOCIETIES.

The White Plains Lyceum.—On the 21st of November, 1871, about a dozen gentlemen met and determined that an association should be formed, with the object of providing rooms, to be supplied with periodicals and a library, where young men could spend their evenings pleasantly. They secured the second and third floors of the building on the corner of Railroad Avenue and Grove Street, now occupied by the Telephone Company, and the Lyceum was opened January 20, 1872. After a few years the association removed to its present comfortable quarters, over Mr. Samuel Hopper's store.

Under the auspices of the Lyceum, a course of lectures and entertainments are given every winter, the last of which has usually been a dramatic performance by local amateurs. The professional talent employed has been of the very best, and the amateur entertainments have always been welcomed with crowded audiences and have produced an exalted opinion of the dramatic talent of some of the citizens.

The Ionic Lodge was the first Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons in White Plains. It was organized under a dispensation from the Grand Lodge of the State of New York, and held its first meeting February 1, 1853. It never held but three or four meetings. John P. Jenkins was Master; Elijah Guion, Senior Warden; and Lewis C. Platt, Junior Warden.

White Plains Lodge, No. 473, received its charter some time later, and held its first meeting April 8, 1859. Hiram P. Rowell was its first Master; John F. Jenkins, Senior Warden; John P. Jenkins, Junior Warden; John W. Mills, Treasurer; Daniel H. Little, Secretary; Francis Dauchy, Senior Deacon; William S. Cameron, Junior Deacon; and William Hahlen, Tiler.

The first place of meeting was in Moger's Hall, on Railroad Avenue, near Broadway.

The lodge, in 1884, contained fifty members. Meetings are now held in a hall, which has been fitted up at an expense of about three thousand dollars, on the northeast corner of Railroad and Lexington Avenues.

The present officers are George W. Brown, Master; John Birch, Senior Warden; William Nehr, Junior Warden; Francis H. Hessels, Secretary; Richard Manney, Treasurer; Leonard O. Roselle, Senior Deacon; James H. Howes, Junior Deacon; I. F. Loy, Senior Master of Ceremonies; Aaron Radick, Junior Master of Ceremonies; J. S. Pye, Tiler; Trustees, John M. Rowell, E. B. Long and D. Morgan Underhill.

Hebron Lodge, No. 229, I. O. of O. F.—This lodge was chartered February 1, 1870, the charter officers being Joseph Lye, N. G.; James Epps, V. G.; Frank Schermer, S.; M. Armbruster, J. G.; Peter Mann, T.; H. W. Lown, R. S. N. G.; H. Bromm, W.

It has about forty-five members, and the lodge-room is on Lexington Avenue.

Good Templar Lodge, No. 324.—This Independent Order of Good Templars was organized December 20, 1880, with sixty members. I. R. Miller was chosen W. C. T.; G. W. Brown, W. S.; and B. F. Hosier, L. D.

The meetings of the lodge are held at the corner of Spring Street and Railroad Avenue, and there are about fifty members.

The White Plains Concordia.—This German Musical Society was organized June 10, 1880, under

the name of the "White Plains Gesang Verein," with seventeen members. Its first officers were Dr. Ludwig Dresher, president; Adolph Matthies, vice-president; Joseph Lye, treasurer; Charles Burmeister, recording secretary; and Frank Gempler, sergeant. In April, 1881, the name of the society was changed to "The White Plains Concordia." It numbers about fifty-five members, who meet in a large room in the Union Hotel.

JAMES CROMWELL POST, No. 466, G. A. R.—A Veteran Association was formed in White Plains in 1866, but little interest was taken in it. Subsequently steps were taken by some of the members to establish a Grand Army post, and on the 19th of March, 1884, a charter was granted by J. M. Hedges, Department Commander, and on the 3d of April the post was mustered. The officers were and are Valentine M. Hodgson, Commander; John C. Verplanck, Junior Vice Commander; Edward W. Bogart, Adjutant; Geo. W. Brown, Officer of the Day; David P. Barnes, Sergeant; Burlin H. Palmer, Quartermaster; Henry J. Williams, Officer of the Guard; James S. Snedeker, Chaplain; Richard Roach, Inside Sentinel; Charles B. Whiston, Outside Sentinel.

This post was organized under the name of Weitzel Post, but it soon after appearing that there was another post bearing the same name, it was afterwards changed to its present one of James Cromwell.

THE CENTRAL BANK OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY was incorporated on the 16th of Oct., 1828, with a capital of one hundred thousand dollars. Its officers are: President, Wm. H. Albro; Cashier, Howard E. Foster.

LAFAYETTE HALL.—In 1865 Eugene T. Preudhomme built Lafayette Hall, on Railroad Avenue, near Broadway. It will seat about four hundred and fifty persons and is used for public gatherings of various descriptions.

MORAN'S HALL was erected by James H. Moran in 1873, on the corner of Railroad Avenue and Spring Street, and will seat about four hundred persons.

WHITE PLAINS GAS COMPANY.—The manufacture of gas was begun in White Plains in 1860 on a small scale, by parties from New York City. In April, 1863, the property and works were purchased by Eugene T. Preudhomme, Esq., and in 1872 passed into the possession of a stock company, the capital being twenty-five thousand dollars.

The officers of the company are Eugene T. Preudhomme, president; Charles Horton, treasurer; and William H. Huestis, secretary. The amount of gas annually consumed is between three and four million feet.

HOTELS.

THE ORAWAUPUM HOTEL.—The first Orawaupum Hotel was built about 1844, near the New York and Harlem Railroad depot, and was kept by Mr. Isaac Smith. The name was suggested by the historian, John Macdonald, it being the name of the principal Indian chief of whom the White Plains lands were purchased.

The original hotel was a frame building and was burned February 17, 1854. It was then owned by the widow of Isaac Smith, who soon thereafter erected the present edifice.

It has passed through several hands and is now conducted by Stanley F. Newell, who has been proprietor since 1882.

The hotel is built of brick and has accommodations for about fifty guests.

THE UNION HOTEL.—This hotel is situated on the north side of Railroad Avenue, along the railroad, and was built about 1869 by J. M. Schirmer. In 1878 it passed into the possession of Theodore Doll, the present proprietor.

THE STANDARD HOUSE.—In 1860 Brundage Sniffin erected this building on Railroad Avenue, directly opposite the court-house. It is now owned by Mrs. Ada Richardson, a daughter of Mr. Sniffin, and is managed by Mr. N. Hubbard Miller. It has thirty sleeping-rooms and from its nearness to the county offices finds its largest custom from persons attending the courts.

WALLACE HOTEL.—This hotel is located on Court Street and is well kept by Benj. F. Wallace; it has accommodations for permanent and transient boarders.

Frank S. Mitchell

BIOGRAPHY.

DAVID CROMWELL.

Several branches of the Cromwell family in America are descended from Colonel John, third son of Richard Cromwell, and brother of the renowned Protector, Oliver Cromwell. John Cromwell, son of Colonel John, emigrated from Holland to New Netherland, and in 1686 was a resident at Long Neck, in Westchester County, afterwards known as Cromwell's Neck. He left two sons—John and James. The latter was born in 1696 and died in 1770, leaving three children—John, James and William. John Cromwell, the oldest son, was a resident of Harrison, born December 5, 1737. He married Anna Hopkins, of Long Island, and they were the parents of eight children—James, Daniel, John, Joseph, William, Naomi (wife of Rev. Mr. Halstead), Esther (wife of John Griffin, Jr., of North Castle), and Hannah (wife of William Field of Cortlandt.

John Cromwell, the father of this family, was an active patriot during the Revolution, endured many hardships in the cause of liberty, and died at an advanced age in 1805.

James Cromwell, the oldest son, was born November 6, 1752, and in early life worked on the farm of General Lewis Morris, at Morrisania. This dwelling



David Crowell



"MAPLETON."

RESIDENCE OF N. H. HAND,

WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.



N. H. Hand

was near "Cromwell's Creek," which derived its name from him, and after remaining here several years he removed to New York, where he conducted a grocery business, and at a later date purchased a farm in the town of Monroe, Orange County (then known as Southfield), where he passed the remainder of his days, and died December 23, 1828. He married Charlotte, daughter of Aaron Hunt, of Greenwich, Conn., and left twelve children—Hannah (wife of David Griffin), Rebecca (wife of George Fritts), Daniel, James, Oliver, Ann (wife of John Haviland), David, Aaron, William, Mary (twins who died young), William and John.

John, the last named, was born in Monroe, July 26, 1803, engaged in business in New York, and having earned a modest competence, purchased a farm of one hundred acres in New Windsor, Orange County, where he resided during the remainder of his life. He was a life-long member of the Society of Friends, known and honored as a useful and worthy citizen and faithful in the performance of all the duties of life. He married Letitia, daughter of Abijah and Patience Haviland, of White Plains, N. Y., and they were the parents of four children—Walter, residing in California; James, of Bedford, Westchester County; Oliver, of New Windsor (died June 11, 1885), and David. Mrs. Letitia Cromwell died in 1861, and Mr. Cromwell was subsequently married to Elizabeth, daughter of Charles and Ann (Conklin) Cox, of Newburgh.

David Cromwell was born in New York May 25, 1838, and at the age of eight years removed with his parents to New Windsor, N. Y. His early education was obtained at the Cornwall Collegiate School, from which he graduated as a civil-engineer and surveyor, and after practicing his profession for about one year he went to New York and embarked in the grain trade. In 1862 he came to East Chester and established a store, where he conducted business until 1879. In 1877 he was elected supervisor of East Chester, and re-elected in 1878. In the fall of 1878 he was unanimously nominated by the Republican party as their candidate for the responsible office of county treasurer, and was elected over George W. Davids (Democrat), who had held the office for three years and was running for re-election. The faithfulness and ability exhibited by Mr. Cromwell in the performance of his official duties led to his re-election in 1881 by an increased majority, and in 1884 he was elected for a third term by a majority of about seven hundred, notwithstanding that the county gave a Democratic majority of over thirteen hundred on the electoral ticket. His ability and integrity commanded the votes of thinking men of all parties. He married Fannie, daughter of Thomas W. and Julia Deuel, of New York City, December 3, 1873. Their children are Fannie May, born May 23, 1876, and John Chester, born July 29, 1878.

NATHAN H. HAND.

Mr. Hand was born in Peacham, Vt., March 11, 1819. From the district school and the academy in his native town he received his education. In early youth he went to Montpelier, and served as clerk in a store for a year or two, when he removed to Cincinnati, Ohio, where he engaged in mercantile business, until failing health induced him to take a sea voyage, returning from which he went to Winchendon, Mass. There he purchased a store and stock of goods, and engaged in a general mercantile business, and also in the manufacture of palm leaf hats, becoming the largest producer of these articles in the State. A few years later he went to Middlebury, Vt., and engaged in the lumber and wood-ware manufacture. While he was thus employed, the marble business in that section of Vermont was attracting much attention. He became interested and bought a very extensive quarry in Pittsford, Vt., and began with great energy and industry to develop and utilize it, so that he soon competed with older and larger companies, furnishing stone for New York and Boston markets. Two of Boston's large hotels were built of marble sold by him. He made a number of improvements in cutting and quarrying the marble, which are in use to this day.

In 1867 he became connected with the gold mining interests of the State of Georgia, locating his operations in and around Dahlonega, which is regarded as the very centre of the auriferous region of that State. At the time he began his operations there was hardly a successful mining enterprise in that section. The methods for obtaining gold were almost entirely primitive, the mills and machinery being crude and imperfect. Under his thorough business knowledge and energy, and by backing his judgment with his means, he has, more than all others, brought the mining industry of northern Georgia to its present prosperous condition. A large tract of comparatively worthless territory has become one of the most valuable mining properties in the State. Under a charter granted by the Legislature of Georgia, he organized the "Hall's Gold Mining Company," becoming its president by the unanimous vote of its stockholders, which office he still holds. Hydraulic mining has been largely and successfully carried on. Water has been brought a distance of more than thirty miles to supply stamp-mills and for washing down the ore. The canals and ditches exceed fifty miles in length. There are ten thousand six hundred feet of twenty-four and thirty-six inch iron pipe, and six thousand seven hundred feet of wooden pipe, of like dimensions, used in the work.

All this has been the result of Mr. Hand's skill, pluck and perseverance. So fully is this realized in the Georgia gold belt, that he is generally called the father of the gold mining interests of the State, and no history of that enterprise can be written in which

his name will not be prominently mentioned with due credit and honor.

These results and achievements of seventeen years, have not been accomplished without the expenditure of much thought, as well as labor and money. Obstacles in mountains, hills and streams were not only met and overcome, which required great mechanical skill and engineering ability, but Mr. Hand had to contend with legal difficulties, and the prejudices of a people aroused against the introduction of new methods of mining. The code of mining laws adopted by the Legislature in 1868, principally to encourage the hydraulic process, had not been tested in the courts of the State. To construct canals and ditches over the lands of others for mining purposes, without their consent, though just compensation was offered, was an infringement on the people's rights, as it was said, which they were bound to resist. The courts were appealed to, the farther construction of the canal was enjoined by the lower tribunal and work was stopped for several months, pending the appeal to the Supreme Court of the State. For a time the entire mining industry of Georgia hung upon the question. If the miner could not get water for his stamp mills, then all operations of any magnitude must cease. The future prospects of the State as regards her mining interests, were about to be forever blighted. Some of the ablest lawyers in Georgia were employed, and after a lengthy discussion, the Supreme Judges decided in favor of Mr. Hand and his right to proceed with his canal. His charter was pronounced constitutional. Inch by inch he has fought his way; and to-day through his unwearied exertions, the mining interests of the great State of Georgia have been placed upon a safe and lasting basis.

Chief Justice Hiram Warner, in delivering the opinion of the court in the case alluded to (the Hand Gold Mining Company vs. John A. Parker, et al., 59th Georgia Reports) says: "In view of the evidence contained in the record as to the necessity for the General Asssembly to exercise the right of Eminent Domain in granting the right of way for the defendant's ditch or canal to convey the water from Yahoola River and Cane Creek into the gold belt in the County of Lumpkin, for the successful workings of the valuable mines to be found there, so as to increase the production of gold for the use of the public through the medium of the defendant's corporation, the General Assembly did not exceed its Constitutional power in making the grant to the defendant of the right of way, as expressed in its charter. Let the defendant's ditch or canal be constructed in pursuance of the grant in the defendant's charter, and let the water from Yahoola River and Cane Creek flow therein into the gold belt of Lumpkin County, where, in the judgment of the General Assembly of the State, the public good requires it should flow, so as to enable the defendant to increase the production of gold on its own land, not only for its own use and benefit, but through its agency and organization, for the use and benefit of the public, which at the present moment is greatly in need of an increase of that constitutional currency recognized by the Fathers of the Republic, in 1787, as being of vital importance to the welfare and permanent prosperity of the people."

In the spring of 1885 Mr. Hand, with his family, removed from Cleveland, Ohio, where he had resided for a number of years, and settled at what is now known as Maple Grove, on Broadway, in the village of White Plains, Westchester County.

JOHN M. TILFORD.

Mr. Tilford is one of the members of the well-known firm of Park & Tilford, New York City. He was born in Washington County, N. Y., March 16, 1815, and for twenty years remained upon his father's place engaged in the usual pursuit and activities of a farmer's life.

In 1835 he left his native county and came to New York City, where he entered the grocery store of Benjamin Albro. It was while here that he first met his future partner, Mr. Park, with whom, after a clerkship of five years, in Mr. Albro's store, he embarked upon his first business venture at No. 35 Carmine Street, New York City. How successful this proved to be is well known to all who are familiar with the wholesale and retail grocery business in New York City and throughout the country. Park & Tilford, by their close attention to the details of their business, and the strict integrity which they have preserved throughout an unbroken partnership of nearly forty-six years, have won for themselves a world-wide reputation and a credit which is unsurpassed by that of any house of a like description in the country.

Some twenty-five years since Mr. Tilford began the purchase of ground in Westchester County, and is now the possessor of many acres of farming land in and about the towns of Harrison and White Plains. He has a handsome residence in White Plains, and is well known in its social circles.

In 1840 he married Miss Jennie White. He has two sons, Charles E. and Frank, both of whom are engaged in business with their father.

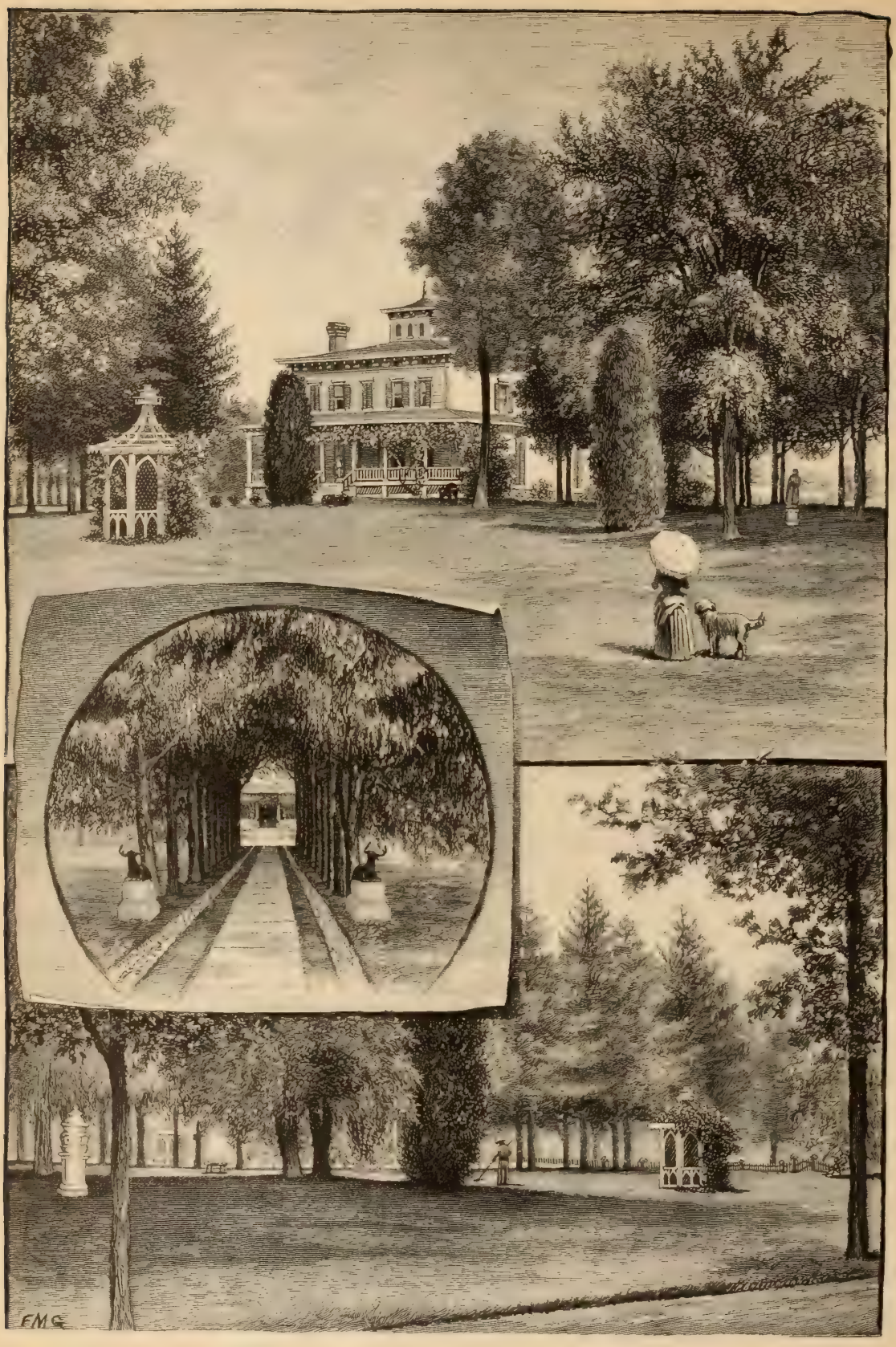
His business foresight, together with his genial manner, have caused his advice to be widely sought in financial circles and have endeared him both to those in his employ and to the many whose business brings them into daily contact with him.

JOHN W. YOUNG.

Mr. Young, who is a well-known business man in the village of White Plains, was born in New Castle, March 28, 1824. His father, John, and his grandfather, James Young, were also natives of New Castle. The children of John Young (who married Sarah, daughter of Peter Carpenter) were Mary, wife



I M Gifford

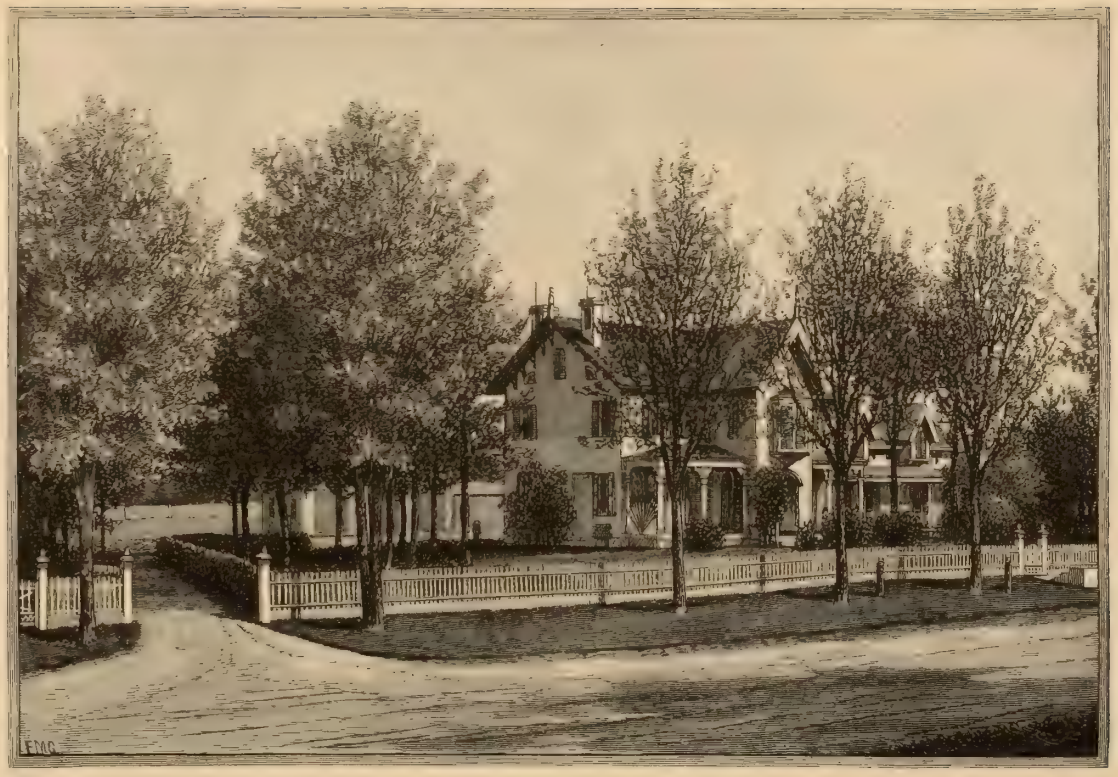


RESIDENCE OF J. M. TILFORD,

WHITE PLAINS N Y.



John W. Young



"GEDNEY HALL."

RESIDENCE OF BARTHOLOMEW GEDNEY,

RIDGEWAY ST., WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.

of Robert Purdy; Deborah, wife of Edward Haight; Eliza, who married Conkling Kip; Emeline, wife of J. Reynolds; Lydia, De Witt C., Jackson, Asa, Jesse, John W. and Harrison.

When he had reached the age of fourteen, John W. Young left home and went to Somers, where he worked on a farm, and subsequently removed to Sing Sing, where he engaged in business with his brother. He then went to New York and remained in business there for five years, and afterwards went to Mount Kisco, whence he came to White Plains, which has since been his residence. Here he engaged in the lumber and coal business, which proved extensive and prosperous and is now conducted by his sons and nephews.

He married Hester, daughter of Daniel Trip. They have three children,—Albert, Irving W. and Laura E.

The elegant residence of Mr. Young was built by him in 1874, and is one of the finest private dwellings in White Plains.

BARTHOLOMEW GEDNEY.

The family of this name are said to have come from the north of England long before the Revolution. John Gedney, who resided in Yorktown, near Crompond, died about 1763, leaving a family of five children,—John; Polly, wife of Monmouth Hart; Betsy, wife of William Haviland; Martha, wife of —— Covert; and Sarah, wife of Edward Bugbee. Of these children, John, the only son, was born April 16, 1761. His father, who was a farmer, died when the son was two years old, and he went to live with his uncle Bartholomew at White Plains. Upon the decease of his uncle he inherited the homestead and fifty acres of land. His early circumstances were unfavorable and he enjoyed few educational and religious advantages. During the whole of his life he was a farmer, a business which he conducted with such success that at the time of his death he was the owner of a farm of three hundred acres in a high state of cultivation, and was generally considered one of the best agriculturists in the county. He was a devoted and liberal member of the Methodist Church, and highly esteemed as a citizen. He married Mary, daughter of Benjamin Lyon, and they were the parents of ten children,—Margaret, born May 27, 1786, married Peter Cornell; Esther, born January 24, 1788, married Anthony Martine; Abigail, born November 16, 1789, married Nathaniel Tompkins; Elizabeth A., born January 29, 1792, died unmarried in 1831; Phebe, born June 6, 1794, married George Wildey; Dorothy was born August 27, 1796; Charlotte, born June 20, 1800, married Edward Billington; Bartholomew was born April 22, 1802; Elijah L. was born May 5, 1804; Mary L., born September 6, 1806, married Charles Whiting, of New York; and John B. was born June 4, 1808. After a long life of active usefulness Mr. Gedney died December 28, 1841, and rests in the old burying-ground by the Methodist Church in White Plains.



Bartholomew Gedney

Bartholomew Gedney, the oldest son of this family, has passed his entire life on the ancestral farm inherited from his father. Of an exceedingly industrious nature, he has devoted his time and labor to the improvement of his estate, and is widely known as one of the most accomplished agriculturists in the county. Upon this farm one hundred and twelve bushels of shelled corn have been raised upon an acre of land, while wheat at the rate of forty-seven bushels, and hay to the extent of five tons per acre have been produced. His stock of Short Horn cattle is not excelled by any herd in this section of the country. He is an active member of the Methodist Church, which he joined in 1844. With an active interest in politics, he feels an honest pride in the fact that his first vote was cast for John Quincy Adams, and he has never failed to vote at every Presidential election since that time. He is now a stanch supporter of the Republican party. He has been a member of the Farmers' Club of Bedford for many years, and very

frequently took premiums at the Westchester County Fairs while the society had an existence.

Mr. Gedney married, in 1824, Ann Eliza, daughter of William Hunt, of Tarrytown. They have six children,—Ann A., John, William H., Mary L., wife of William Horton; Jane H., wife of William Banks, of New Castle; and Bartholomew, Jr. The residence of Mr. Gedney is pleasantly situated on the north side of the Ridgeway road, and is surrounded by highly cultivated farms that smile with abundant harvests.

HON. WILLIAM M. OLLIFFE.

Commissioner Olliffe, as he was commonly called, was in so far a Westchester man as that he spent each spring and summer for many years at "Edgewood," his country residence, in the town of Greenburgh. A fondness for fine cattle, for rural life and for out-door sports, besides genial ways and pleasant manners, made him welcome at every fair and agricultural muster. He was perhaps more widely known throughout the county than most of its citizens, through the smartness of his turnouts, the speed of his roadsters and the scrupulousness of his own appearance, which bespoke a city man rather than a country gentleman.

Mr. Olliffe was born in 1843, in Broome Street, then a fashionable quarter of New York. His grandfather, John Olliffe, one of the Irish patriots of 1798, came hither with Thomas Addis Emmett and others, to escape British persecution, before the beginning of the century. About the same time a nephew of the same ancestor went to India and became, in turn, Catholic Bishop and Archbishop of Calcutta. His father, Dr. William J. Olliffe, was a physician of distinction in a family of physicians, one of whom was long body physician to Louis XVI. and another, Sir Joseph, was physician to the British embassy at Paris and to Emperor Louis Napoleon. He came, too, of a notable family on the side of his mother, the daughter of Cornelius T. Williams, whose lands on Manhattan Island included what is now Union Square and extended northward along Broadway to the present Madison Square.

Mr. Olliffe received his general and classical schooling from the celebrated Dr. Anthon. Later he attended and graduated from the College of Pharmacy, of which he was long a trustee and patron.

As became a gentleman of cultivation and of means, he traveled through most of the States of the Union, visited the Mexican republic and made an extended tour in Europe. On his return from the Continent he married the only daughter of Jordan L. Mott, the ironmaster of Mott Haven. In his early manhood and on the death of his father he succeeded to Dr. Olliffe's business as a pharmacist, which he continued as proprietor in such a way as to leave him large leisure for social and other engagements. Although he never ran for office, he took a lively concern in public affairs and in the political fortunes of his party friends, particularly of Samuel J. Tilden and Edward Cooper. The latter made him commissioner under the Rapid Transit Act and also commissioner of public parks in New York City. He was likewise appointed by Mayor Grace to the same municipal department of which he was respectively president and treasurer.

Early in 1883 neglect of a cold allowed a bronchial trouble to become so fastened that he foresaw it never could be shaken off by nursing or medical aid. Then he gave up his customary season at Saratoga and sold his place at Long Branch, preparing to adjust his affairs. In the autumn of the following year he was missed from the races and gatherings which he had graced and enjoyed. The winter found him too feeble to journey southward, as he had done before, and confined him, reluctant but uncomplaining, within doors to suffer a painful illness and to pass away at the very commencement of the spring from the town house of his father-in-law, a little before midnight, the 9th of March, 1885.

Even those who knew him best knew not how widely and how well he had endeared himself, until a few day later, at his funeral, the Church of the Puritans was crowded within and thronged without, not only by dignitaries of the city, judges from the bench and members of his societies and clubs, but also by people of humbler rank than himself, who came to offer a last expression of affection for a friend and benefactor.

CHAPTER XIX.

KING'S BRIDGE.

BY THOMAS H. EDSALL,
of the New York bar.

DESCRIPTION.—The area under consideration—about four thousand acres—lies just south of the city of Yonkers.[1] Its boundaries are the Yonkers city line on the north, the Bronx on the east, the late West Farms line,[2] Harlem River and Spuyten Duyvil Creek on the south, and the Hudson on the west. Its northernmost point, Mount St. Vincent, is about twelve miles from White Plains and fifteen miles from the city hall, New York. Its outlines extend along the Yonkers city line three miles, the Bronx one and five-tenths miles, the West Farms line one and five-tenths miles, the Harlem River and Spuyten

[1] This name, derived from Dr. Adraien Van der Donck's title of *Jonker*, was not applied to any part of the present Yonkers until the erection of the township of that name, in 1788. Before that date for more than a century "the Yonkers" or "the Yonkers Plantation," was the name of a precinct which comprised the greater part of the township of King's Bridge, while the present Yonkers was called Phillipsburgh, being part of the manor of that name, erected in 1693.

[2] Coincident with the north line of the Manor of Fordham, erected November, 1671.



W. M. Allen

Duyvil Creek one and five-tenths miles, and the Hudson two and five-tenths miles.

Topographically, it consists of two main ridges and an intermediate one, having their axes parallel with the Palisades of New Jersey, and a direction north-northeast. 1. Spuyten Duyvil Ridge, from Yonkers city line to Spuyten Duyvil Creek, and between the Hudson on the west and Tippett's Brook[1] on the east. Greatest elevation, two hundred and eighty-two feet,[2] on land of Frederick Goodridge, Riverdale. 2. Valentine's Ridge, from Yonkers line to West Farms line, and between the Bronx[3] on the east and Tippett's Brook on the west. Greatest elevation, two hundred and forty feet, near Woodlawn Heights. 3. Van Cortlandt Ridge, intermediate, from Yonkers line to Vault Hill, between Tippett's Brook on the east and its main branch on the west. Greatest elevation, two hundred feet, near Yonkers city line.

Tippett's Brook, the main stream, rises in Yonkers, flows southwesterly until it forms Van Cortlandt Lake,[4] below which it is a tidal stream to its outlet into Spuyten Duyvil Creek. About twenty lesser brooks, varying in length from five hundred to ten thousand feet, flow into the Hudson, the Bronx and Tippett's Brook.

The geological formations are very ancient, consisting mainly of micaceous gneiss or granite,[5] the former largely preponderating, the exposed surfaces indicating subjection to intense heat and pressure, with so great displacement that the strata are nearly vertical, outcropping in numerous parallel ledges, not continuous, but *en echelon*, and giving steep inclination to hillsides. A coarse, crystallized limestone[6] of varying hardness, ranging about north-northeast, crops out at King's Bridge and on the Whiting and Delafield estates, Spuyten Duyvil Ridge. On the latter ridge the surface of the primary rocks is strewn with trap boulders.

Discovery.—The earliest known visitor to this locality was Henry Hudson. Going up the river which bears his name, he skirted its westerly shore September 13, 1609, and, on his return, was attacked, October 2d, from *Shorack-Kappock*, the Indian name of Spuyten Duyvil Point,[7] and the kill or creek at its base.

Indians.—The Indian name of this section was *Weckquaeskeek*,—"the birch-bark country,"—and its residents were known to the first settlers as *Wickers-creek* Indians. In person they were tolerably stout. Their hair was worn shorn to a coxcomb on top, with a long lock depending on one side. They wore beaver and other skins, with the fur inside in winter and outside in summer, and also coats of turkey feathers. They were valiant warriors. "Yea," says De Vries, "they say they are *Manetto*—the devil himself!" Their leading sachems, at the advent of white settlers, were *Tequemet*, *Rechgawac* and *Packamiens*, from whom the Dutch director, Kieft, purchased, in August, 1639, the tract *Keskeskick*. This tribe gradually dwindled, until its remnant finally disappeared before the end of the eighteenth century.

First Settlement.—The earliest white resident and proprietor was Dr. Adraien Van der Donck, *juris utriusque doctor*, of Leyden. He had been sheriff of the Colonie of Rensselaerswyck since 1641. Having aided Director Kieft in negotiating an important Indian treaty at Fort Orange, Albany, the latter granted him, in 1645, a large tract on the Nepperhaem River, Yonkers, where he built a saw-mill,[8] laid out farms and plantations and "had actually resolved to continue." But that indispensable requisite of a Dutch farm, salt meadow, was lacking. In search of this, Van der Donck found, about a mile above the *wading-place* (King's Bridge) "a flat, with some convenient meadows about it," which he promptly secured by purchase from the Indians and a further grant from Kieft. His new acquisition included the area under consideration, extending from the Hudson to the Bronx, and from the Spuyten Duyvil Creek to the Nepperhaem tract. Here he located his *bowerie*, or home-farm, with its "planting-field," and near the latter he had already begun the erection of his house, before going to Holland, in 1649, as the representative of the commonalty of New Amsterdam. Van der Donck's "planting-field" was on the plain or flat of the Van Cortlandt estate, lying between Broadway and the present lake, and extending up to the southerly end of Vault Hill.[9] It is probable that his house was on the flat, and located, perhaps, where the old house of Jacobus Van Cortlandt afterwards stood until the early part of this century.[10]

While absent in Holland, Van der Donck's lands were erected into the fief or Colonie of Nepperhaem (or, as he called it after his own name, *Colen-*

[1] So called after George Tippett, an early settler and proprietor, and of late corrupted into *Tibbitt's* Brook. Its Indian name was *Mosholu*. It has also been known as *Mill Creek* and *Yonkers River*.

[2] The highest ground within the limits of New York City. The elevation of Fort Washington, the greatest on Manhattan Island, is two hundred and sixty-four feet.

[3] So called after Jonas Bronck, the earliest white settler and proprietor of "Bronck's Land," now Morrisania, Twenty-third Ward, New York.

[4] An artificial pond, formed by Jacobus Van Cortlandt, *circa* 1700, by damming Tippett's Brook.

[5] Affording building-stone of fine quality. Before 1750 quarries of "broken stone" were worked on Spuyten Duyvil Ridge, the whole extent of which is scarred by them. The large quarries at Spuyten Duyvil Point were worked until about 1850.

[6] Known as *King's Bridge Marble*. It was extensively quarried early in the century on the northerly end of Manhattan Island. Perkins Nicholls had a marble-sawing mill at "Dyckman's Cut" (which was excavated to supply power to this mill by the ebb and flow of the tide), and another at the King's Bridge. On the banks of the Hudson, along the base of Spuyten Duyvil Ridge, were several kilns for making lime from this stone, all of which have been disused for many years.

[7] According to tradition, the natives had a castle or stronghold on the point.

[8] Hence the name of "Saw Kill," by which this stream became known.

[9] It may have also stretched eastward across the brook and beyond the site of the present lake.

[10] Its site was just behind the present grove of locusts, north of the Van Cortlandt Mills.

donck), and he was made its patroon. Pursuant to the "Freedoms and Exemptions," he sent out to it, from Holland, a number of colonists with supplies of farming stock and implements. In 1652 he was about to return to his colonie, and had already embarked his wife, mother, brother and sister, with an ample stock of goods, when the West India Company prevented his departure.[1] During his detention he got word that some "land-greedy" persons were squatting on his lands. He appealed to the company to protect his possession of the "flat and meadows;" also for leave to return to them, which was withheld until 1653. In the summer of that year he sailed for Nieuw Netherland, arriving in the autumn, and repaired to his *bowerie*. He did not long survive his return, dying in 1654 or 1655. The latter was the year of the Indian massacre, when all the surviving settlers about Nieuw Amsterdam fled to the fort for protection. It is probable that Van der Donck's bowerie was deserted and destroyed. In August, Stuyvesant granted to a Cornelis Van der Donck a parcel of about fifty morgens, on the north side of Manhattan Island, "by the savages called *Muscoote*, or a flat (*anders een vlacte*)," and as much meadow or hay land as was given to other boweries. This may have referred to the late Dr. Van der Donck's bowerie, but no further mention has been found of the grantee or his connection with this tract.

After the patroon's death his widow joined her father, the Rev. Francis Doughty, in "the Virginias," where she became the wife of Hugh O'Neale, of Patuxent, Maryland.

The province had passed under English rule, and nearly ten years had elapsed since the death of her first husband before Mrs. O'Neale took any steps to reclaim the Yonkers estate. On the 21st of September, 1666, she and O'Neale went before Governor Nicoll and his Council, accompanied by several Indians, who had formerly owned the lands. The latter made acknowledgment of their sales to the late patroon,[2] and on the 8th of October a grant of the whole estate was made to O'Neale and wife. On the 30th they assigned their patent to Elias Doughty, of Flushing, L. I., a brother of Mrs. O'Neale, probably for convenience of sale, on account of their residing at a distance.

The first to purchase from Doughty was John Archer, or *Jan Arcer*, as he signed his name. He was the son of Jan Aarsen, from Nieuwhoff, who was nicknamed by the Dutch *Koop-al* (buy-all), and the son was known as Jan Koop-al, the younger. He had long resided at Oost Dorp (now Westchester). In March and September, 1667, he bought about one hundred and twenty acres of upland and thirty acres of meadow, near the "wading-place." On the upland, just across the meadow from Paparinamin, he founded the village of Fordham. It had the countenance and protection of the Governor, being "in a "convenient place for the relief of strangers, it being "the road for passengers to go to and fro the maine, "as well as for mutual intercourse with the neighbor-"ing colony." The village consisted of about a dozen houses in an extended line, along the base of Tetard's Hill, crossed at the middle by the "old Westchester path" (Albany post road), leading up over the hill towards Connecticut. No traces of these old habitations remain. Two years later Archer acquired all the land southerly to High Bridge, lying between the Harlem and Bronx, which was erected into his Manor of Fordham in 1671. The north line of this ancient manor from the Harlem to the Bronx, being the south line of the O'Neale patent,[3] became one of the southerly boundaries of the town of King's Bridge. Archer lived and ruled at Fordham in frequent contention with his tenants and neighbors until his death, in 1684. During the Dutch re-occupation, in 1673–74, his government was suspended, and the inhabitants of Fordham nominated their own magistrates; but on the return of the English, in the latter year, Archer resumed his sway. In 1679 he was sheriff of New York. At his death the manor was so heavily mortgaged to the wealthy Dutchman, Cornelis Steenwyck, that his heirs could not redeem it. By Steenwyck's will it was devised to the "Nether Dutch Reformed Congregation," in New York, for the support of their minister.

William Betts and George Tippett, his son-in-law, next purchased from Doughty (deed, July 6, 1668), about two thousand acres, extending across from the Hudson to the Bronx, south of an east and west line which went along the north side of "Van der Donck's planting-field." This line struck the Hudson about

[1] Van der Donck had so well accomplished his mission on behalf of the oppressed commonalty as to procure from the States General their mandate, recalling Stuyvesant to Holland, of which he was made the bearer. But the States being on the eve of war with England, and needing the assistance of the rich and powerful West India Company, the latter was enabled to not only procure the revocation of Stuyvesant's recall, but to detain its bearer in Holland.

[2] Of "a certain parcel of land upon the maine, not farre from West-"chester, commonly called y^e^ Younckers Land." They declared its bounds to be "from a place called *Macackesin* at y^e^ north, so to come to *Neperan* "and to y^e^ Kill *Sorquapp*, then to *Muskota* and *Pappereneman* to y^e^ south "and crosse y^e^ countrey to y^e^ eastward of Broneckx his River and "Land."

[3] Notwithstanding the patent for the Manor of Fordham recited that it was part of the land "granted in the Grand Patent to Hugh O'Nea'e & Mary, his wife;" also that "purchase was made thereof by John Archer from Elyas Doughty, who was invested in their interest, *as also of the Indyan Proprietors*, &c.," it is impossible, by any interpretation of the boundaries in the O'Neale Patent to make them extend below the north line of the manor. There is no *record* of any deed from Doughty to Archer of land south of that line. The writer is of opinion that Archer, conniving with the Governor or Secretary Nicoll, advanced this claim of title through Van der Donck's successors, in order to forestall claims to the tract which might have been otherwise established. Such claims were preferred early in the following century by Quimby against the Dutch Church, which then owned it, and about 1750 a brief on behalf of the church in an ejectment suit sets out with a recital of a *copy* of an *unrecorded* deed from Doughty to Archer, on which, however, counsel was not instructed to rely. The only proper basis of Archer's title was his purchase from the "Indyan Proprietors."

Historical Sketch Map
OF
KINGS BRIDGE
1645 — 1783

Compiled by
Thomas Henry Eidsall

Scale 2,000 feet to an inch



three hundred feet south of Thorn's dock, and the Bronx about five hundred feet south of the Yonkers city line, and the purchase included all south of it, excepting Paparinamin, for which Tippett received a separate "deed of gift" from Doughty. It included "that piece where formerly the old Van der Donck's house stood," and what are now Spuyten Duyvil, Hudson Park, Mosholu, Van Cortlandt's, Olaff Park, Woodlawn Heights and Woodlawn Cemetery. Betts and Tippett obtained from Governor Lovelace, February 20, 1671, a patent which contained a proviso that it should no way prejudice "the New towne of ffordham," nor what had been done by his order towards its settlement.

Mr. Betts was an Englishman, and by trade a turner. He was at Scituate, Mass., in 1635, four years after which he married Alice, a "maiden of the Bay," who bore him several children. With his minister, Lothrop, he removed to Barnstable, and thence came to Connecticut. In 1662 he lived at Oost Dorp, where he was a magistrate by appointment of Stuyvesant. He was named as a patentee in the English patent for the town of Westchester, granted in 1668. The same year he removed to his new plantation in the Yonkers, and the next year became overseer of the court at Fordham. He died in 1675, survived by his wife, Alice, sons, Samuel, Hopestill and John, a daughter, Mehitable, wife of George Tippett, and a grandson, John Barrett, son of a deceased daughter, Hannah, who had married Samuel Barrett, of Westchester. Descendants of the name of Betts continued to own portions of the ancestral acres until the early part of this century.

Mr. Tippett was at Flushing in August, 1667, when he gave in his name to the Governor "to be ready to serve his Majesty" on all occasions. While he lived in the Yonkers the swine of the New Harlem people used to run at large at the upper end of Manhattan Island, and sometimes straying across the *wading-place* at low tide, failed to return. Tippett would be charged with their detention and the whole community hauled into court as witnesses. Tippett's "ear-mark" for his own swine was said to be "the cutting of their ears so close that any other marks might be cut off by it." Mr. Tippett died intestate in 1675, survived by his wife, Mehitable (afterward married to Lewis Vitrey and Samuel Hitchcock), a son George, perhaps a son Henry, and a daughter Mehitable (who was married first to Joseph Hadley and second to John Concklin). Descendants of his name held portions of the estate until the Revolutionary War.

"Tippett's Hill" was the name of Spuyten Duyvil Neck during the same period,[1] and the principal stream of the Yonkers has always been called after him, although corrupted into "Tibbits" in recent times.

[1] Known after the Revolution and until recently as "Berrien's Neck," after an owner who married Dorcas Tippett, a great-great-granddaughter of the first George.

John Hadden[2] made the next purchase from Doughty. His deed of June 7, 1668, antedates that of Betts and Tippett, but bounds on land already sold to them. It conveys three parcels aggregating three hundred and twenty acres, lying directly north of Van der Donck's planting-field and extending across from the Albany post road to the road to Mile Square. The Van Cortlandt estate now includes the whole of it. For two hundred acres Hadden gave a *horse* and for the remainder five pounds! In December, 1668, Betts sold to Hadden twenty-four acres adjoining his "house in the old field."

Mr. Hadden was a carpenter by trade. He settled in the Yonkers with his sons-in-law, George Clevinger and William Smith, and in 1672 he was made overseer of the village of Fordham. His sons-in-law dying a few years later, Mr. Hadden sold out and returned to Westchester, where he and his descendants were respected citizens.

Doughty next sold the remainder of the O'Neale patent (excepting "Mile Square," already disposed of) to Thomas Delavall, Fredryk Flypsen and Thomas Lewis.[3] It was conveyed to them November 9, 1672, by purchase from Delavall, and the heirs of Lewis, Flypsen subsequently acquired their interests. The tract contained about eight thousand acres. Riverdale, Mount St. Vincent and a part of Woodlawn Heights are located on the southerly part of this purchase.

Mr. Flypsen was a carpenter by trade. He came to Nieuw Amsterdam in Stuyvesant's time, under an engagement with the West India Company for five years, during which time he worked on the forts at Nieuw Amsterdam and Esopus. He married, in 1662, Margaret Hardenbrook, widow of Peter Rudolphus de Vries, a successful trader. Margaret was also engaged in trade, which she continued after this marriage, going to and from Holland as supercargo of her own vessels, in one of which, the "Charles," she brought over the Labadists, in 1679. By her "fortune, thrift and enterprise" and his exertions, Mr. Flypsen became the richest man in the colony. After the death of Margaret he married, in 1692, Catherine Van Cortlandt, widow of John Dervall and daughter of Olaf Stevenszen Van Cortlandt, by whom he received further additions to his wealth. Mr. Flypsen purchased other large tracts of land in Westchester County. In 1693 he procured the erection of the whole into the Manor of Phillipsburgh, in which the "island Paparinamin" was included. The old *manor-house* is now the city hall in Yonkers. For twenty years Mr. Flypsen was a member of the

[2] In early records and MSS. this name is sometimes written "Heddy," "Hedger," etc.

[3] This was probably the sale for which Mrs. O'Neale "received a good part of her payment in horses and mares," with which she was about to "return home into Maryland, y^e^ place of her abode;" but hearing report of a prohibition against importing horses to that colony, she procured a letter to its Governor from Governor Lovelace, of New York, asking a dispensation from the rigor of the late order in her case so as to permit her to dispose of her horses in Maryland to her best advantage.

Council. He died in 1702, aged seventy-six, survived by a son Adolphus, a daughter Annetje, wife of Philip French, an adopted daughter Eva, wife of Jacobus Van Cortlandt, and a grandson Frederick (son of his deceased son Frederick,) to whom he devised the Yonkers plantation.

THE FERRY.—Soon after the village of Fordham was settled the people of New Harlem tried to divert eastern travel from the *wading-place* to the new ferry they had set up between New Harlem and Bronx-land. They obstructed the banks at Spuyten Duyvil[1] with fences, but travelers threw them down and still crossed at the ancient ford without paying toll. In the summer of 1669 the ferry was removed to Spuyten Duyvil, "a nearer and more convenient passage to and from the island and the Maine," and Johannes Verveelen was made ferryman. There was allotted to his use the "island or neck of land Paparinamin," where he was required to provide a dwelling-house furnished with three or four good beds for the entertainment of strangers; also provisions at all seasons for them, their horses and cattle, with stabling and stalling; also a sufficient and able boat to transport passengers, horses and cattle on all occasions.[2] A causeway was also required to be built across the meadow from Paparinamin to Fordham, of which Verveelen was to bear one-third of the expense and Fordham the remainder. Archer called on Betts, Tippett and Hadden to help him build his share of the "*causey*." They demurred, being more interested in having a bridge made over the Bronx to East Chester. The dispute came before the Governor, who decided that Betts, Tippett and Hadden should first aid with the causeway,[3] and then the Fordham people should help them build the bridge. For so doing the ferry was made free to Betts, Tippett and Hadden. Verveelen kept the ferry many years and was succeeded by his son Daniel, who was ferryman until the erection of the King's Bridge.

[1] This curious appellation, whose origin has never been satisfactorily explained, seems to have been applied to a strip of shore on the Manhattan Island side of the wading-place, then to the crossing itself and the creek leading therefrom to the Hudson, and finally to the neck which still retains it. It means "spouting devil," and may have arisen from some peculiar *upburst* of water as the tide rushed over the reef which obstructs the channel at that point. Mr. Riker has ingeniously suggested the outpour from the guns of the "Half-Moon;" also the gushing spring under Cock Hill; but the explanation in Irving's quaint and humorous legend of the 'Trumpeter' will ever meet with popular acceptance.

[2] "YE FERRYMAN—HIS RATES.

"For lodging any person, 8 pence per night, in case they have a bed with sheets; and without sheets, 2 pence in silver.

"For transportation of any person, 1 penny silver.

"For transportation of a man and horse, 7 pence in silver.

"For a single horse, 6 pence.

"For a turn with his boat, for 2 horses, 10 pence; and for any more 4 pence apiece; and if they be driven over, half as much.

"For single cattle, as much as a horse.

"For a boat loading of cattle, as he hath for horses.

"For droves of cattle to be driven over, and opening y^e^ gates, 2 pence p. piece.

"For feeding of cattle, 3 pence in silver.

"For feeding a horse one day or night with hay or grasse, 6 pence."

[3] This causeway was on the line of the present McComb Street.

During the last quarter of the seventeenth century the Betts, Tippett and Hadden families, and those who had intermarried with them, and their retainers and servants composed all the population of the Yonkers outside of Fordham and Paparinamin. Their homes were grouped about a mile north of Fordham, where they had a "good and strong block-house."[4] During King Philip's War, in 1775, there were fears of an Indian outbreak in this colony. Archer summoned Betts, Tippett and Hadden to aid him in the fortification and defense of Fordham. They remonstrated before Governor Andros that they should not "bee bound to leave their houses and goods and to please the humours of the said Mr. Archer, thereby perhaps to lose all what they have." The Governor excused them from work on the defenses of Fordham, but he warned them to "be vigilant at their own place and keep watch upon all occasions."

THE KING'S BRIDGE.—The increasing travel between New York and "the Maine" demanded a bridge in place of the ferry. As early as 1680 the Council of Governor Andros had ordered "Spiting Devil" to be viewed with reference to a bridge there. A bill to erect one was introduced in the Assembly in 1691. The next year Governor Fletcher recommended its construction by the city of New York, but the municipal authorities were deterred from the undertaking by the "great expense." In January, 1693, Fredryck Flypsen offered to build one at his own expense, if he could have certain "easy and reasonable toles."[5] In June the franchise was granted to Mr. Flypsen for ninety-nine years. The bridge was to be twenty-four feet wide, and to be free for all the King's forces, and was to be named the "King's Bridge." It was built during the year, a few rods east of the present one.[6] It had a draw for the passage of such craft as navigated the Harlem and a gate, set up at the end, where the keeper received the tolls.[7] A public-house was kept open at the north side for the "entertainment of strangers." The bridge was owned by Mr. Flypsen's grandson and great-grandson, in succession, until it was forfeited by the latter, Colonel Frederick Phillipse, because of his adhesion to the crown in the war of independence.

During the first half of the eighteenth century the Yonkers was sparsely peopled. Jacobus Van Cortlandt bought a plot of fifty acres, known as "George's Point,"[8] from Mr. Flypsen, in 1699, and

[4] They probably stood in the neighborhood of the present Van Cortlandt mansion.

[5] To wit: "1 penny for each head of neat cattell; 2 pens for each "mann and horse, and 12 pens for each score of hoggs and sheep that "shall pass the said brige; and 9 pens for every boat, vessell or canoo "that shall pass the said brige, and cause the same to be drawne up."

[6] The removal to its present site was made pursuant to an act of Assembly passed in 1713 at the petition of Flypsen's grandson, Frederick Phillipse, then a minor.

[7] Madame Knight, crossing December, 1704, *en route* to Boston, was charged three pence "for passing over with a horse."

[8] So called after George Tippett (2d), who conveyed it in 1691, to his brother-in-law, Joseph Hadley. He sold to Matthias Buckout, who conveyed to Mr. Flypsen.

added to it several hundred acres while he lived, forming the bulk of the present Van Cortlandt estate. He made a mill-pond by damming up the Tippett's Brook, and set up a grist and saw-mill. In 1704 there were about twenty families in the Yonkers. The Betts and Tippett families partitioned their tract in 1717, and gradually sold it off to new settlers. Agriculture was the chief industry, and the farms were noted for choice fruits and fine breeds of cattle. Produce was carried to market in periaugers. Stone quarrying was engaged in before the middle of the century.

The main highways were the Albany and Boston post roads—the former opened to the Saw-kill about 1669, and the latter opened on the line of the Old Westchester Path to East Chester about 1671. The travel by land was almost wholly on horseback. The common roads were very poor. The mail to Albany was carried by foot-post. That to Boston was taken by post-riders once in three weeks, which time was shortened in 1731 to once a fortnight. The stage-coach to Boston began running in 1772.

THE FREE BRIDGE.—The King's Bridge was unpopular because of its tolls; also its barrier gate, which made the belated traveler furious as he shouted to awaken the drowsy gate-keeper several rods away. A popular subscription was started in 1756 for building a free bridge. Benjamin Palmer[1] headed the movement, and when enough was subscribed, he attempted to build it where the first bridge had stood. Colonel Phillipse, who owned the shore on Paparinamin, naturally objected. Palmer had to go farther down the Harlem. He interested with him Jacob Dyckman, on the island, and Thomas Vermilye, on the Westchester side, and they began the work from land of the former to that of the latter. Colonel Phillipse, "because he knew it would stop his bridge from taking tolls," tried to prevent its construction. Twice in one year he caused Palmer's impressment "as a soldier to go to Canada," which compelled him to employ and pay for substitutes. But in spite of opposition the structure was completed at the close of 1758. It was opened with a grand barbecue on New Year's Day, 1759, and hundreds of people attended from New York City and Westchester County, and "rejoiced greatly."[2] A new road was built to connect the bridge with the Albany and Boston roads, and for a time all travel ceased across the King's Bridge. Colonel Phillipse's bridge-keeper finding his occupation gone, threw up his lease, and the proprietor had to advertise for a new tenant. It is probable that attempts to collect tolls were abandoned soon afterwards.

In 1763 the Rev. John Peter Tetard purchased from Petrus Vermilye a farm of sixty acres, near King's Bridge, lying on the old Boston road, to which he removed about three years later. In 1772 he opened there a French boarding-school, probably the first in New York, where, besides French, he taught "the most useful sciences, such as geography, the doctrine of the spheres, ancient and modern history, etc." The house was destroyed during the Revolution. The old stone archway yet standing near its site is variously called "Dominie Tetard's Wine Cellar," the old "powder magazine," the "old bakery," etc., but its real purpose is unknown.[3]

Across the Boston road from Tetard's farm was one of about seventy-five acres, which Richard Montgomery purchased and occupied in 1772, pursuant to his long-cherished wish to leave the service and engage in husbandry.[4] His house stood on the brow of the hill, near the Boston road,[5] and there he lived until his marriage to Janet Livingston and removal to another farm he had puchased near Rhinebeck.[6] The King's Bridge farm was devised to his sister Sarah, Viscountess Ranelagh, by the will found by Arnold among his papers at Quebec, a few days after his untimely death. Fort Independence was erected on this farm, a few hundred yards north of the house which, with the out-buildings, orchards, fences, etc., was completely destroyed during the Revolution.

THE REVOLUTION.—The inhabitants of the Yonkers were generally opposed to all efforts of the British ministry to establish arbitrary government in the colonies. Colonel Phillipse sided with the crown and tried to control his tenants. At their head, he was present at the meeting held at the White Plains, April 11, 1775, to appoint deputies to a convention; but he declined "to have anything to do with deputies or congresses." After protesting against "such illegal and unconstitutional proceedings," he led off his followers. Colonel James Van Cortlandt

[1] Who attempted to found a city as a rival to New York, on an island in the Sound, since called "City Island."

[2] Dyckman, who built a tavern at the approach to the free bridge (where the King's Bridge Hotel now stands), failed soon afterward, and sought legislative relief for his outlays in its construction. Palmer, towards the end of the century, unsuccessfully applied to the Assembly for aid on the same account. The press took up his cause and declared that his work had been "the first step towards freedom in this State, * * * "for it was almost as difficult for Mr. Palmer to get a free bridge in "those days as it was for America to get her freedom." Aaron Burr and others made up a purse of £30 for the needy old man in 1800.

[3] Dominie Tetard was born in Switzerland about 1721; graduated from University of Lausanne and received ordination about 1752; soon after was pastor of French Church, Charleston, S. C.; came to New York 1756; married Frances, daughter of Robert Ellison; became assistant pastor of Church du St. Esprit, taking charge 1764–66, until a new minister could be engaged in Europe. After his removal to King's Bridge he used to preach in Fordham Dutch Church. He was commissioned July 6, 1775, "French interpreter to General Schuyler and chaplain to the troops in the Colonie," with pay of major, and went with General Montgomery to Canada. He served as chaplain during the war, and on the reorganization of Columbia College, in 1784, was made professor of French, and so continued until his death, December 6, 1787, in his sixty-sixth year.

[4] So declared in a letter shortly prior to his resignation. He meant to come to America, "where his pride and poverty would be much more at their ease."

[5] A little way inside of the gateway of Mr. William Ogden Giles.

[6] *New York Gazetteer*, October 7, 1773, contains his advertisement of the King's Bridge farm "at private sale."

and his brother Frederick, of the Yonkers, heartily favored resistance.

The news from Lexington was shouted at every threshold along the old Boston road in the night of April 22d, as the herald spurred on towards New York. A few days later the inhabitants were aiding to unload, at King's Bridge and the hills beyond, upward of one hundred cannon,[1] which had been carted out from the city for security. On the 8th of May the new committee for Westchester County, on which Frederick Van Cortlandt represented the Yonkers, chose Colonel James Van Cortlandt as deputy to the new Provincial Congress, and he attended its first meeting at the exchange in Broad Street.

The importance of maintaining communication by land between New York and the country so impressed the Continental Congress that it resolved, on May 25th, that a post should be immediately taken and fortified at King's Bridge. On the 30th the Provincial Congress appointed a committee of five, including Captain Richard Montgomery and Colonel James Van Cortlandt to view the ground near the bridge and report whether it would admit of a tenable fortification. Their report of June 3d favored a post for three hundred men on the hill adjoining Hyatt's tavern, but recommended no form or dimensions and thought it imprudent to fortify until the embodiment of troops, who could do most of the labor. Commanding points on Tippett's and Tetard's Hills were suggested for additional works. On the spots thus indicated forts were afterwards erected by the Americans, and when captured by the British, were strengthened and garrisoned by them for many years.[2]

Colonel Van Cortlandt was a member of the committee of the Provincial Congress to arrange the troops and form the militia. Frederick Van Cortlandt, Thomas Emmons, Williams Betts and William Hadley were of the local committee for the Yonkers. Under their supervision a militia company was formed in the precinct, as part of the "South Battalion" of the county. The roster included sixty-four names,—Anthony Allaire, Abraham Asten, George Berrien, Wm. Betts, Frederick, Gilbert and Robert Brown, Hendrick Browne, Jr., Henry Bursen, Jno. Cock, Jno. and Edw'd Cortright, Geo. and Jas. Crawford, Jno. Cregier, Daniel Deen, John Devoe, Abraham Emmons, Benj., Thos. and Robert Farrington, Usial Fountain, Wm. and Isaac Green, Geo., Isaac, Jos. and Wm. Hadley, Thos. Merrill, Jas. Munro, Jos. Jr., and Thos. Oakley, Abraham and John Odell, Jas. Parker, Abm. Dennis, Isaac, Israel, Jacob, Lewis, Martin and Wm. Post, Henry Presher, Tobias Rickman, Wm. Rose, Edward and John Ryer, Francis Smith, Chas. Elnathan, Jr., Elijah, Henry and Jacob Taylor, Izarell Underhill, Frederick Van Cortlandt, Abm, Frederick and Josh. Vermilye, John and Wm. Warner, Geo. Wertz, John and Samuel Williams. On August 24, 1775, they chose John Cock, captain; Wm. Betts, first lieutenant; John Warner, second lieutenant; and Jacob Post, ensign. The names were sent to the Provincial Congress for commissions. The county committee protested against the captain elect, and on the 11th of September presented the affidavit of William Hadley, of the district committee, that when he presented the "general association" to Cock, he said, "I sign this with my hand, but not with my heart; for I would not have signed it, had it not been for my wife and family's sake." The friends of Cock rallied to his support. A majority of the company and a score more inhabitants of Yonkers[3] sent down a petition in his favor, stating that he had been chosen "for his well-known skill and ability in the military discipline," and that the complaints were made out of "spite and malice." But further affidavits by Isaac Green and George Hadley, that Cock "had damned the Continental Congress," satisfied the Committee of Safety that it was improper to give Cock a commission. The local committee was ordered to hold a new election, "taking care to give public notice that John Cock cannot be admitted to any office whatsoever."[4]

The twenty-one nine-pounders carried off from the Battery by the Sons of Liberty, August 23d, were hauled up to King's Bridge and left with the rest in care of the minute men. In the night of January 17, 1776, more than fifty guns near Williams', and as many in the fields near Isaac Valentine's, were spiked or "loaded and stopped with stones and other rubbish." Search was made for the perpetrators. John Fowler was brought before the Committee of Safety on the 23d, charged with a recent purchase of rat-tail files in New York. He implicated William Lounsbery, of Mamaroneck, as the real purchaser. They were imprisoned. Jacamiah Allen was employed to unspike the guns at twenty shillings each. He raised them on fires of several cords of wood, tended day and night to soften the spikes, and by March 16th he had unspiked eighty-two and expected to soon complete the work. These guns were afterwards mounted

[1] Compensation to the heirs of Sebring and Beekman, for certain of these guns, was provided for by an act of the Legislature, passed in 1800.

[2] The British called the redoubt on the hill near Hyatt's tavern "*Ft. Prince Charles*;" the one on Tippett's Hill "*Number Three*, and the one on Tetard's Hill, the American Ft. Independence, "*Number Four*."

[3] They were Matthias, Anthony and Benjamin Archer, Benjamin Arsdan, Stephen Bastine, Ezekial and Henry Brown, George Crawford, Benjamin Farrington, Jonathan Fowler, John Guereneau, Samuel Lawrence, Henry and Jordan Norris, David, Jr., and Moses Oakley, Abm., James and Thomas Rich, Elnathan Taylor and Thomas Tippett.

[4] Cock kept the old tavern on the north side of King's Bridge. The head of the overthrown statue of George III., in the Bowling Green, was carried to Fort Washington, to be fixed to a spike on the flag-staff. While it was left temporarily at Jacob Moore's tavern, near by, an emissary from Colonel Moutresor went out through the "rebel camp" with a message to Cock to steal and bury the head. This was done (probably at Cock's tavern), and when the British arrived, in November, 1776, it was dug up and sent in care of Lady Gage to Lord Townsend, "to convince them at home of the infamous disposition of the ungrateful people of this distracted country."

in the works erected by the American troops on the hills about King's Bridge.

In February, 1776, Augustus Van Cortlandt, clerk of New York City, reported to the Committee of Safety that for their security he had removed the public records to Yonkers. They were deposited in Colonel Van Cortlandt's family burial vault[1] and were still there in December; but it is probable the British were soon afterwards apprised of their place of concealment and had them returned to the city.

On the 18th of March the Yonkers militia held a new election and chose John Warner, captain; Jacob Post, first lieutenant; Samuel Lawrence, second lieutenant; and Isaac Post, ensign. In May the Provincial Congress had in service the armed schooner "General Putnam," commanded by Captain Thomas Cregier, of King's Bridge. After months of inactivity at the heads of inlets when he should have been at sea, Cregier was discharged for inefficiency and the vessel was sold.

Early in June Washington visited and inspected the grounds above King's Bridge. He found them to admit of seven places well calculated for defense. "Esteeming it a pass of the utmost importance in order to keep open communication with the country," he set two Pennsylvania regiments at work on their fortification, and put bodies of militia to the same labor as fast as they arrived. In General Orders of July 2d, Mifflin was directed to repair to King's Bridge and to use his utmost endeavors to forward the works. "*The time is now at hand which must probably determine whether Americans are to be freemen or slaves*" is a memorable sentence in this order. The enemy was ready to disembark in the lower bay. It was unknown from what quarter their attack would come. Mifflin thought they would divert attention to the heights above King's Bridge, and it was reported they meant to erect strong works there to cut off communication between city and country. On the 12th of July the ships of war "Rose" and "Phœnix" sailed up the Hudson, and unaware of the new batteries which had been planted on Tippett's and Cock Hills, anchored near the mouth of Spuyten Duyvil Creek. A dozen guns opened fire on them and "did great execution." On the 15th additional troops were hurried out to King's Bridge, the destruction of which was apprehended. Three hundred men were sent up the Harlem River in boats on the 19th and were put to work on the forts. Engineers were assigned, tools supplied and the work carried on night and day during the ensuing fortnight. On the 8th of August General Clinton was directed to send expresses to Ulster, Dutchess, Orange and Westchester Counties, to hasten levies and march them down to the fort erected on the north side of the bridge. On the 13th General Heath was put in command of the division stationed there and large quantities of provisions and ammunition were sent up. The "Rose" and "Phœnix" with their tenders were anchored off Mt. St. Vincent. On the nights of the 14th, 15th and 16th numbers of officers and men, (including on two occasions Generals Heath and Clinton) gathered on Tippett's Hill to witness an attempt to destroy these vessels with fire-ships. It was made at midnight on the 17th. A flaming galley set fire to one of the tenders and consumed her with "horrid flames." At sunrise on the 18th the frigates and remaining tenders fled down stream, and ran through the *chevaux-de-frise* under a heavy cannonade from the "Blue Bell Fort"[2] and Fort Lee. On the 21st Washington assigned the new engineer Monsieur Martin to the post at King's Bridge and under his direction work was pressed on the fortifications. On the 23d Clinton's brigade was ordered into camp. Colonel Thomas's regiment pitched on the south side of Fort Independence, Colonel Graham's about half a mile farther southward, Colonel Paulding's and Colonel Nicholas' on the flat below, near Corsa's orchard, and Colonel Swartwout on the southerly end of Tippett's Hill. On the 25th a detachment went down from King's Bridge to Paulus Hook in "the flat-bottomed boat" and brought back a number of gun-carriages, on which cannon were mounted in the new works. Colonel Swartwout's regiment threw up a battery "on the north side of Spuyten Duyvil Creek, at its very mouth," to prevent the enemy from approaching the bridge in boats, and also constructed two additional redoubts on the top of Tippett's Hill, one of which was called "Fort Swartwout."[3] No "fatigue rum" was allowed to any one engaged on these works, except on certificate that he had been "faithful, obedient and industrious." On the 27th the Provincial Congress, then sitting at Harlem, alarmed by the defeat on Long Island, ordered its records and papers, and the receiver-general's chest to be taken at once to the camp at King's Bridge. On the 29th Heath impressed every boat and craft at the post and hurried them down to Washington for use in the retreat from Long Island. On the 31st the inhabitants began driving their cattle into the interior. The Committee of Safety now urged on Washington the defensibility of the country above the bridge and the dreadful consequences of its occupation by the enemy. He replied that the defensible state of that ground had not escaped him, and that as the posts at King's Bridge were of such great importance, he hoped the convention would afford aid for their defense. When it became evident in September that the city was untenable by the Americans in the face of the superior British force, Washington determined to take post at King's Bridge and along the Westchester shore, where

[1] This ancient depository of the city records is still used as a burial-place by the family, and gives the name to the hill on which it is located.

[2] Fort Washington, near which the old Blue Bell tavern stood.

[3] The night guard in this work, October 17, 1776, was one captain, two lieutenants and fifty men.

barracks could be procured for the part of the army without tents. He concluded to leave five thousand men on the island for defense of the city, and to post nine thousand at King's Bridge and its dependencies. On the 8th Heath was instructed to fell trees across the roads towards the bridge, to dig holes in them, break them up and destroy them so as to be impassable. The next day one hundred and sixty thousand boards were ordered for the barracks at the bridge, also brick and stones for ovens, which all soldiers who were masons were ordered to assist in making.

Meanwhile the inhabitants suffered from the occupation of their farms. Fences were pulled down and burned and corn-fields, gardens and orchards pillaged. The orders of the day pronounced it "cruel as well as unjust and scandalous thus to destroy the inhabitants by destroying the little property for which they have been sweating and toiling through the summer and were expecting very soon to reap the fruits of."

Howe's movement to Throg's Neck caused Washington to call a meeting of general officers at King's Bridge. It was held on the 16th of October, when it was determined to abandon Manhattan Island. On the 19th strong pickets were established and frequent night patrols made through all the region about King's Bridge. On the 20th Washington moved his headquarters to the bridge, where the main army was now in barracks, and continued there until the 22d. During the next few days the army moved off to the heights of the Bronx, leaving garrisons in the forts about King's Bridge under orders to destroy them on the enemy's approach in force. Col. Lasher, in Fort Independence, was "to burn the barracks, quit the post and join the army, by way of the North River, at White Plains." At three in the morning of the 28th the long lines of barracks were fired and the forts abandoned. Their garrisons either withdrew to Fort Washington, or, crossing to New Jersey, rejoined their regiments at White Plains by way of King's Ferry. Gen. Greene, coming out from Fort Washington, found several hundred stand of small arms, great numbers of spears, shot, shells, etc. To carry these off he impressed all the wagons in the neighborhood. He then dismantled King's Bridge and the Free Bridge. On the evening of the 29th General Knyphausen, with a force of Hessians and Waldeckers which had landed at New Rochelle, approached Fort Independence by the old Boston road, and, finding it deserted, occupied it the following day. He took possession of the other works on Tetard's Hill and occupied them until November 2d. Then, with part of his forces, he descended and took a position on Paparinamin, north of King's Bridge. Having repaired the bridge, he crossed over and occupied the deserted American post on the opposite hill, but retired on the 4th. He crossed again on the 7th with fifteen hundred men and took positions on the hills commanding the old King's Bridge road. On the 16th the remainder of General Knyphausen's force crossed over the Free Bridge and united in the capture of Fort Washington, which thereafter took his name.

Being now possessed of the whole of Manhattan Island, the British adopted and strengthened the American works at and about King's Bridge for the defense of New York City. Beginning with the westerly redoubt on Spuyten Duyvil Neck, and going eastward, and from Fort Independence southward, they were distinguished by the numbers 1 to 8, inclusive.

Number One was located where the house of the late Peter O. Strang stands, in grading for which all traces of the fort were obliterated. It was square, and overlooked the Hudson and Spuyten Duyvil Creek at their confluence.

Number Two was a circular redoubt on the crown of the hill in the field west of Warren B. Sage's residence. Its walls are yet discernible.[1] This was the American Fort Swartwout. In the adjoining field to the westward a flanking redan may yet be seen overlooking the Riverdale road.

Number Three stood where Warren B. Sage's house now stands, on the easterly brow of Spuyten Duyvil Hill and directly overlooking the post on the northerly end of Manhattan Island at King's Bridge, called Fort Prince Charles[2] by the British. Numbers one, two and three were first garrisoned in 1777. In November, 1778, the three works had a garrison of one hundred and ten officers and men. They were abandoned by the British in the fall of 1779.

The creek near Johnson's foundry was crossed by a pontoon bridge, and a military road ran from it up the easterly side of the hill to and along Spring Street, where it branched off to the Redoubts One, Two and Three.

Number Four was the American Fort Independence, on Tetard's Hill, across the valley. The house of William Ogden Giles now stands on its site. It was built on the farm of General Richard Montgomery, and may have been laid out by him. It occupied a most commanding position overlooking the Albany road on one side and the Boston road on the other. It had two bastions at the westerly angles.

The British garrisoned it continuously from its capture until they removed its guns, August 16th, its wood-work, August 17th, and demolished its magazine, September 12, 1779. It was not garrisoned again during the war. A number of iron six-pounders were dug up inside its walls, by Mr. Giles, when excavating his cellar, about thirty years ago. Two of them are now mounted in a miniature fort on his grounds.

[1] Miscalled "Ft. Independence," on Sauthier's and other British maps, an error which has misled some modern writers. The same misnomer has been perpetuated otherwise. The Coast Survey so calls it in a diagram of the triangulation point on its wall. These errors probably arose from confounding the name "Tetard's Hill," on which Fort Independence stood, with "Tippett's Hill," wheron the fort in question was located.

[2] This work is yet standing.

Number Five was a square redoubt, whose walls are yet standing on the old Tetard farm, a little way north from H. B. Claflin's stables. It is about seventy feet square. It was occupied in 1777, and dismantled September 18, 1779.

Number Six stood just west of the present road to High Bridge, and its site is now occupied by a house formerly owned by John B. Haskin.

Number Seven was on the Cammann place. No trace remains.

Number Eight was on land now owned by H. W. T. Mali and Gustav Schwab. The latter's house occupies part of its site.

King's Battery is on the grounds of Nathaniel P. Bailey, and is still preserved.

Another redoubt, semicircular in form, is yet standing on the old Bussing farm, just north of the town line, and distant about one thousand feet northeasterly from the William's Bridge Station on the Harlem Railroad. It commanded the road and bridge across the Bronx, and was one of the series of works thrown up by Washington along the heights of the Bronx and extending northerly to White Plains, at the approach of Howe. General Heath located it and Colonels Ely and Douglas were engaged upon it October 6, 1776.[1]

An outpost of light troops was established near Mosholu and maintained throughout each year. The force was usually composed of German mounted and foot yagers and a company of chasseurs formed of detachments from the different Hessian regiments in New York.[2] Their camp was on Frederick Van Cortlandt's farm, near his house.[3] They made frequent patrols out Mile Square road, over Valentine's Hill and Boar Hill to Phillipse's Mills and back by the Albany post road. Two three-pound *Amusettes* were sometimes taken on these rounds.

Another camp of light troops and cavalry was established at the foot of Tetard's Hill, between King's Bridge and the Free Bridge. It was long occupied by Emmerick's chasseurs, formed in 1777, Simcoe's rangers and other Royalist troops. The King's Bridge was made the *Barrier*, and the old tavern on the north side became the *watch-house*.

During the protracted struggle the Yonkers was the scene of constant military activity. Numerous unsuccessful attempts were made by the Americans to recapture the posts on Tippett's and Tetard's Hills, and plans of winter attacks across the frozen Harlem and Spuyten Duyvil were often laid and foiled. The rangers of Simcoe and De Lancey, the yagers of Von Wurmb and the chasseurs of Emmerick were often met and engaged by troops of American Light Horse, under the fiery Colonel Armand and other dashing leaders, on the high-roads and by-ways of the Yonkers plantation. It was also the scene of ceaseless ravages by those irregular bands, known as "Cowboys" and "Skinners." Most of the inhabitants went into exile, and were refugees within either the American or British lines. Their homes were desolated, their buildings, fences and orchards destroyed. The Tippetts were mainly Tories. In 1776, General George Clinton arrested Gilbert Tippett for "practices and declarations inimical to American liberty." Colonel James De Lancey had married a cousin, Martha Tippett. The Warners, Hadleys, Valentines, Bettses, Corsas, Posts and other old residents were nearly all stanch Whigs, and supplied some of the ablest guides and minute-men of the Revolution.

THE SIEGE OF FORT INDEPENDENCE.—In January, 1777, General Heath made a movement against the British outposts at King's Bridge.[4] His forces were chiefly Connecticut volunteers and Dutchess County militia. They moved down on the night of the 17th, in three divisions—the right, under General Lincoln, from Tarrytown by the old Albany road, to the heights above Colonel Van Cortlandt's; the centre, under General Scott, from below White Plains to the rear of Valentine's house,[5] on the Boston road; and the left, under Generals Wooster and Parsons, from New Rochelle and East Chester to Williams' on the east side of the Bronx above the bridge. The three divisions arrived simultaneously at the enemy's outposts just before sunrise on the 18th. General Lincoln surprised the guard above Van Cortlandt's, capturing arms, equipage, etc. Heath moving with the centre, as it approached Valentine's house, ordered its cannonade by Captain Bryant in case of resistance from the guard quartered there, and sent two hundred and fifty men at double-quick to the right into the hollow between the house and Fort Independence to cut off the guard. Just then two British light horsemen, reconnoitering out the Boston road, came unexpectedly on the head of Wooster's column where the road descends to Williams' bridge. Before they could turn, a field-piece dismounted one, who was taken prisoner, while the other galloped back crying "The rebels! the rebels!" which set all

[1] Between this fort and Fort Independence, on the southerly side of the Boston road, and on the Corsa farm, stood "Negro Fort," so called, it is said, because garrisoned by a company of negroes from Virginia. The British kept an outguard there in the winter of 1776–77. No trace of it remains, a house now occupying its site.

[2] In 1778 five companies of foot and one of mounted yagers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Von Wurmb. In 1779 the yagers and Lord Rawdon's corps.

Captain von Hanger's company of chasseurs, in 1778, consisted of four officers, twelve sub-officers, three drummers and one hundred privates selected from the Leib, Erb Prinz, Prinz Carl, Donop, Mirback, Trimbach, Losberg, Knyphausen, Woelwarth, Wiessenbach and Sietz Regiments.

[3] Known as the "Upper Cortlandts," in distinction from Colonel Jacobus Van Cortlandt's house on the plain, called "Lower Cortlandts." The former was also called "Cortlandt's white-house" sometimes. It was burned about 1826, and the present residence of Waldo Hutchins was erected on its site.

[4] The following account of the movement is condensed from Heath's and contemporary British reports.

[5] Now and for nearly a century past the Varian homestead, an ancient stone house on the northerly side of the road.

outguards and pickets running to the fort, leaving arms, blankets, provisions, tools, etc., behind. Those fleeing from Valentine's and the Negro Fort were fired on and one captured. The American left and centre were then moved into the hollow between Valentine's and Fort Independence, and the surrender of the latter was demanded and refused. The garrison consisted of a body of Hessians and Colonel Rogers' rangers. Heath sent a detachment with two field-pieces southward to the brow of the hill overlooking the Free Bridge,[1] and opened fire on a battalion of Hessians drawn up across the Harlem, back of Hyatt's tavern. The enemy settled down as the shot passed them, and one piece being moved lower down, they retired rapidly behind their redoubt,[2] receiving a shot as they were turning the point. The enemy now opened on Heath's artillerymen from guns he had not suspected to be in the redoubt, and the men hastily drew their pieces back, receiving several shots before they reached the top of the hill.

The success of this movement on the British outposts flew through the country and was magnified into the reduction and capture of Fort Independence and its garrison. Washington communicated this report to Congress before receiving official accounts, causing a double disappointment when the facts were known, The Tory press in New York City reported it as an attack on Fort Independence by a large body of rebels, who were "bravely repulsed."

On the 19th the enemy opened fire from the fort, and killed one American. Heath determined to cut off the British battalion at Hyatt's by passing one thousand men over Spuyten Duyvil Creek on the ice. It was very cold. The men were detached and gathered at Spuyten Duyvil Ridge for the attack, but before morning the weather had so moderated that it was deemed too hazardous to make the attempt. There was cannonading on both sides on the 20th, and the enemy on the island were thrown into much confusion. Heath observing that the enemy, when fired at across the Harlem, found shelter behind the hill at Hyatt's, had a field-piece hauled up to the brow of Tippett's Hill, and opened fire on both their front and rear on the afternoon of the 21st. Some of the enemy found shelter in their redoubt, others under the banks; some lay flat on the ground and some betook themselves to the cellars, so that presently there was no object for the gunners. A smart skirmish occurred at Fort Independence on the 22d. To keep up the appearance of serious designs upon the fort, Heath ordered fascines, etc., to be made, and sent for a brass twenty-four pounder and a howitzer from New Castle. Another skirmish took place near the south side of the fort on the 23d, just before dusk, in which the Americans had an ensign and private killed, and five men wounded. On the 24th a severe storm began; Lincoln's division had to quit their huts in the woods back of Colonel Van Cortlandt's, and move back, some even to Dobbs Ferry, to find shelter. A freshet in the Bronx caused the water to run over Williams' bridge. Early on the 25th, the enemy sallied from Fort Independence towards De Lancey's Mills, surprised and routed the guard, wounding several and causing a regiment to quit its quarters. By British accounts they also took one piece of cannon. About ten o'clock they made a sally out the Boston road in force, drove the guards from Negro Fort and Valentine's house, and pushed on so impetuously, keeping up a brisk fire, that the retreating guards threw themselves into the old American redoubt[3] overlooking Williams' bridge. The enemy thereupon lined a strong stone wall a few rods distant to the southwest. Two regiments of militia were at once formed in the road near Williams' house, across the Bronx, and were sent by General Heath, in support of Captain Bryant with his piece, across the submerged bridge. When nearly up the hill on the Boston road, Bryant unlimbered to prevent his horses being shot, and the men took the drag-ropes; but the steepness of the ascent required the dragging of the piece almost within pistol-shot before it could be depressed enough to bear on the enemy. Its first shot opened a breach in the wall four or five feet wide, the next made another opening, whereupon the enemy fled back to Fort Independence with the greatest precipitation. The Americans had two killed and a number wounded. On the 27th the brass twenty-four pounder and the howitzer arrived and opened on the fort. The former sprung her carriage after the third discharge. There were no live shells for the howitzer. No regular cannonade of the fort was, in fact, ever contemplated. Attempts were made to draw the enemy out of the fort. A detachment was sent to Morrisania to light numerous fires at night; and, to induce the enemy to suppose the Americans were collecting there with designs of crossing to New York at or near Harlem, large boats were brought forward on carriages. The British garrison on Montressor's (Randall's) Island, alarmed at this, set fire to the buildings and fled to New York.[4] A brigade of the enemy moved up to Fort Washington and a detachment was sent for from Rhode Island.

On the 29th a severe snow-storm came on. Gens. Lincoln, Wooster, Scott and Tenbroeck were unanimous that the troops ought to move back where they could be protected from the inclement weather, especially as they had no artillery with which to take the

[1] Probably to a point on the old Tetard farm, now Claflin's land.

[2] The fort on the hill at northerly end of Manhattan Island, overlooking the King's and Free Bridges,—originally built by Americans and called by the British "Fort Prince Charles."

[3] This old Revolutionary work may still be traced on the hill northwest from the bridge. It is semicircular in form and was laid out by Heath in the fall of 1776.

[4] By Tory accounts the "rebels" went over to Montressor's Island and "burnt Colonel Montressor's house to the ground, and ravaged whatever they could meet with" on this occasion.



RESIDENCE OF N. P. BAILEY.

FORDHAM-ON-HARLEM, N. Y.

fort, and were opposed to any idea of assault or storm with militia. Accordingly, after dusk, the American forces retired northward and eastward in good order to their former stations, and the siege of Fort Independence was abandoned. The boldness of these operations, by raw militia, and for so long a period, in face of the strong force of British and German veterans in New York, speak volumes for the spirit of our grandsires in their determined contest for independence.

THE MASSACRE OF THE STOCKBRIDGE INDIANS.—During the summer of 1778 the British light troops, which were encamped about King's Bridge, had frequent skirmishes with the American light troops on the highways and by-roads of the old Yonkers.

On the 20th of August, when patrolling out the old "Mile Square Road," Lieutenant-Colonel Emmerick was attacked and compelled to return to his camp at King's Bridge. A few days later a small body of American light troops and Indians, under Colonel Gist, which had taken part in this encounter, was posted in several detachments on the heights commanding the old road, one body on each side of the road, just north of its crossing over a small stream beyond the present Woodlawn Heights, and a third about three hundred yards west of the road, on Devoe's farm, opposite to Woodlawn Heights. Between the last party and the road were scattered about sixty Stockbridge Indians, under their chief, Nimham, who had been in England. Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, of the Queen's Rangers, learned, through his spies, that the Indians were highly elated at Emmerick's retreat and supposed that they had driven the whole force of light troops at King's Bridge. He took measures to increase this belief and meantime planned to ambuscade and capture their whole force. His idea was, as the enemy came down the "Mile Square Road," to advance past his flanks. This movement would be perfectly concealed by the fall of the ground to the right (*i.e.*, down the slope in Woodlawn Heights, towards the stream at Second Street) and by the woods on the left (*i.e.*, Van Cortlandt's woods, bordering the road and "Lover's Lane," extending north from the road opposite Fourth Street).

On the morning of August 31st the Queen's Rangers, under Simcoe, the chasseurs, under Emmerick, and De Lancey's Second Battalion and the Legion Dragoons, under Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, marched out the "Mile Square Road," reaching the present Woodlawn Heights about ten o'clock. The rangers and dragoons were posted on the right (east of Second Street and about opposite to First Avenue). Emmerick's instructions were to take a position on the left, in Van Cortlandt's woods, near *Frederick* Devoe's house, half a mile up the lane. By mistake he took post in the woods near *Daniel* Devoe's house, which stood on the "Mile Square Road," near the entrance to the lane, and sent a patrol forward on the road. Before Simcoe, who was half-way up a tree reconnoitering, could stop this movement, he saw a flanking party of Americans approach and heard a smart firing by the Indians who had lined the fences alongside the road on Emmerick's left.

The rangers under Simcoe moved rapidly up the stream to gain the heights (Husted's), which were occupied by the Americans under Gist and Stewart, and the cavalry under Tarleton advanced directly up the hill to where Emmerick was engaged (between Third and Fourth Avenues). Being unable to pass the fences bordering the road, Tarleton made a circuit to return on the right (coming to the road again about Fifth Avenue). Simcoe, hearing of Tarleton's difficulty, left the remainder of his corps under Major Ross, and breaking from the rangers with the grenadier company, arrived unperceived (about opposite the end of Sixth Avenue) close upon the left flank of the Indians, who were intent upon the attack of Emmerick and Tarleton. With a yell the Indians fired on the grenadier company, wounding Simcoe and four of his men; but being outnumbered and flanked, the Indians were driven from the fences into the open fields of Daniel Devoe, north of the road. Tarleton and Emmerick then got among them with the cavalry. The Indians fought most gallantly, pulling several of the cavalry from their horses; but overpowered by the superior force of the enemy, they had to flee. They were swiftly pursued up over the fields, across the lane, down through Van Cortlandt's woods, over Tippett's Brook into the woods on the ridge beyond, where a few survivors found concealment among the rocks and bushes, and thus escaped. Nearly forty were killed or desperately wounded, including the old chief Nimham and his son. The former called out to his people to fly, "that he was old and would die there." He wounded Simcoe and was killed by Wright, his orderly hussar. Tarleton had a narrow escape in the pursuit down the ridge. In striking at an Indian he lost his balance and fell from his horse, but luckily for him the Indian had no bayonet and had discharged his musket. During the pursuit Simcoe joined the battalion of rangers, seized the heights (Husted's) and captured a captain and several men of the American light troops, but the main body escaped. The bodies of many of the Indians were buried in a small clearing in Van Cortlandt's woods, since known as the "Indian Field."

In July, 1781, Washington came in force to attempt a surprise of the British posts at King's Bridge, expressly to cut off De Lancey's and other light corps; but without success. Later in the month, accompanied by De Rochambeau, he moved a force of five thousand men down to the heights beyond King's Bridge and reconnoitered the northerly part of Manhattan island from Tippett's and Tetard's Hills and Fordham Heights. In September a British force of five thousand men moved out across the bridge to Valentine's Hill, as an escort to the young Prince William Henry. After the bitterly cold winter of

1782–83 the British troops were withdrawn from the Yonkers and King's Bridge. The inhabitants began to return to their desolate homes, while the Loyalists crowded into the city. In November, Washington came once more down the old post road, spent the night of the 12th at the Van Cortlandt house, and the next day, amid the acclamations of the people, rode victorious across King's Bridge, over which he had retreated seven years before.

Political History.—The area under consideration was part of the fief of Colen-donck from 1652 to 1664. After the English conquest in the latter year it belonged to the North Riding of Yorkshire until the erection of Westchester County under the act of October 1, 1691. It was afterwards known as the Yonkers Precinct (except the parts included in the Manor of Phillipsburgh after the erection of the latter, in 1693). By the act of June 19, 1703, the towns, manors, etc., were authorized to choose supervisors, and each inhabitant of any *precinct*, being a freeholder, was allowed "to join his vote with the next adjacent town." The freeholders of the Yonkers probably voted for a supervisor with the freeholders of East Chester. They chose their own local officers for the precinct, of whom the following "Collectors for the Yonkers" are known: William Jones, 1708–10; John Barrett, 1713–14; John Heading [Hadden], 1715–16; Mr. George Tippett, 1717; Mr. Joseph Taylor, 1718; Matthias Valentine, 1719; Joseph Hadley, 1720; Moses Taylor, 1721–23; William Jones, 1724; Moses Taylor, 1725; Thomas Sherwood, 1726; Moses Taylor, 1727; Thomas Rich, 1728; Edward Smith, 1729–30; Charles Vincent, 1731–32; Jacob Ryder, 1733–34; Joseph Taylor, 1736.

By the act of November 1, 1722, "to increase the number of supervisors for Westchester County," the inhabitants of each *precinct* having not less than twenty inhabitants were allowed to choose their own supervisor. The Yonkers was no doubt represented in the board by its own member thereafter; but by reason of the loss of the records of the precinct and of the board before 1772 their names are not known. On the first Tuesday in April, 1756, the freeholders and inhabitants of the Yonkers *and Mile Square*[1] held a public town-meeting at the house of Edward Stevenson, in the Yonkers, and chose James Corton (Coerten ?) supervisor and pounder: Benjamin Fowler, town clerk; Thomas Sherwood, constable and collector; David Oakley and William Warner, assessors; Edward Weeks, Wm. Crawford, Daniel Devoe, John Ryder, Isaac Odell and Hendrick Post, highway masters; Andrew Nodine, Charles Warner, Moses Tailer and Isaac Odell, fence and damage viewers.[2]

Commissioners of highways in 1770: James Van Cortlandt and Benjamin Fowler.

Supervisors for the Yonkers: Colonel James Van Cortlandt, 1772–76; (none during the British occupation); Israel Honeywell, 1784; William Hadley, 1786–87; David Hunt, 1787.

Constables: Jeremiah Sherwood, 1773; Henry Odell, 1775; Thomas Sherwood, 1784.

By act of March 7, 1788, a new town was erected, containing part of Phillipsburgh, Mile Square and the old precinct of Yonkers, under the name of Yonkers. In November, 1872, the supervisors of Westchester County erected a township consisting of all of the town of Yonkers lying south of the southerly line of the city of Yonkers, to be called King's Bridge. Its first and only annual meeting was held at Temperance Hall, Mosholu, March 25, 1873. On the 1st of January, 1874, King's Bridge was annexed to the city of New York and now forms part of the Twenty-fourth Ward.

Church History.—Before 1700 the inhabitants had no place of public worship nearer than East Chester. In 1707 they assembled "sometimes in the house of Joseph Betts, deceased, and sometimes in a barn when empty." About 1724 they had preaching three times a year by the rector from East Chester, and they "began to be in a disposition to build a church." None was erected, however, for more than a century. Those of the Reformed Dutch creed attended services at the church of Fordham Manor, erected in 1706. It stood on the northerly side of the road to Fordham Landing, where Moses Devoe's gateway now is. Upon the organization of the English Church at the Lower Mills those of that faith in the Yonkers attended there. After the Revolution Augustus Van Cortlandt and John Warner were of the first trustees of the new "Yonkers Episcopal Society," formed in 1787, and members of the first vestry of "St. John's Church in the town of Yonkers," on its incorporation, in 1795. Isaac Vermilye, William Hadley, William Warner and "Cobus" Dyckman were trustees of "the Reformed Dutch Church at the Lower Mills in the Manor of Phillipsburgh," incorporated in 1784.

Methodist Episcopal Church Bethel (Mosholu).—This was the first religious society to erect a house of worship in the limits of King's Bridge. So early as 1826 a charge existed, having thirty-six white members and one colored, under Samuel W. Fisher, preacher. Meetings were held in an old school-house which stood near Warner's store, Mosholu. In 1828 E. Hebard had the charge. He remained during 1828 and organized a class. The succeeding preachers were R. Seaman, 1829–30; E. Hebard, 1831–32; E. Smith, 1833–34; Thomas Evans, 1835. On the 10th of February, 1835, Caleb Van Tassell, James Cole, Jacob Varian, Abraham Wood

[1] It is probable that the Yonkers and Mile Square constituted one precinct under the name of the former. The Manor of Phillipsburgh surrounded Mile Square on three sides, and also separated it from the Yonkers. The inhabitants of the manor dwelling upon the old Mile Square road, between Yonkers and Mile Square, were sometimes described as "of the Yonkers *in* Phillipsburgh."

[2] Bolton's "Westchester County." [The author must have seen the town-book (now, unfortunately, lost), and extracted therefrom the account of the meeting of 1756.

and John C. Lawrence were chosen trustees to build a church and February 14th Caleb Van Tassell and Jacob H. Varian made and filed a certificate of incorporation as "Trustees of Methodist Church Bethel" in the town of Yonkers. A frame building was erected on the westerly side of the Albany post road and is yet standing, though disused for several years. Its pastors have been E. Oldrin, I. D. Bangs and Thomas Barch (superannuated), 1836–37; John Davies, Salmon C. Perry and Barch, 1838; Henry Hatfield, Perry and Barch, 1839; Barch and Daniel I. Wright, 1840; Daniel I. Wright and Humphrey Humphreys, 1841; John A. Silleck and Humphreys 1842; Silleck and Fred'k W. Seger, 1843; John C. Green and Mr. Barch, 1844–45; Charles C. Keyes, 1846–47; S. C. Perry, 1848–49; Paul R. Brown, 1850–51; Philip L. Hoyt, 1852; Richard Wheatly, 1853–54; Noble Lovett and Thos. Bainbridge, 1855; O. E. Brown and Bainbridge, 1856; A. B. Davis, 1857–58; R. H. Kelly, 1859–60; Wm. F. Browning and A. B. Brown, 1861; J. G. Shrive, 1862–63; W. H. Smith, 1864; W. H. Smith, 1865; A. Ostrander, 1866–67; A. C. Gallahue, 1868; W. M. Henry, 1869; A. Ostrander, 1870; Wm. Plested, 1871; W. Tarleton, 1872; H. Croft, 1873; and Cyrus Nixon, 1874–75. Since that date the congregation has worshipped at King's Bridge.

Church of the Mediator (King's Bridge).—Formed at meeting held August 15, 1855, pursuant to notice given by the rector of St. John's Church, Yonkers, who presided. Certificate recorded November 17, 1856. Name adopted "The Church of the Mediator, Yonkers." Abraham Valentine and James R. Whiting were elected wardens, and Thomas J. De Lancey, William O. Giles, John C. Sidney, Russell Smith, Joseph H. Godwin, T. Bailey Myers, Daniel Valentine and David B. Cox, vestrymen. Certificate executed by Rev. A. B. Carter, A. Van Cortlandt and William O. Giles. The church, a frame structure, was erected on land presented by James R. Whiting at a cost of five thousand dollars, and the rectory on adjoining land soon afterwards. The church was consecrated by Bishop Horatio Potter November 6, 1864. The officiating clergyman in 1857 was Rev. T. James Brown, of the island of Jamaica. The rectors have been Rev. Cornelius W. Bolton, June, 1858, to May, 1859; Rev. Leigh Richmond Dickinson, June, 1859, to June, 1866; and Rev. William T. Wilson, since October, 1866.

Riverdale Presbyterian Church.—Formed at a meeting held Wednesday, 24th June, 1863, Isaac G. Johnson and Edwin P. Gibson presiding. The first trustees chosen were Samuel N. Dodge, Robert Colgate, J. Joseph Eagleton, John Mott, James Scrymser, Isaac G. Johnson, William E. Dodge, Jr., Warren B. Sage and David B. Kellogg. Certificate of incorporation recorded July 14, 1863. The church building, of stone, was completed and dedicated October 11, 1863. Cost, about five thousand dollars. The stone parsonage adjoining was built soon after. The original membership was fifteen and the first elders were John Mott and Warren B. Sage. The pastors have been: George M. Boynton, October 28, 1863, to June, 1867; Henry H. Stebbins, August 25, 1867, to December 28, 1873, Charles H. Burr, March 5, 1874 to July 28, 1878; William R. Lord, April 30, 1879, to November 20, 1881; Ira S. Dodd, April 15, 1883, the present pastor. Entire membership, one hundred and twenty-five.

Christ Church (Riverdale).—Formed at a meeting held September 10, 1866; Rev. E. M. Peck, chairman. Henry L. Stone and Newton Carpenter were elected wardens, and Samuel D. Babcock, George W. Knowlton, Thompson N. Hollister, Frederick Goodridge, Martin Bates, William W. Thompson, William H. Appleton and Henry F. Spaulding, vestrymen. Certificate by E. M. Peck, Percy R. Pyne and Charles H. P. Babcock, recorded September 15, 1866. Corporate name, "The Rector, Church Wardens and Vestrymen of Christ Church, Riverdale." The cornerstone of the church was laid in 1865. It is built of granitic gneiss and is cruciform. Rev. E. M. Peck acted as rector until the Rev. George D. Wildes, D.D., present rector, assumed charge, in 1868. The rectory adjoining the church is a frame building. There are some beautiful memorial windows in the church, notably one recently inserted by Percy R. Pyne at a cost of twenty-five thousand francs. It is a masterpiece of the French school by E. S. Oudinot and L. O. Merson, of Paris, representing the supper at Emmaus.

Edge Hill Chapel (Spuyten Duyvil).—Erected in 1869, on land leased by Isaac G. Johnson at a nominal rent. Services are conducted every Sunday evening by the pastor of Riverdale Presbyterian Church.

Woodlawn Methodist Episcopal Church (Woodlawn Heights).—Organized in 1875. Building erected on lots donated by E. K. Willard; completed and dedicated April, 1876, by Bishop Janes. Pastors: D. W. C. Van Gaasbeek, 1875–76; Aaron Coons, 1876–79; Gustave Laws, 1880–81; J. O. Kern, 1881, present incumbent. Membership, thirty-nine.

St. Stephen's Methodist Episcopal Church (King's Bridge).—Organized by trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church Bethel (Mosholu) in 1875. Church completed and dedicated May 14, 1876. Pastors: D. W. C. Van Gaasbeek, 1875–76; Aaron Coons, 1876–79; David Tasker, 1879–80; S. Lowther, 1880–82; R. H. Kelly, 1882–83; Isaac H. Lent, present incumbent. Membership, forty-seven.

St. John's Church (King's Bridge).—Built under the direction of the Rev. Henry A. Brann, D.D., and dedicated December 3, 1880, by Cardinal McCloskey. Since its erection Dr. Brann has been aided in attending to the congregation by the Revs. Fr. Micena, Dr. Shrader, D. McCormick and William Fry, and the present assistant is Rev. Father O'Neill. Attached

to the church are the St. John's Benevolent Society and St. Patrick's Temperance Society. The congregation numbers about five hundred souls and is connected with St. Elizabeth's Church, Fort Washington, where Dr. Brann resides.

VILLAGES.

KING'S BRIDGE.—The village of this name sprang up about thirty-five years ago, upon the ancient "island or hummock" of Paparinamin, from which it has since overspread the site of the old village of Fordham and the hillside beyond. Paparinamin was given, in 1668, by Elias Doughty to George Tippett. After his death, in 1675, Archer laid claim to it; but, exacting as a recognition of his manorial rights the annual payment of a "ffat capon" every New Year's day, he released the tract to Secretary Matthias Nicoll. Two years later Tippett's widow, then wife of Lewis Vitrey, reconveyed the island to Doughty, who, in turn, transferred it to the secretary. Thus the title to this tract vested in the colonial government, which had already assigned its use to Ferryman Verveelen. In 1693 it was included in the grant of the Manor of Phillipsburgh, of which it remained a part until forfeited by the attainder of Colonel Phillipse, in 1779. It was sold by the Commissioners of Forfeiture (deed July 30, 1785) to Joseph Crook, inn-keeper, Daniel Barkins and Abraham Lent, Jr., of Dutchess County, in joint tenancy. Medcef Eden, brewer, John Ramsey and Alexander von Pfister, merchants, subsequently owned it in whole or part; also, Daniel Halsey, inn-keeper, who kept the old tavern upon it between 1789 and 1793. It was purchased, 1797–99, from Von Pfister and Joseph Eden by Alexander Macomb, a wealthy merchant of New York.[1]



MACOMB'S DAM, HARLEM RIVER, 1850.

During the next five years Macomb purchased from Isaac Vermilye, John De Lancey, Isaac, John and Matthias Valentine, Andrew Corsa and Augustus Van Cortlandt adjoining parcels, mostly salt meadow, making up nearly one hundred acres, bounded north by Van Cortlandt, east by the Albany road, south by the Harlem and Spuyten Duyvil, and west by Tippett's Brook. Having obtained from the mayor, etc., of New York, in December, 1800, a water grant extending across the creek, just east of the King's Bridge (which reserved, however, a passage-way fifteen feet wide for small boats and craft), Macomb erected a four-story frame grist-mill extending out over the creek. Its power was supplied by the alternate ebb and flow of the tide against its under-shot wheel. Macomb's extensive real estate ventures proving disastrous, Paparinamin and the mill were sold under foreclosure in 1810, and purchased by his son Robert. By an act of 1813 the latter was authorized to construct a dam across the Harlem from Bussing's to Devoe's Point, and to use the water for milling purposes, and erected at much expense the causeway and bridge known as "Macomb's Dam." Its gates admitted the flood tide from the East River, but obstructed its ebb, thus converting the Upper Harlem into a mill-pond, having its outlets underneath the old mill and through a raceway made on the Westchester side into Spuyten Duyvil Creek at low tide. The race supplied power to a marble-sawing mill which stood on a quay between it and the creek, and of which Perkins Nicolls was proprietor. Robert Macomb becoming involved, the property was sold by the sheriff in 1818. Ten years later it was possessed by the "New York Hydraulic Manufacturing and Bridge Company," by which an elaborate plan was put forth for mill-seats and a manufacturing village, based on a report of Professor James Renwick, of Columbia College, approved by Colonel Totten and General Macomb, chief engineers United States army. The enterprise proved abortive.[2] The old grist-mill[3] stood idle during many years, and at length was made useless by the removal of Macomb's Dam. In 1830 Mary C. P. Macomb, the wife of Robert, acquired the Paparinamin tract, and during many years made the old stone tavern her home, exercising therein a generous hospitality, of which Edgar Allen Poe was a frequent recipient. In 1847 Mrs. Macomb laid out the estate into streets and plots, which she afterwards disposed of. Several houses were erected, stores and shops were opened, a church

[1] Who purchased from the State in 1791 more than three million five hundred thousand acres in Northern New York, at 8*d.* per acre. The Adirondack Mountains were long known as "Macomb's Mountains."

[2] It was proposed, in an elaborate prospectus, to dam the Yonkers River (Tippett's Brook) near its mouth, and have gates opening down-stream only. The bed of the stream and the salt meadows through which it flowed were to form a reservoir for tail-water, which would empty itself into Spuyten Duyvil Creek at low tide. Fourteen mill-seats, each fifty by one hundred feet, bordered the race-ways, and an aggregate of at least two hundred and thirty-four horse-power was assured for them.

[3] It fell down about 1856.



"CEDAR RIDGE."

RESIDENCE OF ALBERT E. PUTNAM,

SPUYTEN DUYVIL, N. Y.



"SPRINGHURST."

RESIDENCE OF FREDERIC GOODRIDGE.

built and a centre of population established, which has grown to several hundreds. There are now three churches, a grammar school, police station, numerous stores, shops, saloons and dwellings. Among the well-known residents are Joseph H. Godwin,[1] William G. Ackerman, William O. Giles, George Moller, William A. Varian, M.D., Benjamin T. Sealey, William H. Geer, John Parsons, M.D., Rev. William T. Wilson and others.

SPUYTEN DUYVIL.—A village (and until recently a post office) located on the southerly end of Spuyten Duyvil Neck. The land was owned by George Tippett, who died in 1761. He devised it in several parcels to his children and grandchildren. Soon after the Revolution it belonged to Samuel Berrien, who had married Dorcas Tippett, daughter of George.[2] He sold to Abraham Berrien, a nephew, in whose family it continued until about 1850. In 1852 the tract was in three farms, which were purchased that year and next by Elias Johnson, David B. Cox and Joseph W. Fuller, of Troy, N. Y. They had surveys and plans made for a village to be called Fort Independence,[3] but which was changed to Spuyten Duyvil. Streets were opened and several houses erected on the hill, and a foundry was established at its base. The latter was afterwards bought and extended into a rolling-mill by Jervis Langdon, who was succeeded by the Langdon Rolling-Mill Company. The Spuyten Duyvil Rolling-Mill Company, organized in 1867, next owned this property. A malleable iron foundry was established on adjoining premises by Isaac G. Johnson and now employs several hundred hands. There are about thirty private dwellings on the elevated ground, including the residences of Mrs. D. B. Cox, Thomas H. Edsall, George C. Holt, Isaac G. Johnson,[4] Elias Johnson, Gilbert Johnson, Henry R. Lounsbery, David M. Morrison, George H. Petrie, Albert E. Putnam, Joseph R. Sergeant, Mrs. Peter O. Strang, Warren B. Sage, Henry M. Smith and others.

Immediately northward is a tract of three hundred and fifty-six acres, also known as Spuyten Duyvil. Frederick Van Cortlandt purchased it in several parcels between 1768 and 1788, and built his house on a commanding spot on the easterly side, approached by a private road leading up from the post road at Mosholu. He devised this property to his brother Augustus, by whose will it passed to a grandson, Augustus F. Morris, who assumed the name of Van Cortlandt. From him James R. Whiting bought the tract in 1836 and about 1840 erected a large stone mansion on the western side, overlooking the Hudson. Samuel Thomson, William C. Wetmore and Daniel Ewing became interested in Whiting's purchase in 1841, and they subsequently divided it into parcels stretching from the Hudson across the neck to Tippett's Brook. Thomson took the northerly parcel, on which stood a large stone house erected about 1822 on the site of the "Upper Cortlandts'," destroyed in that year by fire. Surrounded by well laid out and highly-improved grounds, it is now the residence of Waldo Hutchins. Near by is Hiram Barney's beautiful country-seat, "Cedar Knolls." The Whiting mansion is occupied by James R. Whiting, Jr. Adjoining is the house of James A. Hayden. The late General John Ewen's country-seat on this tract is now occupied by his widow.

HUDSON PARK was laid out in 1853, on the westerly part of Samuel Thomson's tract. A single house on the river-side was the only one erected for many years. There is now a cluster of small dwellings known as "Cooperstown," on this tract.

North of Hudson Park, and extending across from the Hudson to the Albany road, was the old Hadley farm of two hundred and fifty-seven acres, of which William Hadley died seized in 1802. He purchased the southerly part, about one hundred and fifty acres extending up to the line of the Manor of Phillipsburgh, from James Van Cortlandt, in 1761, and the remainder from the Commissioners of Forfeiture, May 18, 1786. He lived in the old stone house yet standing on this tract, just west of the post road. Joseph Delafield purchased the farm from Hadley's executors in 1829, and it is now owned by Delafield's children and grandchildren. The residence of Maturin L. Delafield is on the west side of Riverdale Avenue. The house of the late Lewis L. Delafield stands on the brow of the hill overlooking the Hudson. Mr. William E. Dodge's country-seat is on this tract. On the west side of Riverdale Avenue is a new fire-engine house, the first erected in the old Yonkers. Its tower contains a melodious old Spanish bell, cast in 1762 by Llonart.

RIVERDALE.—A village (and until recently a post-office) situated on part of Phillipsburgh Manor, which was sold by the Commissioners of Forfeiture to George Hadley, December 6, 1785. In 1843 William G. Ackerman acquired about one hundred acres of this tract, part of which was purchased in 1853 by W. W. Woodworth, H. L. Atherton, Samuel D. Babcock and C. W. Foster, and laid out as the village of Riverdale. In 1856 Henry F. Spaulding and others laid out the land adjoining on the south as "The Park, Riverdale." On these lands have since been erected a number of beautiful country-houses, including those of William H. Appleton, Samuel D. Babcock, Martin Bates, George H. Bend, Robert Colgate, William S. Duke, R. L. Franklin, George H. Forster, Frederick Goodridge,

[1] Mr Godwin's residence is the old Macomb mansion, now altered and enlarged.

[2] A grandson of the first proprietor of the name. His wife was Dorcas ——. He had sons: George, William, James and Thomas (all of whom married and had issue), and daughters: Jane, wife of Charles Warner; Phebe, wife of George Hadley; and Dorcas, wife of Samuel Berrien. The Rev. William Berrien, rector of Trinity Parish, New York, and its historian, was a grandson of the latter.

[3] After the Revolutionary fort, erroneously supposed to have occupied this hill.

[4] Mr. Johnson resides in the old Berrien house, which he has enlarged and improved.

Laura Harriman, D. Willis James, Percy R. Pyne, Moses Taylor Pyne, Henry F. Spaulding, H. L. Stone and others. There are two churches and a schoolhouse, but no places of business in Riverdale.[1]

MT. ST. VINCENT AND THE SISTERS OF CHARITY.—In the northwest corner of what was formerly the town of King's Bridge, lying along the Hudson River, and partly jutting over the northern boundary of the city of New York into the adjoining city of Yonkers, is Mount St. Vincent—the property of the Sisters of Charity—a picturesque tract of more than fifty acres of land, together with the convent and other buildings which make the mother house of the Sisters in the Archdiocese of New York. The institution was founded here in 1856, when this site was still in Westchester County, Nearly a thousand Sisters, in more than a hundred subordinate houses, including asylums, hospitals, the Girls' Protectory in Westchester, the retreat for the insane at Harrison, industrial schools, academies and parish schools, are governed from Mt. St. Vincent. The many parish and other schools, under the Sisters of Charity from this house, and situated in Westchester County and in and near New York, include about thirty-five thousand pupils, besides the hundreds of sick and infirm in their different asylums and hospitals.

The Sisters of Charity are a benevolent corporation of women only, formed under the general laws of the State of New York, and governed by their own trustees elected from among themselves, and are largely independent. The Mother Superior is the president of the corporation. Mother Angela Hughes, the youngest sister of Archbishop Hughes, was superior of the order when the Sisters, in December, 1856, bought this property of Edwin Forrest, with the farm buildings and the castle upon it, as he had built them for his own residence.[2] The following year Mother Angela commenced the new building, which now forms the central part of the present convent, overlooking the Hudson, between two and three hundred yards distant. This first building, with a front of two hundred and seventy feet, has by later additions been enlarged to more than five hundred feet of frontage, making a handsome brick structure, three stories in height, with high basement and attic and a lofty spire.

Mother Angela's term of office expired in 1862, since which date Mother Jerome and Mother Regina have successively ruled the order. Mother Angela died in 1866, Mother Regina in 1879 and Mother Jerome in 1885, since which date Sister M. Ambrosia, who, twenty-five years before, had been in charge of the girls' parish school in Yonkers, then treasurer at Mt. St. Vincent, and subseqently the head of the Girls' Protectory at Westchester, and later assistant-mother at Mt. St. Vincent, has been the Mother Superior there.

The south half of the convent building contains the Academy of Mt. St. Vincent, a girls' school of the highest class, numbering between two and three hundred pupils, with the philosophical apparatus and the appointments of a college. The pupils are divided into many classes, each class under the immediate charge of a Sister specially selected for her natural endowments and careful training. Sister Maria (Mary C. Dodge)[3] has long been the directress of the academy, subordinate to the Mother Superior. The academic course runs through four years, preceded by a preparatory school for those who need it, and followed by a post-graduate course.

The north half of the convent is the mother house of the Sisters, the residence of the Mother Superior and her assistants, with the Sisters of the academy, as well as those at home from the outside missions for needed rest or in broken health, so that there are usually a hundred Sisters or more in the house. At the extreme north end is now the spacious novitiate, built in 1885. The institution has a hundred novices in a two years' course of training and probation under the Mother of Novices, and there are usually a dozen or twenty candidates for the novitiate awaiting admission through three months or more of probation.

The convent chapel, as large as a parish church, is in an extension to the east, nearly in the middle of the convent, between the Sisters' department and that of the pupils. The convent has a large number of fine paintings and works of art, and everything about the building is admirable for its neatness and good order, and the extensive grounds are always well kept. The carriage drive from the convent to the eastern entrance at Riverdale Avenue is about half a mile in length, and towards the west, on the Hudson, a quarter of a mile from the convent door, is the Mt. St. Vincent Station of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad, on the Sisters' own grounds. The institution is supplied with gas and with water from the Yonkers works, and is under the protection of the New York City police. The picturesque stone castle of Edwin Forrest still stands between the convent and the railroad station, and a part is made the dwelling of the chaplain of the institution. The larger rooms on the first floor are occupied by the museum of natural history, the collection of minerals being unusually large and good,[4] and there is also a fine cabinet of coins and medals.[5]

[1] Between Riverdale and Mount St. Vincent is a part of the old John Warner farm, formerly owned by A. Schermerhorn, and another part owned by J. E. Bettner, E. F. Brown and others. Some fine stone country-houses have recently been erected on these tracts.

[2] The Forrest property was part of the large farm that Captain John Warner, of the Revolutionary army, bought at the sale of the confiscated estate of Colonel Frederick Phillipse.—*Deed of Commissioners of Forfeiture, Dec.* 6, 1785.

[3] Authoress of an interesting history of the institution.

[4] Presented by Dr. E. S. F. Arnold, of New York.

[5] Forrest purchased this estate in 1847, and called it "Font Hill."



ACADEMY MOUNT ST. VINCENT,

ON-THE-HUDSON,

NEW YORK CITY.

On their own ground, on a side-street near Riverdale Avenue, the Sisters, in 1875, built, at a cost of over twenty thousand dollars, "St Vincent's Free School," a brick building sixty by ninety feet, where they continue to teach, at their own cost, a free primary school now numbering about one hundred and fifty boys and girls of the vicinity.

The residences of Edmund D. Randolph and Mr. B. Cuthbert adjoin this property on the south.

MOSHOLU[1] is an old hamlet and post-office skirting the Albany post road, known early in the century as "Warner's," where many years ago there were a church (Methodist), school-house, store, blacksmith and wagon-shop and a cluster of dwellings.

WOODLAWN HEIGHTS.—A village (and until recently a post-office) on the Harlem Railroad, laid out in 1873 by George Opdyke and others on a part of the old Gilbert Valentine farm, in the Yonkers. E. K. Willard extended the village northward the same year to the Mile Square road on land formerly part of Phillipse Manor. A church and a number of small dwelling-houses have been erected on these plots.

VAN CORTLANDT'S is a station on the New York City and Northern Railroad, located near the old Van Cortlandt pond and mills. Near by are the ice-houses and residence of George R. Tremper. The historic old mansion (1748), now the residence of Augustus Van Cortlandt, stands a few hundred yards northward, upon Van der Donck's ancient planting-field. Opposite to the car-houses, beyond the station, is an ancient burial-place, probably that of the Betts and Tippett families in the seventeenth century.

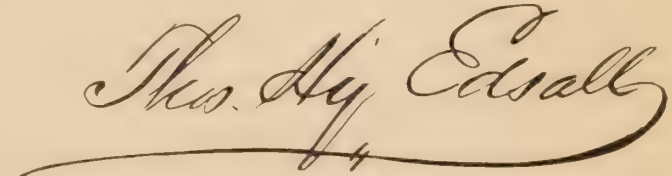
OLAFF PARK is a name given to about one hundred acres of the Van Cortland's estate, purchased and laid out in 1869 by W. N. Woodworth, and so called after the name of the ancestor of the Van Cortlandts in America. No improvements have been made on this tract except to open streets and avenues.

WOODLAWN CEMETERY.—This beautiful "city of the dead" consists of about four hundred acres on the heights of the Bronx, extending westward to an ancient road, whose line is now followed by Central Avenue The house of Abraham Vermilye stood on its easterly side in 1781. Early in this century John Bussing, Daniel Tier, William and Abraham Valentine owned the farms of which the cemetery is now composed. The cemetery was organized in December, 1863, and the improvement of the grounds commenced in April, 1864. The first interment was made January 14, 1865, since which time there have been upwards of twenty-six thousand burials therein.

RAILROADS.—The earliest was the New York and Harlem, along the easterly bounds, chartered May 12, 1831; opened to Harlem, 1837, and to White Plains, 1844. For nearly thirty years the nearest station was at Williams' Bridge. There is one now at Woodlawn. The Hudson River Railroad, chartered April 25, 1831, was opened along the westerly bounds of the district about 1850. Stations: Spuyten Duyvil, Riverdale and Mount St. Vincent. The Spuyten Duyvil and Port Morris Railroad, chartered April 24, 1867, was opened in 1871. Stations: Spuyten Duyvil and King's Bridge. The New York City and Northern Railroad was reorganized and opened in 1878. Stations: King's Bridge and Van Cortlandt's.

AQUEDUCTS.—1. The Croton aqueduct, begun 1837 and completed 1842, passes along the brow of Valentine's, Gun and Tetard's Hills. 2. The Bronx River water supply, determined upon in 1879 and opened September 9, 1884, is carried in a forty-eight-inch cast-iron conduit pipe along the west side of the Bronx to Woodlawn and thence to the top of the hill, half a mile west of Williams' Bridge Station, where a distributing reservoir is located and whence thirty-six inch pipes distribute the water to the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Wards. 3. The new Croton supply, determined upon in 1884 and work in progress, will go near the old one, mostly through rock tunnel. 4. Mount St. Vincent, Riverdale and Spuyten Duyvil have been supplied from Yonkers water-works since 1882.

SCHOOLS.—The most ancient was the French boarding-school of Dominie Tetard, opened in 1772. Early in the century there was a school-house near Warner's store and another on the Mile Square road, near Devoe's. The school-house at Mosholu (now Grammar No. 67) was erected about 1840. The one at King's Bridge (now Grammar School No. 66) was erected in 1872. The one at Spuyten Duyvil (now Primary No. 44) was erected about 1859. Primary No. 48, at Woodlawn, was established in 1880. The Riverdale Institute, a seminary for young ladies, and the boarding-school for boys at Hudson Park have been closed for several years. The academy at Mount St. Vincent is mentioned under that head.



BIOGRAPHY.

THE VAN CORTLANDTS OF YONKERS.

Right Hon. Stephen Van Cortlandt, the ancestor of the race, whose name must ever remain illustrious in our history, was the father of Right Hon. Oloff Stevens Van Cortlandt, who married Annetje,

[1] So called after the Indian name of Tippett's Brook.

daughter of Gouvert Lockermans, in 1642, and died in 1669. The children of this marriage were Hon. Stephanus Van Cortlandt (the lord of the Manor of Van Cortlandt), Jacobus and Johannes, who died in 1667, leaving no descendants.

Jacobus Van Cortlandt, the second son, was born July 7, 1658, and on the 7th of May, 1691, was married to Eva Phillipse, the adopted daughter of Frederick Phillipse, lord of the Manor of Phillipsburgh, her parents being Peter Randolph De Vries and his wife Margaret Hardenbrock; the date of her birth was October 30, 1660.

The children of this marriage were Frederick; Margaret, wife of Abraham De Peyster; Ann, wife of Hon. John Chambers; and Mary, wife of Peter Jay, father of Hon. John Jay, the illustrious Chief Justice of the United States.

Frederick Van Cortlandt, the oldest son, was born in 1698, and married Francina, daughter of Augustus Jay (the ancestor of the family bearing that famous name) and Anna Maria Bayard, his wife. The old family Bible, printed in Amsterdam in 1714, and now in possession of Augustus Van Cortlandt, of Yonkers, contains the following record of this family, written in Dutch by Francina Van Cortlandt, which is of much interest as a relic of the times when that language was in general use throughout the county:

"Niew York, den 19 January 172¾, ben Ick francina Jay met frederick Van Cortlandt soon van Jacobus Van Cortlandt, in den howelicke staet beve stight, door Dominie Antonidus."

"Niew York de 3 Mart. 172⅝ is geboren myn soon Jacobus Van Cortlandt, zyn compear myn schon vader Jacobus Van Cortlandt, peet myn mouder Anna Marica Jay."

"Niew York de 3 Augustus 1728 is geboren myn twede soon Augustus Van Cortlandt, zyn compear myn vader Augustus Jay, peet Marggrite De Peyster."

"Niew York de 28 Mart. 1730 is geboren myn derden soon Frederick Van Cortlandt, zyn compear Peter Jay, peet Judith Jay."

"Niew York de 28 Mart. 1732 is geboren myn dochter Eva Van Cortlandt, har compear Jacobus Van Cortlandt har grote vader, peet Anna Van Cortlandt. En is gestorven den 10 June 1733, en begraven in de helder by Gerardus Stuyvesants."

"Niew York de 22 May 1736 is geboren myn twede dochter Anna Marica Van Cortlandt, har compear Peter Valette, peet Marica Valette."

"Niew York de 5 November 1737 is geboren myn twede dochter Eva Van Cortlandt, her compear Abraham De Peyster, peet Marica Jay."

"Is gestorven den 12 February 1749–50, myn lieve man frederick Van Cortlandt in zyn 51 jaer, en begraven in de helder op de klyne Yonkers."

(Translation) New York, 19th of January 172¾ am I, Francina Jay confirmed in the marriage state with Frederick Van Cortlandt son of Jacobus Van Cortlandt, by Dominie Antonidus.

New York, the 3rd of March, 172⅝ is born my son Jacobus Van Cortlandt; his godfather my father-in-law, Jacobus Van Cortlandt, godmother my mother Anna Marica Jay.

New York the 3rd August, 1728, is born my second son Augustus Van Cortlandt; his godfather my father, Augustus Jay, godmother Margaret De Peyster.

New York, 28th March, 1730, is born my third son, Frederick Van Cortlandt; his godfather Peter Jay, godmother Judith Jay.

New York, 28th March 1732, is born my daughter, Eva Van Cortlandt; her godfather Jacobus Van Cortlandt, her grandfather, godmother Anna Van Cortlandt, and died the 10th of June, 1733, and buried in the vault by Gerardus Stuyvesants.

New York, 22nd of May, 1736, is born my second daughter, Anna Marica Van Cortlandt; her godfather Peter Valette, godmother Marica Valette.

New York the 5th November, 1737, is born my second daughter, Eva Van Cortlandt; her godfather Abraham De Peyster, godmother Marica Jay.

Died the 12th of February 1749–50, my loved husband Frederick Van Cortland, in his 51st year, and buried in the vault at the Little Yonkers.

The record is continued in English by other hands, and states that Francina Van Cortlandt died August 2, 1780.

Of this family, Jacobus, the eldest son, better known as Colonel James Van Cortlandt, died without children, April 1, 1781; Frederick died in 1800, without issue; Anna Marica was married to Nathaniel Marston, and after his decease to Augustus Van Horn; Eva married Henry White.

Augustus Van Cortlandt, the second son, married for his first wife Miss Cuyler, and after her decease, Miss Catharine Barclay, of Santa Cruz, W. I. His children were James Van Cortlandt, born March 3, 1736, and died April 1, 1781; Helen, born January 4, 1768, and married James Morris, of Morrisania (whose son, Augustus Frederick Morris, assumed the name of Van Cortlandt, and inherited from his grandfather a part of his estate in Lower Yonkers); and Anna, born January 18, 1766, who married Henry White, son of Henry White and Eva Van Cortlandt.

DESCENDANTS OF HENRY WHITE.

The ancestors of Henry White were said to be of Welsh origin, but the earliest records locate them at Denham, near Uxbridge, Buckinghamshire, England. The father of Henry White was a colonel in the British army, and settled in Maryland in 1712, where his son was born. The latter received his education in England, but returned to this country, became a merchant in New York, and inherited a large property from his relations in Maryland. He seems to have been actively engaged in business, and his name appears in a petition, dated May 8, 1756, for leave to ship bread to South Carolina for the use of the navy.



A Van Cortlandt

He was afterwards engaged in the importation of English goods from London and Bristol, his store being in King Street, New York. On the 13th of May, 1761, he married Eva, daughter of Frederick Van Cortlandt and Francina Jay, an alliance which added greatly to his wealth and position. In 1769 he was appointed one of His Majesty's Council for the province of New York, and retained that honorable position till the Revolution closed the English rule. During his life he was one of the foremost merchants in New York, and his residence was a large house on Queen (now Pearl) Street, between the Fly Market, which was at the foot of the present Maiden Lane, and the Coffee-House, which stood on the corner of Wall and Water Streets. This house had been the residence of Abraham De Peyster, the treasurer of the colony, and was one of the most important buildings in the city. In 1772 Mr. White became president of the Chamber of Commerce, and a fine portrait of him is in the possession of that corporation. In 1776 he went to England, but returned in the fall of the same year, and was an adherent of the royal cause. On the 9th of October, 1780, he was one of the witnesses who appeared before the surrogate to prove the will of Major Andre, but returned to England before the evacuation of New York, in 1783. He died in Golden Square, London, December 23, 1786, and was buried in the church-yard at St. James, Westminster, in Piccadilly. He was esteemed by his contemporaries as a gentleman of respectability and integrity. His estate was confiscated by the act of 1779, and his house in New York was sold in May, 1786. The children of Henry White and Eva Van Cortlandt were Henry, Admiral Sir John Chambers, General Frederick Van Cortlandt, Wm. Tryon, Ann (wife of Sir John Macnamara Hayes), Margaret (wife of Peter Jay Munro) and Frances (wife of Archibald Bruce, M.D.)

Henry White was the oldest and the only son who remained in America. He married Ann Van Cortlandt, daughter of Augustus Van Cortlandt and Catharine Barclay. Their children were Augustus; Henry; Catharine, wife of Richard Bayley; Helen, wife of Abraham Schermerhorn; Augusta, wife of E. N. Bibby, M.D.; Harriet, and Francina, wife of Dr. Groshon.

The will of Augustus Van Cortlandt, dated December, 1823, contains the following clause: "Whereas, the greatest part of the lands and real estate which I occupy and hold in the town of Yonkers was derived to me by inheritance from my ancestors; and Whereas, I have purchased some tracts of land, also lying in the town of Yonkers, which I at present possess, it is my desire that the same remain entire and pass to one of my surname and family; Wherefore, I do hereby give and devise all my lands, and real estate, dwelling-house, mills and other buildings, unto my affectionate relatives, John Jay and Peter Augustus Jay, and to their heirs forever; except a certain dwelling-house and farm in the said town of Yonkers, and a lot of ground near my mill pond, which belonged to my late brother, Frederick Van Cortlandt, in trust for the following uses,—First, To hold the same for my son-in-law, Henry White, late the husband of my deceased daughter, Anna White, during the term of his natural life; Second, After the decease of my son-in-law, Henry White, and in case Augustus, the son of said Henry White, shall survive him, then to hold the same for the use of the said Augustus, and his heirs and assigns, on condition that from and after my decease he do take and constantly and exclusively use the name of Van Cortlandt."

In accordance with this, Augustus White assumed the name of Augustus Van Cortlandt, and at the time of his death, which occurred April 1, 1839, he left the estate to his brother Henry for life, and to his brother's eldest son in fee, provided they take and constantly use the name of Van Cortlandt; and upon the failure of male heirs, it was provided that the property should pass to his nephew, Augustus Van Cortlandt Bibby, the son of his sister Augusta.

Henry White, the above devisee, assumed the name of Van Cortlandt, and took possession of the estate upon the death of his brother. He survived him but a few months, and died in October, 1839, without children, and the estate then descended to his nephew, Augustus Van Cortlandt Bibby, who, by an act of the Legislature, assumed the name of Augustus Van Cortlandt.

Mr. Van Cortlandt, whose portrait is presented, was born in New York July 31, 1826. His father, Dr. Edmund N. Bibby, a physician of eminence, was the son of Captain Bibby, an aid to General Fraser, who was killed at the battle of Saratoga. Dr. Bibby married Augusta, daughter of Henry White (second) and Anna Van Cortlandt, and their children were Augustus Van Cortlandt (the subject of this sketch), Henry W. Bibby (now living in New York), Frances (wife of John W. Munro, of Pelham) and Ann W. (wife of Robert Ogden Glover, of Mt. Vernon).

The early education of Mr. Van Cortlandt was obtained at the collegiate school of Rev. R. T. Huddart, in New York; later at a school in Bloomingdale; and subsequently at the celebrated school of the Brothers Pugnet, on Bank Street. He left school in 1842, and a year later entered the counting-room of Garner & Co., at 33 Pine Street, where he remained till 1847. He then established himself as a banker in Wall Street, where he continued till 1853, when he came to reside upon his estate at Lower Yonkers, to which he had succeeded after the death of his uncle, Henry Van Cortlandt.

He married Charlotte Amelia, daughter of the late Robert Bunch, of Nassau, New Providence, and sister of the British minister to Venezuela, and on the maternal side granddaughter of Dr. Richard Bayley, who was the first health officer of New York, an intimate friend of Sir Guy Carleton, and who died of yellow fever contracted while he was discharging his duties as officer of quarantine. Their children are

Augustus, Henry W., Robert B., Edward N., Oloff Delancey and Mary B., all of whom are now living on the family estate.

The Van Cortlandt mansion at Lower Yonkers, a relic of colonial times, stands in solitary state on an eminence about one mile north of King's Bridge, and on the east side of the old Albany post road. It is a large edifice of stone and was built by Frederick Van Cortlandt in 1748. A more ancient structure stood on the banks of the mill pond, a little north of the mill. This was the residence of the earliest generations of Van Cortlandt, and was taken down in 1825. The date of the building of the present mansion is seen in figures upon the massive southern wall, and the interior is ornamented with carvings in wood of the greatest elegance, while portraits of



THE VAN CORTLANDT MANOR HOUSE, KING'S BRIDGE.

Augustus Van Cortlandt, Henry White, the first, and his son, and others of a long past time, grace the walls of this historic place. The eye of the visitor to the grounds cannot fail to be attracted by two eagles which surmount the posts of the old gateway. These are said to have been taken from a Spanish privateer and presented to Augustus Van Cortlandt by Rear Admiral Robert Digby, of the British navy. It is a source of no small satisfaction to the lovers of the picturesque and the beautiful that the grounds surrounding the place are to be preserved in their native beauty as a portion of the new Van Cortlandt Park, which will be one of the finest features of the northern portion of New York City.

When Mr. Van Cortlandt came to reside on this estate he became interested in local politics, and was elected to the offices of assessor and justice of the peace. In 1858 he was the supervisor of Yonkers, and was re-elected in 1859. He was elected member of Assembly in 1859. Prominent in business and social life, he is one of the trustees of the Metropolitan Savings Bank, president of St. Nicholas Club, member of the New York Historical Society and a member of the Rising Star Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons. He has ever been prompt and influential in advancing all public improvements, taking a lively and active interest in passing events, while leading the quiet life of a country gentleman.

DYCKMAN FAMILY.

The ancestor of this family was William Dyckman, who came from Holland in the early days of New Amsterdam. Jacobus Dyckman, who was his grandson, married Maria Kesur, and left two sons, Jacob and William.

Jacob, the elder, married Tryntje Benson, and left nine children, as follows,—Jacob, Samson, Benjamin, John, Garret, William N.; Maria, wife of John Clark; Jane, wife of John Van Vredenburgh; and Catharine, wife of Daniel Hale.

Of these children, Garret, the fifth son, married Joanna, daughter of Jonathan Odell, of Greenburgh. Their children were William N. and Jacob G. The family of the latter are now living at Morristown, N. J.

William N. Dyckman was born at Verplanck's Point, May 17, 1787. His parents removed to Greenburgh during his infancy, and at the age of ten years he went with them to New York, and lived with his parents in Duane Street till his father's death. When a young man he entered the law-office of Peter J. Monroe as a student, and was admitted to the bar at the same time with General Sandford, who was his life-long friend. During the War of 1812 he served as captain of a militia company. His entire life was passed in the city of New York, in the practice of his profession, in which he held an honorable position. In politics he was in early life a Whig, but at the formation of the Republican party he became one of its supporters, but his distaste for political life led him to take little part in public affairs.

Mr. Dyckman married Eliza A., daughter of John and Jane Honeywell, of Greenburgh. Their only child, Miss Susan Dyckman, is now residing in New York. His country residence was on the east side of





John H. Dyckman



Isaac M. Dyckman



RESIDENCE OF ISAAC M. DYCKMAN,
NEW YORK.

the old Albany post road, below Hastings, and is now in possession of his daughter. He died September 12, 1871, soon after the decease of his wife, which occurred in April of the same year, and both rest in the cemetery at Yonkers.

William Dyckman, the second son of Jacobus, was born August 23, 1725, and died August 10, 1787. He married Mary Turner, who was born February 4, 1728, and died February 14, 1802. They were the parents of nine children,—Jacobus, Abraham, Michael, William, John; Maritje, wife of Jacob Vermilyea; Jane, Joanna, wife of Evert Brown; and Charity, wife of Benjamin Lent.

The oldest son, Jacobus, was born September 13, 1748. His children were William, Frederick, who married Eva Myers, John, Abraham, Jacob, James, Isaac, Michael, Hannah, who married Caleb Smith, and Maria.[1]

Of these children, Abraham married Margaret, daughter of John and Jane Honeywell, and sister of Jane, wife of William N. Dyckman. His son, John H. Dyckman, was born May 5, 1813, on the family estate, below King's Bridge, and lived for the greater part of his life in the old "Century House," which is still standing, a relic of the ancient time. Here he passed a quiet and uneventful life, as a gentleman of leisure and a worthy representative of an historic race. He died unmarried, April 6, 1879. His only sister, Jane, also died unmarried, February 1, 1840.

Isaac M. Dyckman was born in Yonkers, January 1, 1813. His father was Caleb Smith, who married Hannah, daughter of Jacobus Dyckman, who was a representative of the Dutch family of that name, and owned a large landed estate south of Harlem River. While a boy he went to live with his maternal grandfather, and was adopted by him, and assuming the family name, has ever since borne the name of Isaac M. Dyckman. Two of his grandfather's brothers, Abraham and Michael, were soldiers in the Revolution and one of them was killed in the war. Their perfect knowledge of the localities on both sides of Harlem River rendered them especially valuable as guides, and their services were in frequent demand.

Jacobus Dyckman died in August, 1832, and his estate descended to his two sons, Michael and Isaac, both of whom died unmarried, and a large portion of the property came into the possession of their nephew. The ancient Dyckman homestead, which existed before the Revolution, stood near Harlem River, close by the foot of Two Hundred and Ninth Street. This was burned during the Revolution, and another (now called the Century House) was built on the west side of the King's Bridge road, or Broadway, near the twelfth mile stone. It was here that Jacobus Dyckman lived and died. The house is still standing, and is now owned by Benjamin P. Fairchild. It is at the northwest corner of King's Bridge road and Hawthorn Street. On a portion of this estate Mr. Dyckman has ever made his home, and built his present elegant residence in 1874. During the early part of his life, before the growth of New York City had reached the vicinity of Harlem River, he cultivated this tract as a farm, but the advancement of the city has made it far too valuable for that purpose, and he finds his time fully occupied in looking after his extensive real estate. In politics he has always been identified with the Democratic party, as were his ancestors; and in religion he is connected with the Presbyterian Church. He married Fannie B., the daughter of Benjamin Browne, of Yonkers, and has two daughters, Mary A. and Fannie F.

Jacobus Dyckman, mentioned above, was the son of William Dyckman, and besides the brothers Abraham and Michael, he had three sisters,—Charity, wife of Benjamin Lent; Joanna, wife of Evart Browne; and Maritje, wife of Jacob Vermilyea.

Jacobus Dyckman left children,—William Frederick, Abraham (who married Margaret Honiwell), and left two children, Jane and John H., both of whom died unmarried. Jacob who was a prominent physician in New York, James who died young, Maria, Hannah who married Caleb Smith, as mentioned above, Michael and Isaac (who survived the rest.) All of these except Hannah died unmarried.

[1] See sketch of Isaac M. Dyckman.

ROBERT COLGATE.

The family of which Mr. Colgate is a representative has been traced back to a very remote ancestry in England. They appear to have been settled in the county of Kent at an early date. The immediate ancestor of the branch of the family that settled in America was Robert Colgate, a native of the village of Seven Oaks, in Kent, a man of note and influence and a prominent agriculturist of his native county. In political affairs he was a most determined Radical, and so plainly outspoken of his opinions as to render him obnoxious to the government. His known sympathy with the Radicals and the assistance he rendered to some who were confined in the Tower of London caused an order for his arrest and imprisonment to be issued. In his younger days he had been a schoolmate of William Pitt, and that statesman, moved by remembrance of early friendship, sent him a timely warning, with the intimation that if he should leave for America within a limited time, an opportunity would be given. Acting upon this suggestion, he hired a vessel and, with his family, sailed for the New World, and landed at Baltimore in 1795. Under the protection of a free government, the fiery Radical soon became the peaceful citizen, and, purchasing a farm near Baltimore, he made agriculture the business of his life. Upon this farm he remained for several years, then removed to the State of New York and took charge of the farm of Peter J. Monroe, Esq., of Westchester County. Some years later his son William, having been successful in business,

purchased a farm in Andes, Delaware County, N. Y., and placed his father upon it. Here he lived a life of quiet usefulness till 1826, when, walking to church one Sabbath morning, he suddenly dropped dead, having reached the age of sixty-four.

Mr. Colgate was married in England to Miss Sarah Bowles. Their children were William, Bowles, John, George, Charles, Charlotte (wife of Dr. William B. Selden, of Norfolk, Va.), Esther (wife of Jacob Klein, of New Orleans), Lydia and Maria (both of whom died unmarried).

William Colgate, the oldest son, was born in Kent, England, in 1783, and came to this country with his father. At the age of twelve he was apprenticed to John Slidell, who, at that time, was doing business at Bowling Green, in the city of New York. In after-years Mr. Slidell failed in business, and, through the influence of Mr. Colgate, he obtained the position of president of the Mechanics' Bank, and was subsequently president of the Traders' Insurance Company. He died very suddenly of cholera in 1832. His son, John Slidell, lived in Virginia, and gained, at a later day, a very undesirable notoriety as the ambassador of the Confederate States to France. After remaining a while in the employ of Mr. Slidell, Mr. Colgate commenced business for himself in 1806 as a manufacturer of soap and candles, in partnership with Francis Smith. Their place of business was No. 6 Dutch Street, New York. During the War of 1812 the firm carried on an extensive and prosperous trade, and he found himself on the road to fortune. Mr. Smith having retired from the firm, Mr. Colgate conducted the business, which is still continued at the old place under the well-known firm name of Colgate & Co. After a life of successful business enterprise, Mr. Colgate died in 1857, and was laid to his last repose in Greenwood Cemetery. He left to his descendants not only the wealth which was the result of his commercial ability and energy, but the still richer legacy of an unblemished reputation; and all who knew him were willing to unite in the testimony that he was a man of upright life and free from guile. Like his father before him, he was a devoted member of the Baptist Church, and deeply interested in all that could increase its welfare and advance its usefulness. He married Mary, daughter of Edward Gilbert. Their children were Robert, Gilbert, Sarah (who died unmarried), James B. (of the well-known banking company of James B. Colgate & Co.), Joseph (who died in Berlin, Prussia, in 1864), Samuel (of Orange, N. J.), William (who died unmarried in 1838) and Mary (wife of Robert Colby).

Robert Colgate, the oldest of his family, and the subject of this sketch, was born in the city of New York, January 29, 1812. In his early youth he attended school at Rhinebeck during two years, and then went to Hamilton, Madison County, N. Y., where he attended an academy under the care of Zenas Morse, who held a high reputation as an instructor. Upon his return to New York, he attended the high school under the care of Daniel H. Barnes, a well-known teacher. His introduction to business was as clerk in the employ of Samuel Hicks & Sons. One of the most important episodes of this period of his life was his experience during the cholera of 1832, when he was the only one of the employees who remained at his post during that fatal time. Upon one occasion he, in company with a carman in the employ of the firm, left the building at the same time. Within four hours his companion was dead and buried; Mr. Colgate himself was seized with the disease, but fortunately survived the attack.

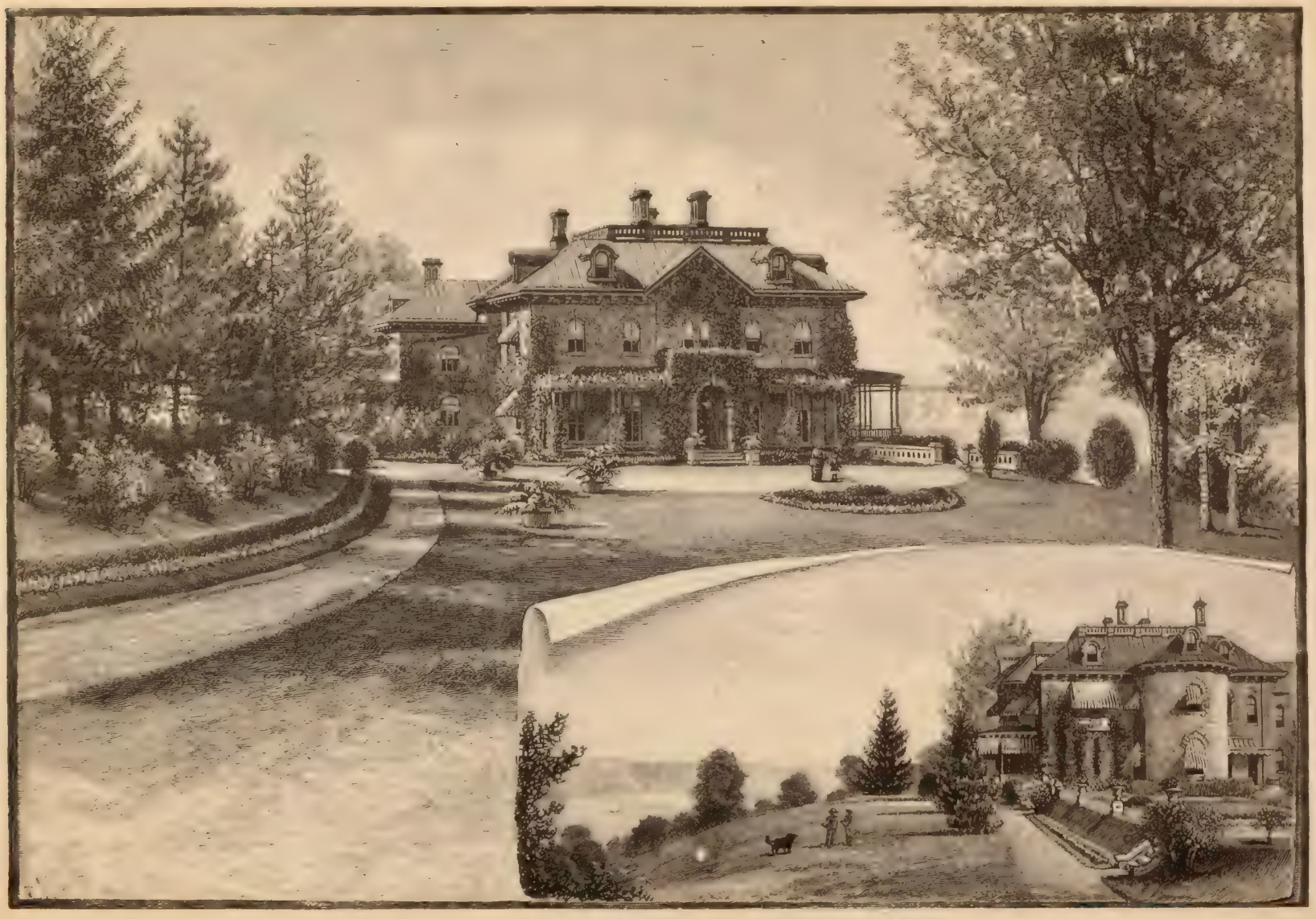
In 1833 he went into business on his own account, in company with his Uncle Charles and George P. Pollen, under the firm-name of Colgate, Pollen & Colgate, manufacturers and dealers in dye-stuffs and paints, their place of business being at 177 Water Street. In 1845 he built the Atlantic White Lead Works in Brooklyn, having previously purchased the store property at 287 Pearl Street, New York, which, at that time, was surrounded by the private residences of many wealthy and prominent citizens. To the works in Brooklyn he added the manufacture of linseed oil, and the firm, which is now known by the name of Robert Colgate & Co., are among the most extensive dealers in paint and oil in the country, and bear a high reputation in the commercial world. They have stood unshaken through all the financial reverses which have visited the city, and never failed to meet all obligations with promptness. It has always been the policy of the firm to secure the services of trusty and faithful employees and to retain them as long as they are willing to remain. As an illustration, it may be mentioned that the book-keeper, James B. Carr, has been in the employ of the firm for fifty years, and the cashier for thirty years. By a failure of health Mr. Colgate was compelled to retire from active labor many years since, but still remains at the head of the firm which has so long and so honorable a record.

About twenty-five years since, he purchased an estate in Westchester County, at Riverdale, which he has greatly improved, and under his care Stonehurst has been made one of the finest residences on the Hudson. Its elevated position commands one of the most extended views on the river, while the resources of wealth and refined taste have been joined to make it a thing of beauty.

Mr. Colgate married Cornelia F., daughter of Abner Weyman. They were the parents of two children,—Abner W. and Georgiana. Mrs. Colgate died in 1842, and Mr. Colgate subsequently married Mary E., daughter of Romulus Riggs, of Philadelphia. She died in 1865, leaving four children,—Samuel J., Alice R. (wife of John D. Wood), Robert, Jr., and Romulus R.



Robert C. Winthrop



"STONEHURST," RESIDENCE OF ROBERT COLGATE,

RIVERDALE-ON-THE-HUDSON, N. Y.



John Ewen

GENERAL JOHN EWEN.

General Ewen was a native of New York. He was educated for the profession of civil engineer, and began practice in that city before attaining his majority. At this period he surveyed and laid out, under the direction of his brother, Daniel Ewen, what was then the village of Williamsburgh, now a part of the city of Brooklyn.

Afterward he was appointed resident engineer of the New Castle and Frenchtown (Delaware) Railroad and held that position until the completion of the work, when he returned to New York and succeeded Judge Wright as chief engineer of the New York and Harlem Railroad. During his occupation of this office, which he held for several years and until the completion of the road to Harlem, Mr. Ewen was appointed by the Common Council to fill the office of street commissioner. The arduous duties of this position were so well discharged by him that he retained it for eight years—from 1836 to 1844—under successive Democratic and Whig administrations. Removed in 1844, with many other officers, by the incoming Native American Common Council, he was appointed comptroller on a change of administration in the spring of 1845, by a unanimous vote, and held that office under Democratic and Whig rule more than three years, when he resigned to accept the vice-presidency of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company. After one year he withdrew to accept a similar position in the Pennsylvania Coal Company, of which he soon after became president. To the interests of this corporation he devoted the best qualities of his head and heart, and in its service he sacrificed his health and possibly his life.

In conducting the successful defense of his company against adverse litigation, begun in 1853, continued during a period of about seventeen years and involving claims amounting to millions of dollars, Mr. Ewen displayed great ability and wonderful capacity for work. At the beginning of the litigation, perceiving that his efficiency in directing the defense would be greatly increased by his admission to the bar, he unhesitatingly undertook the study of law, which he prosecuted in season and out of season, so that in a few months he was regularly admitted to practice in the courts of this State. Availing himself of this privilege, he took testimony covering thousands of pages and made at the close an able argument, filling a large volume in itself, covering all that part of the case involving, especially, questions of civil engineering, with which he had been familiar from boyhood.

In the course of this litigation he called to his aid many distinguished lawyers, among whom may be named Messrs. Francis B. Cutting, Samuel J. Tilden, Charles F. Southmayd, John K. Porter and Lyman Tremain.

Mr. Ewen was a Democrat, and, with the exception of his vote for Mr. Lincoln, his political course was with the Democratic party. He was associated with the late Mr. Havemeyer in the city government during the first term of the latter as mayor. In addition to the civic appointments and offices of trust held by him at varied times, he also held high rank among the citizen soldiery of New York. Elected in 1836 lieutenant-colonel of the Eighth Regiment of Light Infantry, he was soon afterward chosen colonel, and in 1847 was elected brigadier-general of the Fourth Brigade. This command included, at the outbreak of the Civil War, the famous Sixty-ninth and Seventy-ninth Regiments. The former, composed almost exclusively of men of Irish birth, upon the first call for volunteers, recruited within a week a number sufficient to fill nearly seven regiments. The Seventy-ninth was made up mainly of Scottish citizens, about three hundred of whom were reported to have been stone-masons. Both regiments were engaged at the first battle of Bull Run, the Seventy-ninth carrying through the fight a silken banner presented by Mrs. Ewen.

Upon the invasion of Pennsylvania General Ewen hastened to the front in response to the call for aid, and with his command acted under the orders of General Baldy Smith until the withdrawal of the invaders. Having retired of late years from public affairs, in consequence of failing health, the result of overwork, he is less widely known to the active men of the present day than to their fathers and to those immediately interested in the corporation at whose head he had been for so many years, but these will cherish his memory as that of a good citizen, a constant and benevolent friend, a fond husband and father, an honest man.

ISAAC G. JOHNSON.

Isaac Gale Johnson was born at Troy, N. Y., February 22, 1832. His father, Elias Johnson (who married Laura, daughter of Solomon Gale, of Vermont), was a resident of Westfield, Mass., from which place he removed to Troy, and was for many years extensively engaged in the manufacture of stoves as a member of the well-known firm of Johnson, Cox & Fuller. He was the first manufacturer who used a cupola-furnace, for melting iron, north of Philadelphia, and the business of the firm assumed large proportions, the products of their works being shipped to all parts of the country, while, during the Mexican War, they furnished to the government large quantities of shot and shells.

Mr. Johnson was educated for a civil engineer and B.N.S., and graduated at the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute of Troy, N. Y., in 1848. He practiced the profession of an engineer for a short time, and then found employment from the firm of which his father was a partner. Soon after he went to Philadelphia studied chemical analysis, and took lessons in drawing at the Franklin Institute. About this time his attention was drawn to the subject of malleable iron,

and to this he devoted his time and labor, conducting a series of experiments which led to very important discoveries. The malleable iron which was produced at that time was an inferior article, no means having been discovered for making it of a uniform quality and sufficiently good to answer the many purposes for which it was required. The great object of his labors and experiments was to find some means by which articles now made by the slow process of forging could be made from cast iron. These efforts have been crowned with complete success, and bid fair to work a complete revolution in the manufacture of iron implements. In 1853 Johnson, Cox & Fuller came to Spuyten Duyvil and purchased a tract of one hundred and eighty acres of land, on the north side of Spuyten Duyvil Creek and adjoining Hudson River. Here they established a foundry and stove factory and carried on the business. Mr. Johnson, having once fairly started on his new process, pursued it with his wonted vigor. In 1861 General Delafield, of the United States army, designed the gun which bears his name. The first cannon, which were made at the famous Parrott Foundry, at Cold Spring, failed to stand the test, and burst after a few discharges. Without any knowledge of this fact, Mr. Johnson made a proposition to furnish four guns of his pattern and warrant them to stand firing one thousand rounds each without bursting. The offer being accepted, the guns were furnished, and not one failed. This not only established the fame of the inventor, but of the manufacturer as well, and sixty-four additional guns were made, which did good service in the field. Soon after Mr. Johnson entered into an agreement with the Parrott Company, and made shot and shell for them during the war. To explain the process by which the various articles are produced at the Johnson Foundry, and to enumerate them, would very far exceed our limits. It is sufficient to say that they are the results of a thorough knowledge of chemical analysis, a careful selection of materials and a skillful mode of preparation. These products are of endless variety—from the tinned handles of a milk-can (which were the first articles manufactured) to the ponderous rolls for iron-rolling mills, weighing several tons. The enterprise, which at first was carried on with the help of six men, now gives constant employment to three hundred, and the business must continue to increase as the articles manufactured are introduced to public notice.

Mr. Johnson is a Republican in politics, but his time is so fully occupied in his business affairs that he has declined all offers of public office. He is, however, the vice-president of the King's Bridge Association. In religion he is connected with the Baptist Church, and is one of the deacons of the society.

He married Jane E., daughter of Gilbert Bradley, of Sunderland, Vt. Their children are Elias M., Isaac B., Gilbert H., Arthur G. and James W. Two of these are now in partnership with their father, and their skill and talent bid fair to lead to new discoveries. It deserves especial mention that Mr. Johnson has always evinced a deep interest in the welfare of his employés, and a well-furnished reading-room affords them means for mental culture, while a well-conducted Sunday-school has a tendency to elevate their moral nature.

The manufacture of gas and steam-fittings in this establishment has been brought to such a degree of perfection that their productions can be sent to foreign countries and sold at such prices as to defy competition—a result which has been accomplished by improved methods of manufacture and without reduction of wages. Mr. Johnson is a member of the American Institute of Mining Engineers, and is deeply interested in all that pertains to scientific research.

CHAPTER XX.

WESTCHESTER TOWN.

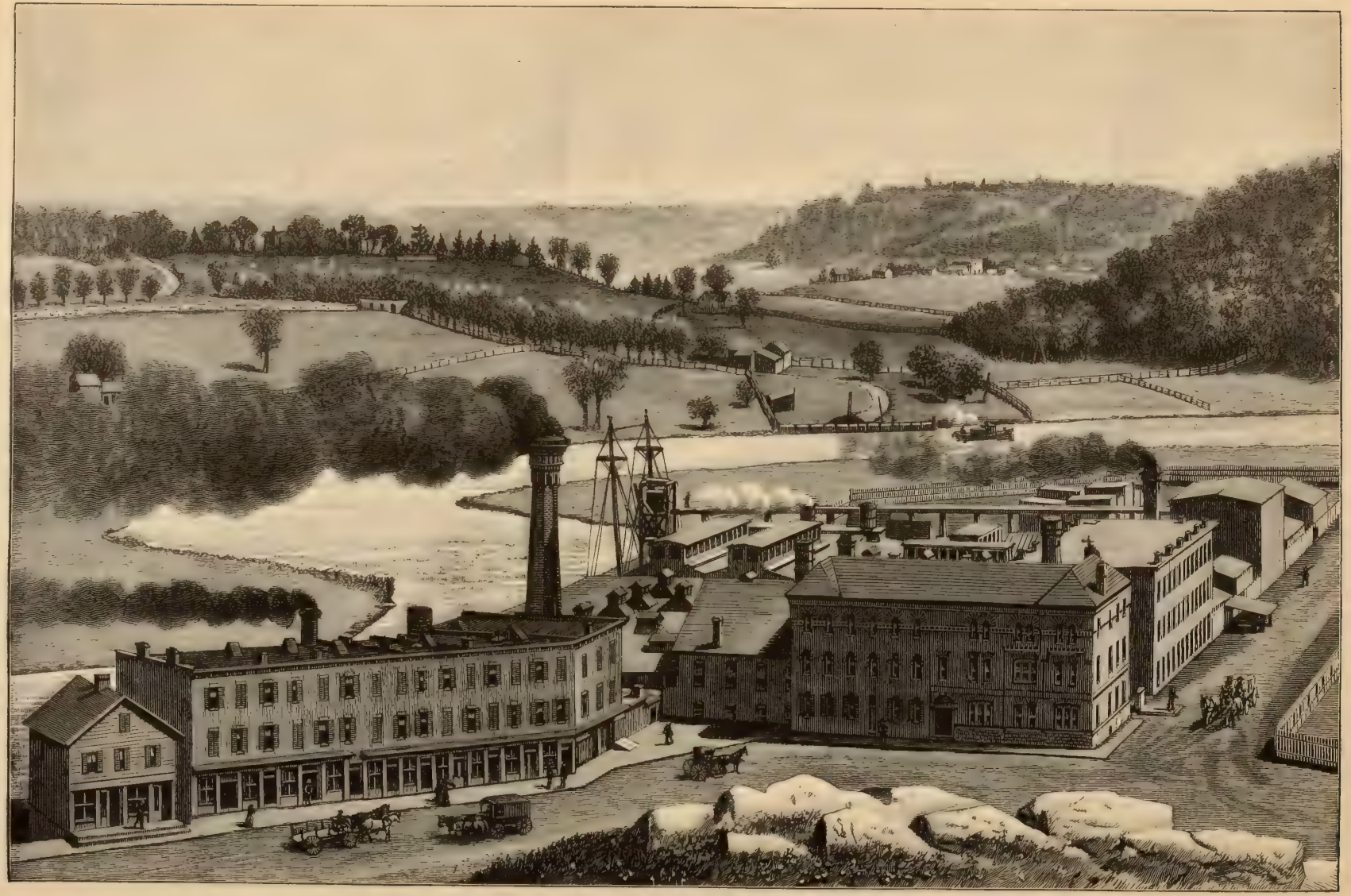
BY FORDHAM MORRIS.

From the Discovery to the Revolution.—The most celebrated of American historians says, "To the enterprise of proprietaries New Netherlands was to owe its tenants," and he lays great stress upon the fact that the Dutch West India Company insisted that the Indian title should first be extinguished before any of the Dutch settlers could obtain permanent rights in the soil.[1] Though Henry Hudson was the first discoverer of Hudson's River and Spuyten Duyvil Creek in 1609; though Adrian Block, in his yacht, the "Onrest," in 1613–14, made the first white man's cruise to the east of the ancient township that has given its name to a county; and though Christiansen had established his trading post on the site of the future Fort Orange or Albany about the same time, we have no record by government, republic or company of what was formerly known as, and still forms a part of, the town of Westchester for many years after the discovery of New Netherlands by the Dutch. The natives belonging to the tribe of Weekquaesgeeks were the sole patroons or lords of the soil, and from their movements we obtain our earliest knowledge concerning Westchester township. In 1616 all the southermost part of Westchester County and as far north as the Saw-Mill or Nepperhan River, at what is now known as Yonkers, was in possession of that tribe; and in 1626[2] one of the tribe with his nephew, crossed Harlem River and got as far south as the "Kolck" Pond, or Canal Street, on New York Island, for the purpose of trading his beaver skins. Governor Minuit's servants met them both and stole the skins and murdered the uncle. The

[1] Bancroft's "United States," vol. ii. page 42. Little & Brown's Ed.
[2] Broadhead, page 74; Schoolcraft, page 101.



Edward D. Adams



ISAAC G. JOHNSON & CO.'S WORKS,

NEW YORK.

young savage escaped, but swore he would revenge himself on the Dutch.[1 2 3]

In 1640 the progress of enterprising settlers of New England along the shores of Long Island Sound awakened the fears of the governing powers in New Netherland and Director Kieft dispatched his faithful secretary, Van Tienhoven, to purchase the Archipelego at Norwalk, or islands at the mouth of the present Norwalk River, *together with all the adjoining land*, "and to prevent any other nation from encroaching on our limits." These instructions were accomplished and the West India Company obtained the Indian title to all the lands between the Norwalk River and the North River.[4] In the previous year Van Tienhoven witnessed another Indian transfer to the West India Company of Keskeskeck which also covers by its description the town of Westchester.[5]

Within this grant was included the town now described as Westchester. The present limits (1885) are, on the north Pelham or East Chester Bay, and a line extending in a westerly direction to Bronx River; the East River and the beginning of Long Island Sound form the south and east boundaries, and Bronx River is its western boundary; but, originally, Westchester township consisted of all that portion of the southern part of Westchester County which was bounded on the north by Pelham Bay, East Chester, and Yonkers; its west, south and east boundaries were Harlem River, Harlem or Bronck's Kills, the East River and Long Island Sound.

About 1639–40 one Jonas Bronck or Bronx arrived from Hoorn, in Holland, in the ship "Fine of Tray." Bronck was of Swedish extraction. His last European residence was in Amsterdam, and there he married Antonia, daughter of Juriaen Slagboom. Enterprise and discovery was then the fashion in Europe, and from interviews with persons familiar with the New Netherland discoveries, he became informed of its fertility, and with his family, farmers, female servants and cattle arrived in July, 1639, at New Amsterdam. He purchased from Ranachqua, or Ranaque, and Taekamuck, Indian chiefs, a tract of five hundred acres, "lying between the great kill" (Harlem River) and the "Ahquahung," (Bronx) part of which is now included in Morrisania. Here he erected a stone house covered with tiles, a barn, tobacco house and two barracks.[6] From the old map of Bronxland on file in the office of the Secretary of State at Albany, it appears that Bronx's house was situated not far from the present depot of the Port Chester Branch Railroad, and from the inventory of Bronx's estate it is quite certain he was a gentleman of learning and refinement, for he had in his library books written in several languages, used silver on his table and had napkins and table-cloths, and as many as six linen shirts.[7] The books were, many of them, religious. He undoubtedly believed that cleanliness and godliness were twin sisters.

Bronx was hardly settled in his new quarters at Emmaus, as he piously termed it, before an Indian war broke out. The young Weckquaesgeek who had witnessed the killing of his uncle by Minuit's servants had attained manhood. Claes Smits, a harmless Dutchman, had built a small house on the East River near Harlem, on the Manhattan side, now One Hundred and Twenty-third Street, near the river. He was a wheelwright by trade. The young savage came one day and offered to barter some beaver skins for duffels, and while Smits was stooping over the chest in which he kept the goods the Indian killed him with an axe, plundered the house and escaped with his booty into Westchester.



Governor Kieft demanded satisfaction from the tribe; the sachem refused to give him up and soldiers were sent to arrest him, but they failed to do so.[8] The prudent burghers of New Amsterdam were opposed to a war, and the director very wisely saw that if one was begun he would have to bear the blame. He therefore sought counsel of the community, and the twelve men, from whom, by the charter of the company, he was directed to ask advice agreed that Smits' murder should be avenged, but they thought that "*God and the opportunity*" should be taken into consideration and that the director should make the necessary preparations. They advised that trade and intercourse with the savages should in the meantime be maintained and no hostile measures should be adopted against any one but the murderer until the hunting season was ended, and then it would be proper to send out two parties, one from the Sound or East River side and the other from the Hudson

[1] 1 Broadhead, 167.
[2] De Vries' "Voyages," 164, Journal Van New Netherland.
[3] Hall Docs., iii. 105, v. 314.
[4] 1 Broadhead, 296.
[5] N. Y. Col. Docs., xiii. 5.
[6] Riker and N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. xi. 102.
[7] N. Y. Col. Docs., xi. 102.
[8] 1 Broadhead, 316, "Doc. History N. Y.," iv. 8, 9.

River side to surprise them. It was also suggested by the *twelve men* that the director should "*lead the van*," but that in the meantime a shallop should be three times sent to demand the murderer.[1] Kieft would not listen to this wise counsel; by private colloquy with each of the *twelve* he tried to advise them to sanction a war, but they voted to await the arrival of the next ship from Fatherland.[2] A treaty of peace was finally made with the Indians at the house of Jonas Bronx's[3] in 1642, and in 1643 Jonas Bronx, probably the first white settler in Westchester town, died at his home, and his estate was administered upon by friends at Harlem[4].

Everardus Bogardus, the Dutch minister in New Amsterdam (husband of the far-famed Anneke Jans) and Jochim Petersen Keyser, or Kuyter, of Harlem, made up the inventory of his estate. His widow was present, as was also his son, Peter Bronx, and from him are descended a numerous family settled at Albany since that time.[5]

About the time of Bronx's death some persons from New England settled on what is now known as Throgg's Neck or Throgg's Point, the extreme eastern part of the township. This locality was called by the Dutch Vreedelant, or the "free land," owing to the fact that New Englanders, to escape intolerance in their own settlements, persecution for witchcraft, Quakerism and other offenses came to this region to enjoy civil and religious liberty, guaranteed to all persons who chose to come under the dominion of the Dutch West India Company. In the permission to settle there given by Director Kieft to John Throckmorton and his associates the territory is described as along the East River of New Netherland, "being a piece of land surrounded on one side by a little river and on the other side by a great kill, which river and kill on high water running to meet each other." This description covers the present Throgg's Neck or everything east of Westchester Creek and west of East Chester Bay. Throckmorton and his associates, however, had but a short enjoyment of their new homes. The treaty of peace signed at Bronx's house was of no avail. The Indians were committing depredations, and Director Kieft, with the assistance of a council of only eight men, this time determined on an Indian war. As large a force as the good burghers of New Amsterdam could afford to pay for was promptly enlisted, good and fitting ordinances against taverning and all other irregularities were "ordained," and, possibly to prevent such worldly practices, a week's preaching was ordered. Captain John Underhill, a hero of the Pequod War, was placed in command of the expedition.

Either by reason of the delay in recruiting or the week's preaching, or some other misfortune not mentioned in the documents of that date, the troops took the field too late, and were unable to repel an attack made by the Weckquaesgeeks, who, at Pelham Neck, or, as it was then known, Annie's Hoeck, murdered the celebrated refugee Ann Hutchinson, and destroyed houses and cattle. Thence they went to "Vreedelandt," where such of the Throckmorton or Cornell families as were at home were murdered and the barns and houses burned. A boat landing there about that time, some of the women and children fled on board, but eighteen persons were massacred.

This raid seems to have extended a considerable distance. Westchester was laid waste and Long Island was almost cleaned out of inhabitants and stock. The *eight men* of New Amsterdam wrote a pitiful tale to the Most Worshipful Directors of the West India Company, saying: "Famine stares us in the face. Not a plough can be put in the ground. This is but the beginning of our troubles."[7]

The southwest part of Throgg's Neck, or Pilot's Point, and the old Ferris place, as now known, in the possession of the Ferrises, Mr. Zenega, Jacob Lorillard and others, was granted to Thomas Hunt about 1686.[8] Farther west were Willett's and Cornell's Necks, called Black Rock. This latter extended westerly to the Bronx, but did not include that part of the township which formed the borough. In 1663 that portion of the original town west of the Bronx, including the present village of West Farms, Hunt's Point and as far west as Leggetts Creek, vested by purchase from the Indians in Edward Jessup and John Richardson. Bronx's land evidently lay between Bungay and Cromwell's Creeks. Devoe's Point, or Daniel Turneur's land, now forming the point between Cromwell's Creek and Harlem River south of High Bridge, purchased originally in 1671 by Turneur from the Indians, and Archer's patent, also an Indian purchase, formed the northwest corner of the territory.

The method pursued by the West India Company

[1] 1 Broadhead, 318, "Doc. History," v. 326, 329.

[2] 1 Broadhead, 319.

[3] 1 Broadhead, 330.

[4] Riker's "History of Harlem," 158–59; vol. xi., N. Y. Col. Docs., 44.

[5] Tuentje or Turnje Juriansen was Bronx's widow. Her name would hardly be recognized to day as the synonym of Antonia Slagboom; but Turnje is the Dutch nickname for Antonia, and as her father (Slagboom) was baptized Jurian, she was Turnje, the daughter of Jurian, and so called, though to-day she would be Mrs. Bronx. After Bronx's death she married Arendt Van Corlaer, the sheriff of Rensselaerwick, and on July 10, 1651, Van Corlaer sold Bronx's land to Jacob Jans Stoll. In 1662, Matthias de Vos, as attorney for Geertruit Andries, the widow of Van Stoll, conveyed it to Geertrieu Hendrick, the widow of one Andries Hoppen, and she, on the same day, with the consent of her husband, Dirck Gerritts Van Tright, sold to Harmann Smeeman, who, on the 22d of October, sold the same to Samuel Edsall, a beaver-maker, of New York City, who held it until 1668–70. Edsall was a useful man. In the exercise of his business he had considerable intercourse with the Indians, and learned their language. We find him on several occasions, at Fort Amsterdam and elsewhere, acting as an interpreter. He removed from Bronx land and finally settled in New Jersey.

[6] 1 Broadhead, 366 and 367, and Docs. quoted. O'Callaghan's "History New Netherlands," 258. Bolton's "History Westchester," vol. ii. page 264. Alb. Records, G. G., 98. N. Y. Col. Docs., xi.44. N. Y. Col. Docs., xi. 102.

[7] Bolton's "Westchester," vol. ii. page 269. Mr. Bolton gives in his history a copy of the original deed. Albany Records, vol. ii. page 79.

in the first planting of settlements was as follows: The company, at their own cost and in their own ships, conveyed the farmers (*boors*, *bauers*) to the new country. The tenant was granted a bouerie, or farm, for a term of years, and was to clear the land. The company furnished a house, barn, farming implements and tools, horses cows, sheep and pigs, in proportion to the acreage. The farmer had the use of these animals for the term, and on its expiration he was to return to the company the number of domestic animals he had received, he to keep part of the increase. The company, for several years from its outset, distributed its live-stock among those farmers who had not the means to buy. All risks of the cattle dying were shared between the company and the farmer. By this process the boors, in a few years, managed to amass sufficient money and cattle to enable them to purchase lands from the company or some patroon. Under the private proprietors the method was somewhat similar. The proprietor gave permission to his tenants to clear the land and plant crops on it, but they were obliged to break up new land after the land already cleared had been in use by the tenant for the number of years specified in the lease.

The landlord had the option to determine what land should be cleared and planted. He rarely received a money rent, but got his land back in his possession, cleared and prepared for agricultural purposes. Sometimes the landlord would furnish horses and cattle to the tenants. Many of the tenants were persons whom the landlords had assisted to emigrate by advancing their passage money, and they would pay that back whenever they had the ready means, either in cash or in crops. Tobacco and wheat were the principal crops.[1]

In 1654–55 some New Englanders settled at or near Westchester without Stuyvesant's permission. On the 19th of April, Van Tienhoven, the Fiscal, issued a writ commanding Thomas Pel, or whomsoever else it might concern, to cease from trespassing and to leave the premises, and intrusted the writ to Claes Van Elslaut, the court messenger, and promptly on the 22d Claes arrived at the new village which was building at Vreedelandt. Four armed men came to meet him at the creek and demanded what he was after. Elslaut asked, "Where can I land near the houses?" The reply was, "You shall not land." The messenger said, "I am cold, let me land," and he sprang ashore. Albert, the trumpeter, was with him, and both were placed under guard by the settlers and told not to advance a foot. The commander of the party advanced with a pistol in his hand and with eight or ten men following. The faithful messenger did his duty; he read the protest or warrant and handed it to the leader, who said, "I cannot understand Dutch; why did not the Fiscal send it in English? If you send it in English, then shall I answer in writing." He added, "But that's no matter; we expect the ships from Holland and England which are to bring the settlement of the boundary. Whether we are to dwell here under the States or the Parliament time will tell; furthermore, we abide here under the States of England. If we had a sup of wine we should offer you some, but we have not any."

They then discharged their guns all round. Elslaut tried to see their houses and fixtures, and also the Parliament's arms, which the English said were hung on a tree and carved on a plank, but the people left the messenger standing in a hut on the shore well guarded by men. The messengers were finally permitted to return and Van Elslaut made his report.[2]

Such treatment roused the indignation of Stuyvesant. On the 6th of March, 1656, he and his Council instructed Captain Frederick de Conninck with Captain Lieutenant Brian Nuton and the Fiscal, Van Tienhoven, to proceed to Westchester or Ostdorp by night with a detachment of soldiers and take possession of the houses of the Englishmen, and direct them to remove with all their movable property and cattle; they were to proceed against them by force, if necessary, and the houses were to be demolished. A lieutenant—Wheller or Wheeler—seems to have been the principal man at the settlement, which, according to Van Tienhoven's account of the population, consisted principally of fugitives, vagabonds and thieves, who, on account of their bad behavior in New England, had fled to Westchester. The expedition ordered on the 6th reached Westchester on the 14th of March, and were met there by the people, who had drawn up in line under arms, and showed themselves unwilling to remove, saying that the land belonged to them. Captain-General Conninck deprived them of their arms and took twenty-three of them prisoners, and brought them to New Amsterdam on the ship "de Waagh." Only a few, with the women and children, were left behind to take care of the goods. The wives of the captives, however, plead for their husbands' release, and the soft-hearted Governor and Council finally resolved to release the prisoners after they promised, under oath and over their signatures, to remove from Vredelandt and out of the province within six weeks, and not to come back without the consent of the Dutch government. The prisoners were also required to pay the expenses of their apprehension.[3] The petition of the captives, though quaint in language, is almost pathetic. They beg that the Governor and Council will be pleased to take into consideration the humble request of the poor and humble petitioners, and that "whereas, it doth appeare" that the government does make claim to the place where they were settled, they state that they are willing to submit themselves unto the government of the Netherlands, so long as they continue within that jurisdic-

[1] N. Y. Col. Docs., xiii. 5.

[2] N. Y. Col. Docs., xiii. 36.

[3] Idem, 65.

tion, provided they be allowed to choose their own officers for the enforcement of laws which may be made for the good of the township. Their petition was granted and on March 16, 1656, they were allowed to depart for Vredelandt and also to nominate a double number of officers, subject to the approval of the Director-General and Council. They at once organized and elected Lieutenant Thomas Wheeler as their magistrate, and his selection received the sanction of the director on the same day. Some of the party, however, were ordered to leave the province unless they gave bail for good behavior.[1]

In 1655 another Indian war broke out. The savages came down the Sound in their canoes as far as Hell Gate, and Peter, the chimney-sweep of New Amsterdam, was taken prisoner. Captain Nuton was directed to caution the people in the country to keep together and not wander far from the plantations.[2] The New Englanders settled at Westchester were suspected of having entered into a conspiracy with the Indians so as to throw off the Dutch yoke, and they were also in constant correspondence with the English authorities in Connecticut. This settlement was called by the Dutch "O'ostdorp," and the insubordination of its inhabitants was a constant annoyance to Stuyvesant.[3][4] The Dutch West India Company also expressed its disapproval of the course the New Englanders were pursuing with reference to Ostdorp, or Westchester village, and their wicked attempts to "purloin it."[5]

Van Couwenhoven made a report to the Governor and Council that, on the 15th of March, 1664, an Indian named Hiekemick came to his house and told him that the Esopus and Wappinger Indians were ready for an insurrection, and that the English at Westchester had promised that they would first conquer Long Island and then the Manhattans, but that the Indians must help them. The Indians said that they were willing, but the thrifty New Englanders asked, "When you have done it, how much land shall we have then?" The land at Esopus was promised if the English would help them kill the Dutch. The Indians made another visit to Westchester and tried to consummate the bargain, but were answered, "It cannot be done at present, as our Sachem (evidently meaning Lieutenant Wheeler) has made an agreement with Stuyvesant for a year." After some unsuccessful palaver the Indians left, saying, "It is better to make peace with the Dutch; the English are only fooling us."

But the inhabitants of Westchester did not feel satisfied under the Dutch rule, and in the following August of 1664 informed the commissioners of Her Majesty's affairs in New England of their arrest by the Dutch and the hardships they had to endure in the hold of a vessel and in a dungeon at the Manhattoes; that the sole cause of their arrest was that they opposed the Dutch title to the lands; that after their release some of their companions were driven away and the residue were enslaved. This was undoubtedly an allusion to the compulsory visit Wheeler and his friends made some years before to New Amsterdam.[6]

But Stuyvesant's contests with and suspicions of the unruly New England settlers at Westchester were soon ended. Charles II., of England, in March, 1664, liberally presented to James, Duke of York, the whole colony of New Netherlands, with other possessions which he never owned. In August Colonel Richard Nicolls, with his English squadron and New England soldiers, captured the city of New Amsterdam, and in September, 1664, we can imagine that Wheeler and his fellow-citizens in Westchester village rejoiced in godly New England style over the downfall of the valiant Dutch Governor, Petrus Stuyvesant, and the accession of James, Duke of York, and his Governor, Nicolls, as lord proprietor of New York and Westchester township.[7]

FORDHAM AND THE FERRIES.—West of Bronx River are the regions formerly known as the Manors of Fordham and Morrisania and the West Farms Patent, and lately as the townships of West Farms and Morrisania. The early history of Fordham and Morrisania is closely allied with that of Harlem, and many of their first settlers came from the latter village. In 1658 the director-general and Council passed an ordinance at Fort Amsterdam for the promotion of neighborly correspondence with the English in the north, and as a practical measure for the closer communication of the two peoples, they authorized the establishment of a ferry with a suitable scow near Harlem, besides promising, that a good wagon road should be built from Fort Amsterdam to Harlem by the company's negroes as soon as the population of the latter had increased to twenty or twenty-five families.[8]

The promised ferry and road remained only a project in the minds of the Dutch authorities, but nevertheless many of the Harlem people were attracted to the main land and some cultivated boueries or farms in the neighborhood of Bronxland and Spuyten Duyvil. Nicolls, the new English Governor, a man of enterprise and tact, who paid much attention to developing the settlements and obtaining the good will of the Dutch, in 1666 granted a charter to the inhabitants of Harlem, which, among other things, provided for "a ferry to and from the main which may redound to their particular benefit," and authorized them "at their charge to build one or more boats for that purpose fit for the transportation of men, horses and cattle, for which there will be such

[1] N. Y. Col. Docs., 67.
[2] N. Y. Col. Docs., xiii. 43; Laws of New Netherland, page 198.
[3] N. Y. Col. Docs., xi. 550.
[4] Idem, 527, 529.
[5] Holland Docs., ii. page 219.
[6] N. Y. Col. Docs., xiii. 363, 392.
[7] 2 Bancroft, 69 (Little & Brown's ed.).
[8] Riker's "History of Harlem" is the source from which most of the information in the following pages is derived.

a certain allowance given as shall be adjudged reasonable." About this time it was found by the Harlem people that as there was a convenient fording-place at Spuyten Duyvil, a good road should be made to Harlem and a good ferry established over the river; so, on January 3, 1667, at a meeting of the mayor and magistrates, it was determined that the Harlem people should make one-half the road from Harlem to the Manhattans and that Spuyten Duyvil "be stopped up"; that like care be taken for a suitable ordinary (tavern) for persons coming and going; and the mayor, Captain Delaval, promised the nails and the making of a scow, on condition that the ferryman should repay him when required to do so.

Johannes Verveelen agreed to take the ferry and the ordinary for six years. He was duly sworn to provide lodgings, victuals and drink for travelers, but to tap no liquor for the Indians; he was also allowed to have six extra feet to his lot of land in Harlem, as he was cramped for room, and must make convenience "for his ordinary." Travel toward Westchester and the eastward gave a new spur and energy to Harlem. Verveelen fitted up his ordinary and provided the boats, and his lusty negro, Matthys, was placed in charge. People enjoyed the hospitality of the inn on their way to and from Bronxside, and their cattle were safely ferried across at the following rates: "For one person, four stivers, silver money; for two, three or four, each three stivers, silver money; for one beast, one shilling; and for more than one, each ten stivers silver." Riker locates the inn and ferry at the north side of One Hundred and Twenty-third Street, three hundred feet west of First Avenue. It would seem that the worthy inn-keeper and ferry-master was not always observant of the excise laws. He thought that as he was put to some expense *pro bono publico* in keeping up the ferry, he should not pay the excise fees, and the mayor and alderman thought there was sufficient equity in his claim, for, on the 3d of July, 1667, an agreement was made between them that he should have the ferry for five years, provided he keep a convenient house and lodging for passengers. He was also given about an acre on Bronxside, and a place to build a house on. At what point this was located the present historian can not decide. At the end of five years the ferry was to be farmed out, but during that time he was to pay nothing for it, and in case the ferry should be let to another, the house was to be valued as it stood, and Verveelen was to be paid for it. Then the rates of ferriage were fixed thus: For every passenger, two pence silver or six pence wampum; for every ox or cow that shall be brought into the ferry-boat, eight pence, or twenty-four stivers; cattle under a year old, six pence or eighteen stivers wampum; "*all cattle that are swum over*" paid but half-price. He was to take from every man "for his meal, eight pence; every man for his lodging, two pence a man; every man for his horse shall pay four pence for his night's hay or grass, or twelve stivers wampum, provided the grass be in fence." Government messages between New York and Connecticut were free. In consideration of his having to build a house on both sides of the ferry, the Governor freed him from paying any excise "for what wine or beer he may retail in the house" for one year from the date of the agreement.[1]

In October, 1667, Governor Nicolls granted a patent to the inhabitants of Harlem. Thomas Delaval, Daniel Turneur, John Verveelen and others were the first patentees. He also granted to them four lots of land on the mainland numbered one, two, three and four, near Spuyten Duyvil. He also granted to the people of Harlem, Stony Island, or that part of Morrisania now known as Port Morris.[2] The people at Harlem, though they had passed resolutions to stop the passage at Spuyten Duyvil, found that it was no easy matter to do so. The fence was thrown down and the cattle from the island forded over to the main. The location of this fording-place is at the island in front of the residence of Joseph H. Godwin, at King's Bridge. John Barker from Westchester, in spite of the ferry regulations at Harlem, had swum a large number of horses and cattle across at Spuyten Duyvil. Verveelen, the ferry master, made complaint to the Mayor's Court of the city of New York, and judgment was rendered that Barker pay the ferry master for all horses and cattle which had been "conveyed by him over the Spuyten Duyvil whilst the ferry has been at Harlem," which money the ferry-master was ordered to apply to the repair of the fences at Spuyten Duyvil.

In the meantime John Archer, of Fordham, and the people at Harlem were disputing over the lands and meadows at Spuyten Duyvil.[3] Like the other large proprietors, he leased his lands in parcels of from twenty to twenty-four acres to such persons as would clear and cultivate them. The tenants also had a house and lot each in the village, so that in 1668--69 a goodly number of Harlem people went to reside on Archer's property. The village was located very near the present settlement of King's Bridge near to the "fording-place" in Spuyten Duyvil Creek, and hence is derived the name of Fordham—ford, a fording place; ham, a mansion.[4] But Nicolls had granted the Harlem people four lots on the main-

[1] Riker's "Harlem," page 269.

[2] N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. xiii. 421.

[3] Archer had years before bought from the Indians a large tract, now known as King's Bridge, Fordham, High Bridge and Belmont, and extending as far north as Williams' Bridge. His nationality is disputed. Bolton says the family was of English origin. Riker says his name was Jan Arcer, *alias* Neuswys, and that he came from Amsterdam. At this time (1668) he had lived in Westchester a dozen years, having married a woman from Cambridge in 1659, and hence the Dutch Arcer or Aarsen may have become anglicized into Archer. Riker, who had access to the original records of Harlem, saw his signature, and says it was invariably Jan Arcer. The author of this chapter has also seen it written the same way. He was also called "Koop al," the Dutch for "Buy all," and Riker suggests that he was a shrewd fellow and had an eye to business.

[4] Bolton's "Westchester."

land and Archer's cattle trespassed on the Harlem lands. The cattle were seized and a complaint made against Archer to the new Governor Lovelace. This was in 1668–69. Archer said he did not claim the lots but that he had purchased the lands adjoining from the Yonker Vander Donck, and he was ordered to bring in his patent to show by what right he had the land where he had built.

In the meantime viewers were appointed to see the meadow and make report how it could be preserved from trespass, and were also directed to examine the passage at Spuyten Duyvil, with a view to its being made more convenient for passengers and the "drift of cattle," as the ferry at Harlem was found incommodious and did not answer the ends as formerly intended.

About this time Daniel Turneur, one of the original patentees of Harlem, who claimed title by an Indian deed of several years earlier date, was permitted by Governor Nicolls to settle on some eighty-one acres of land on Harlem River, which lay between Archer's land and Bronck's land, bounded on the east by the Maeneppis Kill, or Cromwell's Creek. The construction of Sedgwick and Central Avenues has almost effaced the northern boundary corners of this tract, but it comprises within its limits the high lands between the Harlem River and Cromwell's Creek, now called Devoe's Point, the Devoes being descendants of a daughter of Turneur. The small stream, which formerly emptied into Harlem River just south of High Bridge, was the north bounds, and then it ran west across to Cromwell's Creek to a point not very far north of the present road-house tavern on Central Avenue, known as Judge Smith's. Turneur was a man of parts, and not only a very important person at Harlem, but also frequently acting as arbitrator for the people of Fordham and others in the vicinity.

On February 27, 1669, Governor Lovelace sent a communication to the mayor and aldermen of Harlem to the effect that, as the Harlem Ferry was to be abandoned, and Verveelen had represented that such abandonment worked a hardship to him, as it closed out his unexpired five years' contract, he referred the question to them. On March 2d the Harlem officials concurred in the change of the ferry "to the wading-place," and recommended that Verveelen be appointed ferry-master for three years, he to give an account of the annual income of the ferry. On the same day Lovelace ordered Verveelen to proceed to Spuyten Duyvil and build a fence so as to keep all manner of cattle from going or coming to and from the passage without leave or paying therefor, and to lay out a place at Paparinamin on the main land near the passage, for his habitation and the accommodation of travelers. A lease was made between Governor Lovelace and Verveelen, dated July 15, 1669, settling the ferry "at the place commonly called Spuyten Duyvil, between Manhattan Island and the new village called Fordham." Verveelen was to erect "a good dwelling-house on the island, or neck of land called Paparinamin, where he was to be furnished with three or four good beds for the entertainment of strangers, and also with provisions at all seasons for them, their horses and cattle, together with stabling." He was to have "a sufficient and able boat" for the transportation of the same, and the pass upon the island near to the Spuyten Duyvil was to be sufficiently fenced in with a gate, which was to be kept locked so that no person should pass in or out without his permission. He was to bear one-third of the expense of making the bridge over the meadow land to the town of Fordham, and the town was to bear the remainder. Verveelen, or his deputy, was to be in attendance at all seasonable hours, and in cases of emergency where public affairs were concerned, he was to be ready at all hours when called upon. Penalties and the mode of inflicting them were provided for, and in consideration "of the well execution of his office," he was to receive an allotment of the entire neck or island of Papparinamin, whether encompassed with water or meadow land, and also a piece of meadow ground adjoining to it as laid out by Jacques Cortilyou, the surveyor.

The island or neck and the ferry franchise was to vest in Verveleen, his heirs and assigns, for their use and benefit for eleven years, beginning on November 1, 1669. Verveleen was also appointed constable of Fordham, which village was to have its dependence on the Mayor's Court of New York, as the village of New Harlem also had, but they could try all small causes under five pounds among themselves, as was allowed in other Town Courts. After the expiration of the eleven years Verveelen had the first proffer to continue as ferryman, or, in case he was dead, his nearest relation or assign should have the preference. A clause was inserted as to repairs and good condition of the property and boats at the expiration of the term, and he was obliged to receive all passengers, whether afoot or on horseback, horses and cattle for lodging, diet, feeding, passage or ferrying, according to the ferry rates.[1] Persons on government business were to pass free, and also such persons as, upon any "emergent or extraordinary occasion," should be summoned to appear in arms. On days for holding fairs, all droves of cattle and horses were free during the time of keeping the fair, and also a day

[1] The rates of ferriage, board and lodging were prescribed as follows:

"For lodging any person, eight pence per night, in case they had a bed with sheets; and without sheets, two pence in silver.

"For transportation of any person, one pence in silver.

"For transportation of a man and a horse, seven pence in silver.

"For a single horse, six pence.

"For a turn with his boat, for two horses, ten pence, and for any more, four pence apiece; and if they be driven over, half as much.

"For single cattle, as much as a horse.

"For a boat-loading of cattle, as much as he hath for horses.

"For droves of cattle to be driven over and opening ye gates, two pence per piece.

"For feeding of cattle, three pence in silver.

"For feeding a horse one day or night with hay or grasse, six pence."

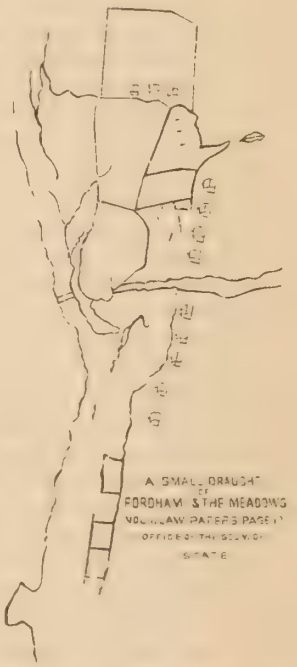
before and a day after its expiration. The quit-rent which Johannes had to pay for this franchise to the Duke of York was ten shillings. This ferry was just north of what is now known as Godwin's Island, but the location of the inn is uncertain.

Verveelen was soon settled at Spuyten Duyvil, where, in addition to his duties as ferry-master, he was appointed constable. William Betts, Sr., and Kier Walters, a tenant of Archer's, were appointed overseers and assistants by the Governor. The next year (1670), Verveelen began "the making of a bridge over the marsh, between Paparinamin and Fordham.

It seems that William Betts, George Tippett and John Hedger (Heddy), who lived some distance from the town of Fordham, proposed to the Governor that if they were excused from their proportion of work in making the causeway, they would make a bridge at their own charge over Bronx River, on the road leading to East Chester, which they said was also very necessary. Debate was had on this proposition in the Governor's presence at Fort James, Tippett, Betts and Hedger being present and also divers of the inhabitants of Fordham. The people of the town other than the three offered to help build the bridge over the Bronx "after ye causey shall first be finisht" as the causeway would be a difficult job the governor, finding that the proposition of the three townsmen tended to greater expedition in both works, ordered that the three persons would first join the rest of the town of Fordham in making the causeway, and that afterwards they all should join in making a convenient bridge over the Bronx. The latter was to be provided with a gate on the East Chester side, so as to keep the "Hoggs" from coming over, and the people of Fordham, in consideration of their assistance, were to have the right of passing over the ferry free of charge, so long as Johannes Verveelen or his assigns enjoyed the ferry under the foregoing agreement. We may safely conclude that this order in Council was the first legislation ever made as to Williams' Bridge. The *causey* or causeway must have been somewhere near the present route of the depot road to King's Bridge. The Farmers' Bridge is of later date, and the destruction of everything in the neighborhood by the retreating Americans and the British during the Revolution changed the whole aspect at Fordham or King's Bridge.

On May 3, 1669, Governor Lovelace gave leave to John Archer to settle sixteen families on the mainland, "near the wading-place," and ordained that whatever agreements Archer should make with the inhabitants as to their proportions of improvable lands and hamlets, he would confirm, but postponed prescribing the limits of the settlement until he had made a visit to the place, and then he promised a patent for their further assurance.

From February 12, 1669, to October 11, 1671, the records at Harlem show that Archer, the owner of the soil about Fordham, had leased most of the farms to several parties, but in 1671 his leases provided that the rent should be payable to Cornelis Steenwyck, of New York. Archer had, on September 11, 1669, given a mortgage on his lands to Steenwyck for eleven hundred guilders in wampum. He gave another mortgage to Steenwyck in 1676, but in the mean time, in order to get rid of continual interferference by the Harlem magistrates, he obtained from Governor Lovelace a patent for his lands, which were purchased by him from Doughty and the Indians. It is difficult to trace, from the description, the exact bounds, but, after a careful study of the territory and the description, the tract seems to have been bounded as follows: It lay on the eastward of Harlem River, near unto the passage commonly called "Spiting Devil," upon which "ye new Dorp or village is erect-



ed, known by the name of Fordham." (The accompanying map of the village of Fordham is referred to, and it seems, from the best authorities which can be obtained, that the ancient village was located somewhere near the present King's Bridge depots of the New York Central and New York City and Northern Railroads, as now situated.)

The language of the documents is "ye utmost limits of the whole tract of land, beginning at the high wood land." This was probably the hill up which the Boston road now runs, for Lovelace had already granted the meadow about Paparinamin to Verveleen, the ferryman, and he would not, of course, make another grant to Archer. Thence the north line ran, substantially, as the south line

of the former town of Yonkers ran east to the Bronx; while, from the ancient map and the location of the houses upon it, the village street ran north and south, substantially as the present highway runs, and part of the village was in Yonkers and part in West Farms. The Doughty purchase, by Archer, only applies to lands in Yonkers. All that he owned in West Farms he purchased from the Indians, but he very wisely had both included in Lovelace's patent. His nickname of Koopal (buy all) was very appropriate.

The patent recites that as John Archer had, at his own charge and with good success, begun a township in a convenient place for the relief of strangers, it being the road for passengers to go to and fro from the main, as well as for mutual intercourse with the neighboring colony, and in order to encourage Archer in the prosecution of his design, he (Lovelace) grants to Archer all the said land, and that the same should be an enfranchised township, manor and place of itself, and enjoy all the privileges and immunities which any other town in the province had, free from any dependence on any other riding, township, place or jurisdiction. It was to be ruled by the Governor and his Council and the General Court of Assizes only, but the town was to send forward to the next town or plantation all public packets and letters and hues and crys coming or going from or to any of His Majesty's colonies. The Governor further granted that when there should be a sufficient number of inhabitants in the town of Fordham and in the manor capable of maintaining a minister and to carry on public affairs, the neighboring inhabitants between the Harlem and the Bronx should be obliged to contribute towards the maintenance of the minister and other public charges. Archer's holding was to be for himself, his heirs and assigns forever, in as large and ample a manner as if he held immediately from the King, "as of the Manor of East Greenwich, in the County of Kent, &c., &c., by fealty only yielding, rendering and paying yearly and every year unto His Royal Highness, the Duke of York, and his successors or his governors duly constituted, as quit-rent, twenty bushels of good peas upon the first day of March when demanded." The patent was dated at Fort James, November 13, 1671, and also marked "Done at Fort William Hendricke on the 18th October, 1673."[1]

Though full-fledged lord of the Manor of Fordham, Archer still agitated the question of lots one, two, three and four at Spuyten Duyvil, and to quiet all trouble, Governor Lovelace, on November 9, 1672, made the following order: "Whereas the meadow ground or valley by the creek beneath, the town of Fordham, at Spuyten Duyvil, is claimed by some of the inhabitants of New Harlem, but is at so great distance from them and lying unfenced and so near the town of Fordham that those of Harlem can receive little or no benefit thereby, as the inhabitants of Fordham cannot avoid being daily trespassers there if the property should still continue to Harlem, to prevent all further cavils and contests and also to encourage the new plantation at Fordham, as well as in compensation to those of Harlem for their interest which they shall quit at Spuyten Duyvil," he promised that some convenient spot being found at or near Bronxland, he would grant and confirm the same unto the persons concerned, provided it did not greatly prejudice the rest of Bronxland when it should be settled. He referred the matter to Daniel Turneur, David des Marest (Demarest) and John Archer for examination and report.[2]

Archer did not live long in harmony with the population of his manor, and in 1669–70 they forwarded to the Mayor's Court in New York a complaint that he had undertaken to govern them by "rigour and force;" that "he had been at several times the occasion of great troubles betwixt the inhabitants of said town;" and they "humbly desired relief and the protection of said court." Both parties were heard by the court, which ordered Archer "to behave himself for the future, civilly and quietly, as he will answer the same at his peril." But as the Fordham community was evidently difficult to govern, it was further ordered that minor causes between them should be decided at Harlem, by the Fordham magistrates, with the assistance of two of the magistrates of Harlem, unless the Fordham people would pay the Harlem magistrates for coming to their town, and holding court there. On September 8, 1671, no less than four cases were brought against Archer. David Demarest sued him for mowing grass on his meadow at Fordham; Martin Hadewin, of Fordham, sued him for breaking down his fences; Marcus de Souchay (now Dissoway), for throwing his furniture out of doors; and Verveelen had a suit against him on general principles, as it would appear.

The cattle were allowed to run at large, each man having his own brand and all herding together. John Tippets, residing near Spuyten Duyvil, had killed some hogs which were not branded, and the constables and overseers of the joint courts of Harlem and Fordham met to determine who owned the hogs. John Archer, as usual, was interested; he claimed the hogs on behalf of the Duke of York. The Governor, it seems, had once reproved Tippets for having an unlawful mark for his cattle, which was, to cut their ears so short that "any other marks may be cut off by it." Elizabeth Heddy, Benjamin Palmer and Jan Hendricks proved that Tippets owned a litter of pigs, "the which were gray, red, spotted and white." The result of this important trial is not known, but thereafter the Fordham people were compelled to keep their cattle on the main, and the in-

[1] This latter date was undoubtedly a confirmation of the patent under Colve's short interregnum.—Bolton's "Westchester," vol. ii. page 505; Land Papers, Albany, vol. iii. page 127 *et supra*.

[2] Riker's "History of Harlem," page 387.

stitution of town branders for cattle was established. The same practice prevailed in Westchester, on the east side of the township, as much space in the early records is given to the recording of the various brands for cattle, sheep and hogs which each farmer recorded.

The manor being established, shortly afterwards (April 25, 1673) Governor Lovelace authorized the establishment of a court, to be held there quarterly, and, on the nomination of Archer, appointed John Ryder, steward of the manor, as president of the court, with the constable of the place and one or two of the "discreetest" of the inhabitants as assistants. The court had jurisdiction in all matters of debt and trespass between the landlord and his tenants, and between one tenant and another. It was held at Archer's house. About this time Verveleen, Archer's enemy, must have been displaced as constable, as we find Richard Cage to have succeeded him.

In the mean time, under the English rule, the territory east of the Bronx was in the jurisdiction of the West Riding of Yorkshire, or Long Island, and the people attended the courts there, while the Fordham people had their court at Fordham and Harlem. On December 28, 1665, Governor Nicolls informed the inhabitants of Westchester that he would defer the laying out of the town in metes and bounds until they informed him as to every man's estate there, so that the whole could be equally divided into lots in proportion to each man's assessed valuation. Thomas Pell endeavored to prevent the granting of a patent to the people of Westchester, but the lawsuit that he had had a few years before with Cornell, relative to his grant, was treated by Nicolls as a good precedent. About the same time a delegation went from Westchester to an interview with the Governor's secretary about the division of the land, and the Governor directed that they should divide the meadows as they pleased, but observing the order made by Mr. Delaval and Mr. Hubbard. They were to have as much of Mrs. Bridge's meadows as Delaval and Hubbard ordered, but they were not to meddle with the forty-two acres, by Rattlesnake Brook, claimed by the Ten Farms (East Chester) which were to remain to the use of the families settled there, and to be concluded thereby and bounded by the brook. Every one hundredth estate was to have six acres, and every two hundredth estate eight acres of good meadow land lying most convenient for each lot, but no further division was to be made, the remainder of the land being left in common for the encouragement of future settlers. The meadow ground of the Ten Farms was between Hutchinson's River and Rattlesnake Brook, and the reservations made as to territory included what is north of the East Chester line. On March 1, 1664–65, a meeting of deputies was held at Hempstead, Long Island, at which Westchester County was represented by Edward Jessop and John Quimby, and the former served on the Committee of Differences between the towns.[1]

THE WESTCHESTER PATENT.--On February 13, 1667, Governor Nicolls, evidently perceiving the folly of having Westchester a portion of the Long Island jurisdiction, granted to the people the first patent of Westchester. The boundaries were, on the west the Bronx River, on the south the Sound or East River, on the east Ann's Hook or Pelham Neck, and on the north "into the woods without limitation for range of cattle." The grantees were John Quimby, John Ferris, Nicholas Bailey, William Betts and Edward Walters, for and in behalf of themselves and their associates and the freeholders and inhabitants within the town of Westchester. He also gave them all the rights and privileges of a township, and provided that the place should be called Westchester.[2]

On November 3, 1667, Westchester was in arrears for her share of the taxes levied for building a sessions-house for the riding. William Hallett, the contractor for building the court-house, was appointed collector, and the town was ordered to pay its proportion in coin or in default to be fined five pounds.

During the brief restoration of the Dutch, beginning with July 30, 1673, they made new laws and granted new ground briefs or patents to those who swore allegiance to their government. Westchester township, both east and west of the Bronx, was compelled to bow to Governor Colve. On August 13, 1673, he and his Council summoned Oostdorp, or Westchester, to send their deputies to Fort William Hendrick, together with their constables, staves and English flags, and they would, if circumstances permitted, be furnished with the Prince's colors in place of the British ensigns. On August 21st the deputies delivered their credentials[3] and offered to submit to the Dutch, and to report to the Council the names of the persons whom they had nominated as magistrates.

The next day they delivered up the flag and the constables' staves, and having joined in a respectful petition of submission, they were granted the same rights and privileges as the Dutch inhabitants, and pardoned for their past errors in coquetting with the English, with the warning however, that in future they should demean themselves as loyal subjects. On August 30th the Council appointed as schepens or

[1] It must be remembered that east of the Bronx, Westchester belonged to the Long Island jurisdiction, while the section west of that river owed allegiance to the Harlem and New York City authorities.

[2] The records of this ancient borough are now on file, in excellent condition, in the office of the register of the county. They are too extended for quotation in this history, but the writer suggests that some patriotic citizen of the old township will add to our documentary history by contributing to the New York or Westchester Historical Society funds sufficient to have them properly edited, as the old records have been in other parts of this country by other societies.

[3] Bancroft, vol. ii.; also N. Y. Hist. Doc., 573, ii. 580–581, 621–622.

magistrates Joseph Palmer and Edward Waters, who were sworn in on the following 2d of September, and on the 1st of October provisional instructions were issued for the government of the magistrates. They were to take care that the Reformed Christian religion should be maintained in uniformity with the Synod of Dort. Jurisdiction in cases not involving over sixty florins beaver was given to the magistrates, from whose decision no appeal could be taken. Between that sum and two hundred and forty florins beaver an appeal would lay to the sheriff and Councilors, and above two hundred and forty florins the appeal was to the Governor General and his Councilors, who also had jurisdiction of criminal cases; but it would seem that criminals in the first instance could be proceeded against by information, and that the schout and schepens—or sheriff and justices, as we would denominate such officials—had the right to issue warrants or citations. Smaller offenses, such as quarrels, abusive words, threats, fisticuffs and such matters, were left to the jurisdiction of the village magistrates. The sheriff and schepens had power to make ordinances for the peace and welfare of the inhabitants of their districts, regulate highways, set off lands and gardens from the government grants, regulate the branding of cattle and erection of fences, enforce the observance of the Sabbath and superintend the building of churches, school-houses and other similar works. They were particularly instructed to ordain against fighting and wrestling, and the sheriffs were cautioned that the places under their charge were to be "cleansed of all mobs, gamblers . . . and such like impurities." The sheriff and schepens nominated a double number of persons for magistrates, to be presented to the Governor, who made his election therefrom. The latter, however, reserved the power to continue some of the old ones in office in case he deemed it necessary. The magistrates he recommended should be "the best qualified, the honestest, most intelligent and wealthiest inhabitants." He also required them to be of the Reformed Christian religion or at *least well affectioned thereunto.*

On September 8, 1673, one Jonathan Silck (or Sellick), of Oyster Bay, came into the Council and asked that he might have an old ketch which was laying sunk in Westchester Creek,[1] for which he agreed to pay something, and, after considerable higgling, it was agreed that the ketch could be had for sixty beavers, thirty in cash and the residue in cattle, for which Captain Sellick gave security. The Council confiscated the ketch, called the "Rebecca and Sarah," of twelve lasts burthen, and of which William Merritt was the late skipper; and, as she was the property of the enemies of the Dutch—Captain Delaval, the English mayor of Harlem—she was declared to be a lawful prize.

Archer (of Fordham), of course, was in trouble with the new government. At a council held at Harlem on October 4, 1673, the Governor-General and Cornelis Steenwyck (his secretary) being present, the inhabitants of Fordham appeared and complained of the ill government of their landlord, John Archer, and asked that they might be allowed to nominate their own magistrates. Archer was present and voluntarily declared that he would desist from the government and patroonship of the town, but reserved to himself the property and ownership of the lands and houses there. The Council accordingly gave authority to the people of Fordham to nominate, by plurality of votes, six of the best qualified persons in the town (exclusively of the Reformed Christian religion) as magistrates. From those nominated the Governor was to make selection, and he recommended that half, at least, of those nominated should be of Dutch nationality. Archer's troubles did not end here. At the suit of Thomas Gibbs and John Curtis execution was allowed to issue against his personal property. On the 15th of June, in the same year, Archer and his ancient enemy, John Verveelen, the constable and ferryman at Spuyten Duyvil, had some trouble about the town-books of Fordham, and Verveelen (who had, in the meantime, been promoted from the more lowly position of constable to that of schout—sheriff) was directed by the Governor to hand over to Archer the books and *protocols* properly belonging to him.[2]

We now leave Fordham and go back to the eastern or Sound side. On December 24, 1673, Roger Tounsen (Townsend) complained to the Governor-General and Council that the people of Westchester were doing great damage to his lands and cattle. The matter was referred to Schout William Lawrence and Mr. Richard Cornwel (Cornell), who, at Townsend's expense, were ordered to inspect the premises, to hear the arguments of parties and, if possible, "to reconcile parties." Should they fail, a report was ordered to be made to the Governor. The sheriff and Mr. Cornell never reported till the following 8th of March. It seems that the arbitrators went to the town, but no one appeared in its behalf. The Governor and Council made an order that Townsend and the magistrates, on the sight of the order, appear, either in person or by attorney, at a place to be fixed by the arbitrators, who were requested *de novo* to examine and, if possible, decide the case and reconcile the parties—otherwise, to report. A reconciliation was effected.

MORRISANIA.—Meantime one of the most prominent personages in Bronxland was Richard Morris, a captain in Cromwell's army and later a merchant in Barbadoes, who had moved to New York and, for his own and his brother Lewis' account, purchased a plantation at Bronxland from Edsall.[3] He and his wife, a Miss Pole, from the West

[1] Holland Docs., ii. 606.

[2] Idem. ii, 625. Idem. ii. 709, 721.

[3] See preceding note on Bronxland for earlier titles.

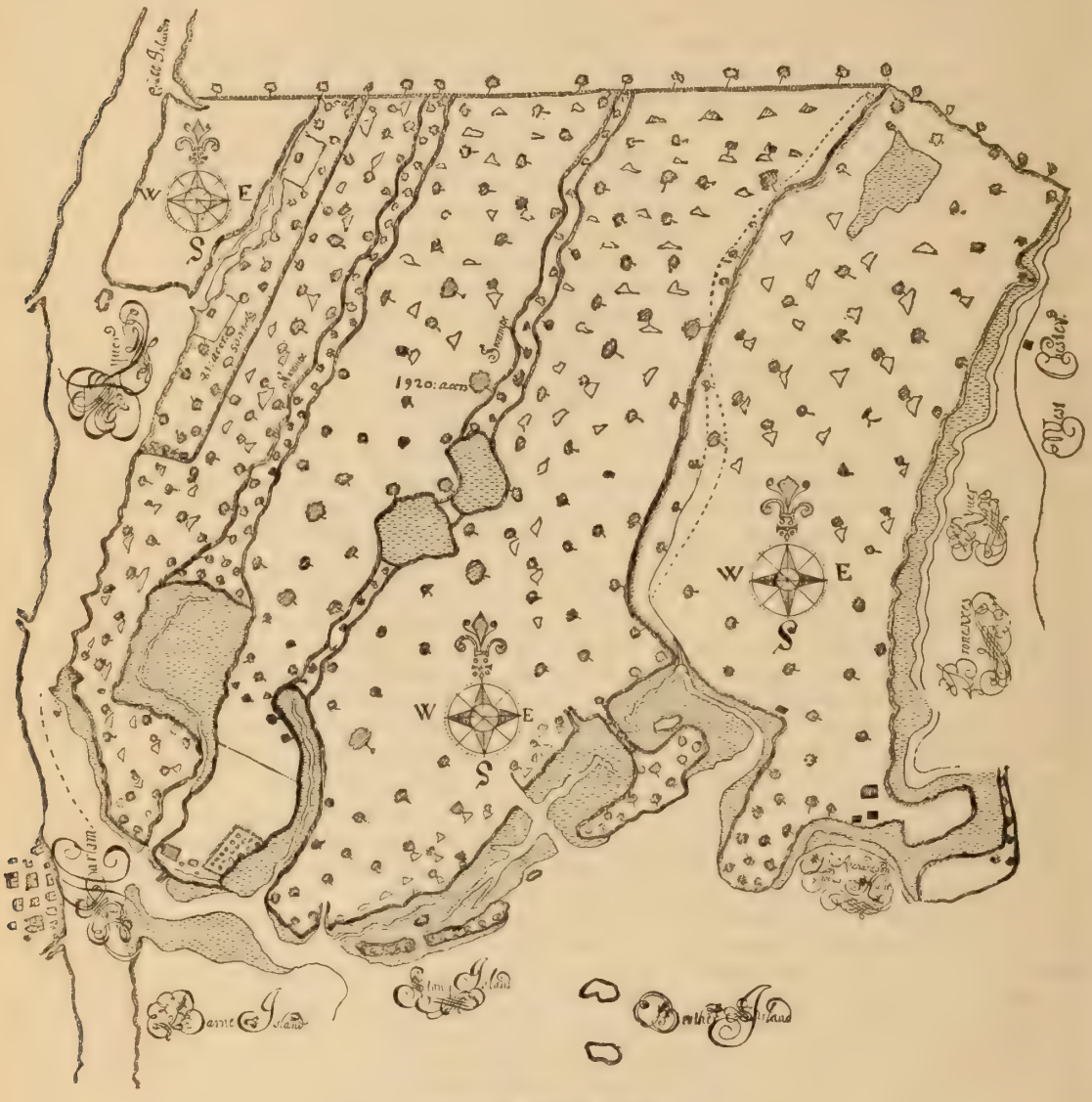
Indies, settled upon it, and to them was born a son Lewis. Richard and his wife died in 1672, and the infant was left alone on the plantation with no one to care for him but the negro slaves and a nephew of his father's, a Mr. Walter Webley. The Dutch had repossessed the colony, and the estate of a wealthy retired English merchant offered spoils that Governor Colve did not overlook. His government called upon the orphan masters to summon the nephew Webley and the curators of the estate of Richard to appear before them and require the administration of the estate and as soon as possible to make a report on it.[1] Webley, an English subject, kept out of the way and removed the removable part of the estate as well as he could out of the conqueror's clutches. He feared the new government, but was soon given a free pass and the assurance that his possession of the estate of his cousin as administrator would not be disturbed, and that all the government wanted was to confiscate the share of the estate which belonged to his uncle, Lewis Morris, of Barbadoes. This latter gentleman, a Quaker in religion, though one of Cromwell's old soldiers, had also arrived in the province, but wisely kept himself out of government reach until he could arrange about the estate. The government found that Col. Morris, being a citizen of Barbadoes, was not, under the terms of capitulation, entitled to the same liberal terms as British subjects of Virginia or Connecticut, and they also found that the infant only owned one-third of the estate and the uncle Lewis owned two-thirds. Hence his two-thirds was liable to confiscation.[2] Balthazar Bayard was therefore appointed to take charge of the two-thirds of the estate which belonged to the government and John Lawrence, Stephanus Van Cortlandt and Walter Webley, the nephew, were appointed administrators of Richard's one-third for the benefit of the infant Lewis.[3] The uncle Lewis, however, with all the shrewdness of a Quaker and the tact of an old soldier, for a time kept in hiding,[4] but after arranging in some way with the government, was finally made administrator of his brother's estate and afterwards guardian of the person and estate of his infant nephew.[5] He must have finally made a good impression upon Governor Colve, for he was granted the entire estate, buildings and materials thereon, on a valuation to be made by impartial appraisers for the benefit of the minor child;[6] but Colve, like a true soldier, who respected the rights of the commissariat first and the vanquished afterwards, "*appropriated*" (*due regard being had of course to the infant's interests*) all *the fat cattle, such as oxen, cows and hogs.* Lewis, the elder, thus became possessed of Bronxland.

It seems that, this matter being settled, he returned to Barbadoes for the purpose of closing up his business on that island, but left his nephew, Webley, in charge of the estate in New York.[7] The young ward's movable property had been scattered far and wide,[8 9] but Webley attended to getting things together. Colonel Morris returned to New York in 1675, and in 1676, the English having in the mean time recaptured the province, Governor Andros granted to Lewis, the elder, a confirmatory patent of Bronxland and some "addicional lands" adjacent thereto, not included in any patent.[10 11] Under this grant Colonel Morris became seized of a tract of land containing some nineteen hundred acres. It was bounded on the north by a line which, if extended east from Judge Smith's tavern, on Central Avenue, to the road south of the Home for Incurables, would be the north line; on the south and southeast, the Harlem River; on the west, Cromwell Creek; and on the east, the Hunt and Richardson patent, mentioned elsewhere. By reference to the map it will be seen that this patent covered more than the original grant to Jonas Bronck. Colonel Lewis Morris, the elder, settled and resided on this estate until the time of his death.[12] He seems to have been a friend of Governor Andros, having entertained him at his house and also accompanied him on the special expedition when Andros visited Carteret to arrange about the settlement of the government in New Jersey after the accession of James, Duke of York, to the throne of England.[13] He was a sympathizer with the government, and against Leisler during the Leisler Rebellion, and his house at Morrisania was used as the exchange for the governmental secret correspondence rendered necessary at that time. On one occasion the government post-man, who had stopped at Morris' house, was captured about a quarter of a mile from it by some of Leisler's men, and the mail taken from him and examined by the insurrectionists.[14] Before coming to America, Colonel Morris commanded a troop of horse in Cromwell's army, and on the Restoration went to Barbadoes. While there he participated in some of the English campaigns against other islands, and received the commission of colonel. He was also a member of Governor Dongan's Council from 1683 to 1686, and died in 1691. His will is of record in New York County.

Lewis, the nephew, had in the mean time grown to man's estate and succeeded his uncle as heir-at-law, and next of kin, as well as under his uncle's will. On the 6th day of May, 1697, Governor Benjamin Fletcher confirmed to him the grant made by his predecessor, Andros, to his uncle and also erected the lands into a lordship or manor by the name and title of the Lordship or Manor of Morrisania, in the county of Westchester. The patent grants the same

[1] N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. ii. 599.
[2] Idem, 617.
[3] Idem, 651.
[4] Idem, 684.
[5] Idem, 632.
[6] Idem, 637.
[7] Idem, 637.
[8] Idem, 638.
[9] Idem, 634.
[10] Book of Patents, vol. iv. page 99.
[11] For boundaries of this patent, see map attached to this article.
[12] N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. ii. page 682.
[13] N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. xiii. page 542.
[14] N. Y. Col. Docs., iii. 682.

lands as those mentioned in the earlier patent, to the uncle Lewis. The grantee had full authority to hold and keep a Court-Leet and Court-Baron, and to issue writs thereout. The lord of the manor had jurisdiction over all waifs, estrays, wrecks, deodands, goods of felons happening and being forfeited within said manor; he also had the patronage and advowson of



MAP OF BRONX NECK.
Boundaries of the Patent to Lewis Morris in 1675.

all churches erected or to be erected in the manor. The tenements (tenants) were to meet together and choose their own assessors; the land was to be held in free and common soccage, according to the custom of East Greenwich, and the rental was payable on the fast day of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and amounted to six shillings per annum.

Lewis Morris was a remarkable man, and the first native-born chief justice who filled the Supreme Court bench in New York. In his early youth he was wild, and gave his stern and rather straight-laced uncle and guardian much trouble. A zealous and pious Quaker who was his preceptor, one day, while engaged in silent meditation in the woods, heard, as he supposed, a voice from heaven, telling him to go and preach the gospel to the Indians. The voice was that of young Lewis, who had climbed a tree in the vicinity. The good man really thought of obeying the divine command, but he was told the truth just before his departure on his holy mission. Lewis at one time left his uncle's roof and wandered off, depending entirely on his own resources. He first went to Virginia and then to Jamaica, supporting himself

by working as a copyist. He returned in time to his uncle's roof, and in November, 1691, married Isabella Graham, daughter of James Graham, the attorney-general. His uncle, in addition to his property of Morrisania, had acquired a large tract of land in Monmouth County, New Jersey, and young Morris interested himself much in public affairs in that province. In 1692 he was a judge of the Court of Common Right in East Jersey, and also had a seat in the Council of Governor Hamilton. He had taken up his residence at Tintern, in the county of Monmouth, where, it is stated was established the first iron-mill in this country.[1] In 1698 Jeremiah Basse, having been appointed Governor of New Jersey, and a dispute having risen as to Basse's authority, Morris ranged himself with those who would not acknowledge it.

Morris was turned out of the Council and was also fined fifty pounds for contempt of the Governor's authority. On the return of Hamilton to the Governorship, in 1700, Morris was made president of the Council. While in the Council he came to the conclusion that the proprietary government of New Jersey was impracticable, and advocated a surrender of the governmental functions of the proprietors to the crown. He succeeded in securing the co-operation of the proprietors to this end, and he then embarked for England to complete the measure. In 1702 the instrument of surrender was delivered to Queen Anne. Almost immediately afterwards Mr. Morris returned to America and was nominated as Governor of New Jersey, but the English government having changed its plan, and determined that New York and New Jersey should both be governed by one executive, though having two Legislatures, Colonel Morris' name was withdrawn. Lord Cornbury was made Governor of both provinces and arrived here in 1703. Morris had been recommended to him as a proper person to take into his Council. He was duly appointed and not only became a prominent member of the Council, but also the special opponent of the Governor. Cornbury removed him from the Council in 1704, but though reinstated by order of the Queen, he was again suspended in the following year. In 1707 he was a member of the General Assembly, and he, with Gordon and Jennings and the other members of the opposition, passed a resolution preferring to the Queen complaints against Cornbury's administration.

This representation had a good effect in England, for in 1708 Morris was again appointed to the Council, Cornbury having been superseded by Lovelace; but on Lovelace's death and Ingoldsby coming into power, Morris, who did not agree with the latter, was again suspended. In 1710, Robert Hunter being made Governor, Morris was again at the head of the Council.

He at that time took a very active part in the business of New York. He was a warm supporter of Hunter's administration, and on one occasion, while a member of Assembly, was expelled from the House for his violent language in support of the Governor. He was then a member-elect from the borough of Westchester, but was re-elected by his constituents. He was appointed chief justice of New York in 1720 by Burnet, Hunter's successor, and continued as such through Burnet's and Montgomerie's administrations. Montgomerie died in 1731, and after his death and until the arrival of Cosby, in 1732, Morris acted as Governor of New Jersey, still retaining his position of chief justice in New York. On the accession of Cosby Morris' relations to the government changed and he was suspended from his office as chief justice by Cosby after having served as such for twenty years. The immediate cause of his suspension was his opposition to the views of his associate judges in relation to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in equity cases. Cosby and Rip Van Dam had a controversy before the Supreme Court involving their respective rights to the remuneration received by the latter as acting Governor during the period which elapsed between the death of Montgomerie and the arrival of Cosby. Morris decided in favor of Van Dam. Cosby was much displeased with the opinion, and on the Governor demanding a copy of it, Morris had it printed and sent to him with a letter which was decidedly discourteous to the Governor. Cosby removed him in 1733 and appointed James De Lancey as his successor. This De Lancey was the father of De Lancey of De Lancey's Mills, at West Farms. For note as to De Lancey family see supra.

His removal, however, made him more popular with the people. The county elected him at once to the Assembly, and the borough of Westchester elected his son Lewis. On his visiting New York salutes were fired in his honor, and deputations of citizens met and conducted him with loud acclamations to a public and splendid entertainment. Cosby's administration was so distasteful to his opponents that, in 1734, they determined to lay their grievances before the crown, and Morris was selected as the messenger to go to England for that purpose. He laid the case before the Privy Council, and obtained a decision pronouncing the Governor's reasons for his removal as chief justice insufficient, but his mission was otherwise unsuccessful. Cosby died in 1736, and Morris returned to America. He received an ovation on reaching New York. In 1738 he was appointed colonial governor of New Jersey, and continued as such until 1746, when he died. His remains were buried at Morrisania. By will he gave all that part of the Manor of Morrisania that lay to the eastward of Mill Brook, to his eldest son, Lewis Morris, and that to the west of Mill Brook, which he called Old Morrisania, to his wife during her life, and on her death to his son, Lewis, during his life, with power to dispose of the same by will. His son, Robert

[1] Papers of Governor Morris—New Jersey Historical Society (William A. Whitehead, editor).

Hunter Morris, then chief justice of New Jersey, received his father's New Jersey property.

Governor Morris's widow died in 1752, and we thus find her son Lewis possessed of all the manor.

Lewis Morris, the third proprietor, was born in 1698. He resided at Morrisania, and was twice married, his first wife being a Miss Staats, and his second a Miss Gouverneur. He was several times a member of the Colonial Assembly, was also judge of the Court of Admiralty, and at one time was judge of the Court of Oyer and Terminer. He died in 1762. His issue were numerous; by Miss Staats he had Lewis, afterwards the signer of the Declaration of Independence, who commanded the Westchester militia during the Revolution, and married Miss Mary Walton. He died in 1798. His second son, Staats Long Morris, was born in 1728. He held a commission in the British army as lieutenant-general, and remained in England during the American Revolution. He married the widow of Lord George Gordon. Richard, the third son, was born in 1730. He was a graduate of Yale College, and a lawyer by profession. He was admitted to the bar in 1752, and in 1762 was appointed judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty. In 1775, having sided with the colony, he resigned his commission. Tryon, the royal governor, requested him to continue in office, but his answer was that he could not sacrifice his principles to his interest. Special orders were given by Tryon to take possession and then to burn his country seat at Fordham. The estate was devastated and Mr. Morris took refuge within the American lines. On July 31, 1776, the New York provincial Assembly unanimously appointed him Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, but he courteously declined the office. In 1778 he was made a senator and in 1779 Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State, succeeding John Jay, who had been made Chief Justice of the United States. He was a member of the State Convention which ratified the Federal Constitution and in 1790 resigned his office as Chief Justice and retired on his farm at Scarsdale, in Westchester County, where, on April 11, 1810, he died. He married Miss Sarah Ludlow and by her had two sons and one daughter. They were, Lewis R. Morris, who afterward resided in Vermont and during the Revolution was an aide-de-camp to General Sullivan and after the war a member of the House of Representatives; Robert Morris, who finally settled on the family estate at Fordham; and Mary, who married Major William Popham, of Scarsdale, who served as brigade-major during the Revolution and was for many years clerk of the Court of Exchequer of this State. The fourth son of Lewis Morris the third was Gouverneur, son of Mr. Morris' second wife, Miss Gouverneur.

Gouverneur Morris was born in 1752, graduated at Columbia College, in May, 1768, and commenced the study of the law, under the direction of William Smith, one of the most eminent lawyers and afterwards chief justice of the colony of New York. He was admitted to the bar in 1771, and joined with the liberal or anti-governmental party almost on the occasion of his becoming a member of the profession. We find from Sparks' life and letters of Gouverneur Morris, that, though only a lad of twenty-three years of age, he was elected from Westchester County a member of the Provincial Congress of the colony of New York in 1775. At that early age he possessed the ability to advocate the issuing of a Continental currency, and the eloquence and knowledge of his subject to convince his hearers to such a point that it was recommended to the Continental Congress for adoption. He did not at that time give up the hope of harmonizing the differences between the mother country and the colonies, for he had a mother who deeply sympathized with the royalists and relatives who were in the employ of the government, but he never forgot the rights of the people of the colony. He was one of the committee who, on behalf of the colony, received General Washington when he passed on his way through New York to assume the command of the Continental troops at Boston, already standing in an hostile attitude before Gage and Howe at that city, but at the same time he counselled that all due respect should be paid to Tryon, the Colonial Governor, at New York until the reconciliatory overtures of the New York Congress had been acted on by the home government. But, in the same year, and only a few months later, the course of events drove him forever to the American side. The Declaration of Independence had been adopted by the Continental Congress and Morris's half-brother Lewis was a Representative of New York in that body. All the other States had signed; New York held back for the reason that her delegates had not, under their appointment by the Provincial Legislature, any authority to sign. Gouverneur Morris, on the floor of the State Legislature, then showed by a masterly argument why for their security the States must declare their independence of foreign rule and our Colonial Legislature after the passage of the Declaration ordered Lewis Morris and the other representatives of that colony to append their signatures to it.

But he had still valuable duties to perform for his native colony, not yet a State. His aged mother had two daughters married to Royalists, and a third had just died. Gouverneur, while serving in the State Congress at Fishkill, received news of his sister's death. His letter to his mother, given at length by Mr. Sparks, is one of the most touching expositions of a struggle between patriotism and filial and fraternal love. He could not leave his post of duty, though he acknowledges it to be his mother's wish that he should. His affection for his mother and sister were unbounded, but his duty was paramount because he found himself in a position where it was the obligation of every good citizen to remain, where, by a superior order he was placed. He adds: "What may be the event of the present war is not in man to

determine. Great revolutions of Empire are seldom achieved without much human calamity; but the worst which can happen is to fall on the last bleak mountain of America; and he who dies there in defence of the injured rights of mankind is happier than his conqueror, more beloved of mankind."

To him, as chairman of a committee of finance was referred the question as to how the sinews of war should be provided by the colony for the support of the troops in their Continental struggle. Later on we find him as one of the Committee of Safety in the north woods, advising with Schuyler as to the means of checking the advance of Burgoyne from Canada. In 1777, with Jay and the others of our State's forefathers, he joined in formulating the first Constitution of the State at Kingston.

To him belongs the honor of having at that early day suggested a constitutional provision for the abolishment of "domestic slavery," but he was voted down. To him and Mr. Jay, both Westchester County men, also is due the honor of that clause in the State Constitution which guarantees to all denominations the full exercise of their religion. Though Mr. Jay added the clause: "provided the liberty of conscience hereby granted shall not be construed to encourage licentiousness," Gouverneur Morris added the clause which was adopted: "or justify practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of the State." He was elected to the Continental Congress in 1777, but did not take his seat till January, 1778.

Though then but twenty-seven years of age his reputation had preceded him, and he was immediately appointed on a committee to confer with Washington as to the practical method of putting the army on a better footing. Three tedious months were spent by Morris in the camp at Valley Forge, drafting, with Washington and other members of the committee, plans for the proper regulation of the army, its quartermaster, commissary and medical departments. To him is largely due the formulation of the organization of those important branches. No sooner was that work completed than the British Commissioners, sent out by Lord North, began their negotiations with Congress with a view to harmonizing the differences. Morris was on the committee which conferred with them. About this time he was again embarrassed by the ties of home influence. He had not seen his paternal home nor any of his relatives since the British had taken possession of New York. His mother resided within the British lines. His enemies used these facts against him. His letters to his mother passed through the enemy's hands, and that fact was also urged against his loyalty to the American cause. But, while he wrote dutiful letters to his mother, he received none in reply. In one letter to his mother he is very outspoken, both in his affection for her and the cause which he championed, but which his mother did not approve of. He says: "I know that for such sentiments I am called a rebel," and that "they are not fashionable among the folks you see." He expresses love for some of his relatives, who are sympathizers with the British.

In this connection it may be well to note that before the close of the war, his mother was dangerously ill. He obtained permission to visit her through the British commander at New York; but the newspapers took the matter up. They censured the project unless he went inside the enemy's lines clothed with some governmental mission. He was forced by the advice of his friends to forego the visit. About this time he printed his "Observations on the American Revolution," which were published in London.

Dominie Tetard, of New Rochelle, having instructed the boy Morris in the French language, the latter was selected by Congress as the proper person to confer with M. Geraud, the French minister, with a view to drafting the instructions for Benjamin Franklin, the first American minister to France. In 1779 he took a prominent part in the debates in Congress with reference to the terms of peace with Great Britain, which were then under discussion, and was also chairman of the committee which had that matter in charge. But his labors in national affairs were so extensive that he was charged with neglecting his duties to his State, and in 1779–80 he was not returned as a member from New York. During the time of his service as a Congressman, though serving as chairman of three committees and performing the duties above referred to, he was forced to practice his profession, as his pay as a Congressman was not sufficient for his living expenses. Not being returned to Congress, he practiced law in Pennsylvania, but still manifested a great interest in public affairs. In February and March, 1780, he wrote a series of essays on finance. In May of the latter year, he was thrown from his carriage and sustained a fracture of his left leg and a dislocation of his ankle joint. Amputation was ordered by the surgeons and Mr. Morris is said to have borne the pain manfully. The amputation is now cited by medical authorities as being a mistake in surgery and as having been unnecessarily made.

As an illustration of his good nature and the philosophy with which he bore the infliction, it is related that a pious friend who called upon him to offer his condolence, also informed him that the accident was a blessing in disguise, as it would diminish the inducements for seeking the pleasures and dissipations of life, and give him ample time for pious meditation. Morris replied: "My good sir, you argue the matter so handsomely, and point out so clearly the advantages of being without legs, that I am almost tempted to part with the other." In the house at Morrisania, built by Mr. Morris in later years, are still to be seen the imprints of his wooden stump made by him in going up and down stairs. To another friend he said: "Oh, sir, the loss is much less than you imagine; I shall doubtless be a *steadier* man with one leg than with two." In 1781 Robert

Morris, superintendent of the finances, appointed Gouverneur assistant superintendent, at the enormous salary of eighteen hundred and fifty dollars per annum. He served in that capacity for nearly three years. He also acted as one of the commissioners for the exchange of prisoners of war in 1782. In 1783–84 he returned to New York, the treaty of peace having been signed, and visited his mother at Morrisania after an absence of nearly seven years. The estate had suffered much by the depredations of the troops on both sides. Timber had been cut off of four hundred and seventy-four acres of woodland and used for ship building, artillery and fire-wood. De Lancey's corps had been quartered on the property, and had erected seventy huts and cultivated the land, burning the wood for fuel. By the terms of the treaty of peace the English were bound to pay these claims, and they were duly presented to the government in England by General Staats Long Morris. Gouverneur, in the meantime, resumed the practice of the law, having resigned his position in the United States Treasury. Having made many connections in Philadelphia, he was practically a resident of that city for the next five years. In connection with Robert Morris he was engaged in many business operations, such as East India voyages on a large scale, shipments of tobacco from Virginia to France, and the smelting of iron on the Delaware River. He suggested a plan for the coinage of money, but Mr. Jefferson's plan was adopted by Congress.

In 1786 his mother died at Morrisania. The property east of Mill Brook fell to the share of General Staats Long Morris, who resided in England. Gouverneur, as the younger son, was to receive two thousand pounds from Staats, who had to pay seven thousand pounds in all to the younger children. Lewis had already received his share of the property by possessing that portion of Morrisania which lies west of the Mill Brook. As Staats had no intention of residing in America Gouverneur purchased his share and became seized, in fee of Morrisania east of the Mill Brook, but still continued to reside in Philadelphia. In 1787 he was elected a delegate from Pennsylvania to the convention which formed the constitution of the United States and on the dissolution of the convention he repaired to Morrisania and busied himself in putting the estate in order. To arrange some matters relating to his extensive business transactions he sailed for France in December, 1787, and from that time down to 1792 was for several years a resident of Paris, attending, most of the time, to private affairs, traveling occasionally in England and on the continent, and in the interim acting for a short time as agent for the American government in conducting a *pour parler* with England with a view to an interchange of ambassadors, but without success. His journal contains much interesting information as to the politics and society of France at the time of the outbreak of the French Revolution.

In January, 1792, he was appointed minister plenipotentiary from the United States to the Court of France. On August 10, 1792, the King and Queen were taken prisoners by the mob, and on the 31st of August, Morris was advised by Talleyrand to ask for his passport and leave France, as the minister of foreign affairs had written him an insulting letter; but an apology having been sent, he stayed in France awaiting instructions from America as to what course he should pursue with reference to the acknowledgement of the new revolutionary government. He was known to be personally opposed to the principles of the revolutionists and the King intrusted to his care a large sum of money, for which he afterwards scrupulously accounted. When the Marquis of Lafayette was made a prisoner by the Austrian and Prussian governments, Morris furnished him and also his wife with funds, which were afterwards allowed as governmental disbursements by the United States. He also drafted a petition which was signed by Madame de Lafayette, asking the King of Prussia for her husband's release. He continued to reside in France during the Reign of Terror, although the diplomats from other governments had left. At one time it was reported that he had been killed by revolutionists. His friend, Robert Morris, wrote him from America, advising him to resign and go home, but he replied, that "it is not permitted to abandon a post in the hour of difficulty." He took up his residence however, at Sainport, about thirty miles from Paris, on about twenty acres of land which he purchased, only coming to Paris on matters of business. Many applications were made to him to grant the privilege of American registers to French vessels. He had also to file with the French government protests against the decrees of the convention, imposing restrictions on American commerce in violation of treaties already existing, and remonstrated against outrages by French privateers on American vessels. Americans were frequently imprisoned and he obtained their release.

In 1793–94 the American government demanded the recall of Minister Genet. This demand was of course presented by Mr. Morris to the French government and was at once acceded to. In return, France solicited Mr. Morris' recall and in reciprocity the demand could not be refused. In recalling him our Secretary of State assured him that he had given perfect satisfaction, and the President gave him like assurances. Mr. Monroe arrived in Paris in 1794 as Mr. Morris' successor. The latter then traveled extensively through the principal countries of Europe. In his journal appears the celebrated saying so often quoted, which he wrote concerning the character of the Swiss: "The first lesson of trade is, My son get money. The second is My son get money honestly if you can, but get money; the third is, My son get money, but honestly, if you would get much money." He also visited many parts of Ger-

many, spending the winter and spring of 1795 at Altona, a suburb of Hamburgh. Later on he visited the cities of the Baltic, and in June went to London. He travelled through Great Britain, and in the following year visited Berlin, Dresden and Vienna. There he plead for the release of Lafayette, but was unsuccessful. He then re-visited Berlin, and afterwards made quite a long stay at Brunswick. In the meantime he was instrumental in furnishing funds for the Duke of Orleans, afterwards Louis Philippe, to visit America. In 1798 he returned to America, and at once set about improving his estate, and built the house now standing at Morrisania, and occupied by his granddaughter, Mrs. Alfred Davenport. The legislature of New York elected him to the United States Senate. May, 1800, he took his seat. He labored on the side of the Federalists and served but three years. As senator he advocated an internal revenue tax as preferable to a revenue raised by duties on imported articles. His party was opposed to the acquisition of Louisiana, but Mr. Morris voted for it and his argument on the value of the navigation of the Mississippi river is considered one of the finest of his efforts. His term expired on March 4, 1803. A change in parties prevented his re-election, and with the expiration of his term his political life ended. He passed the remainder of his life at Morrisania. "An ample for-"tune, numerous friends, a charming retreat, and a "tranquil home were the elements of his happiness "and filled up the measure of his hopes."

But his mind was still amply employed. In 1803 he travelled through the New England States and the Canadas, and two or three months of each succeeding year of his life he devoted to travelling for pleasure or visiting lands in new countries in which he had largely invested. The cultivation of his farm, receiving the visits of friends and acquaintances, study and an extensive correspondence on politics and business occupied his time.

He wrote much on divers subjects. The larger part of his effusions may be found in the New York *Evening Post*, the *Examiner* and the *United States Gazette*. He became, according to Mr. Sparks, an ultra Federalist. His nom de plume was "An American." Soon after his return to America he pronounced an oration on the death of Washington, at the request of the corporation of New York. His eulogy on Hamilton is famous. He also delivered an oration in honor of the memory of George Clinton, and another on the Restoration of the Bourbons. This last was translated into French and published in Paris. He was president of the New York Historical Society. Among his guests was General Moreau, and Madame de Staël was an intimate friend and life-long correspondent. He married Miss Ann Carey Randolph on Christmas Day, 1809. Many give Mr. Morris the credit of originating the project of the Erie Canal.

It will be remembered that he was sent as one of the Committee of Safety to Schuyler's army, then at Fort Edward. Though but a youth, he was filled with the project, and while arranging with Schuyler and the other persons about the details of the campaign in their leisure moments he descanted on the facilities afforded for the development of the country by the numerous water ways which intersected it. He predicted that among the "rising glories of the western world at no distant day the waters of the great inland seas would, by the aid of man, break through their barriers and mingle with those of the Hudson." While travelling in Scotland in 1795 he notes in his diary his impressions of the Caledonian Canal and says: "When I see this, my mind opens to a view of wealth for the interior of America which hitherto I had rather conjectured than seen." In 1801, after his visit to Canada and Niagara Falls, he described to a friend in London a visit to Lake Erie: "At this point commences a navigation of more than one thousand miles. Shall I lead your astonishment to the verge of incredulity? I will: know then that one-tenth of the expense borne by Britain in the last campaign would enable ships to sail from London through Hudson River *into Lake Erie.*" At a dinner party, in Washington, not many years after this letter Robert Morris asked Gouverneur what he would think if they were then in convention and it should be proposed to establish the seat of government at Newburgh, on the Hudson. He replied: "Yes, that would have been the place "for the seat of Government. And the members of "Congress could have come from all parts by water." The company were astonished and asked how. Morris answered: "Why, by tapping Lake Erie and "bringing its waters to the Hudson, by an inclined plane or a water table which can be found." Simeon De Witt, Surveyor General of New York, gives Mr. Morris the credit of starting the idea of direct communication between Lake Erie and the Hudson, and Stephen Van Rensselaer, one of the first canal commissioners, considered Mr. Morris "the father of our "great canal." Mr. Morris was chairman of the canal commissioners from March, 1810, until within a few months of his death. He and De Witt Clinton went on a special mission to Congress for the purpose of obtaining Federal aid for the construction of the canal, but though they drafted a bill for the purpose, it never came up, as there were too many divided interests in that body. In the midst of his labors, Mr. Morris died at Morrisania, November 6, 1816, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. His remains were buried where now St. Anne's Church stands, the east aisle covering their original resting-place. They were afterwards transferred to the family vault, which is the first one east of the church. His wife caused a marble slab to be placed over the temporary tomb, and that still remains.[1]

His will was dated October 26, 1816. In it he con-

[1] The author is indebted to Jared Sparks' "Life and Writings of Gouverneur Morris" for the materials of the foregoing sketch.

firms an ante-nuptial contract, by which he had settled on his wife two thousand six hundred dollars per annum, and in addition he gave to her, during her life, his estate at Morrisania. The improvements were to be made at the expense of the estate. In his will was also the peculiar provision, that if his wife should see fit to marry, she should have six hundred dollars per annum in addition "to defray the increased expenditure which may attend that connection."

His son Gouverneur, was then given the whole of the residue and remainder of the estate, except such other bequests as he made under the will. If he should die before he attained the age of twenty-one years, or afterwards, "not having made a will," he then gave the estate to such one or more of the male descendants of his brothers and sisters, and in such proportions as his wife should designate; but if she made no such designation, he then gave the estate to Lewis Morris Wilkins, the son of his sister Isabella, on condition that he assume the name of Morris. He then gave to his nephew, Gouverneur Wilkins, twenty-five thousand dollars, to be paid to him when he should attain the age of thirty years, provided his conduct should be such as in the opinion of his executor and executrix "becomes a good citizen." His friend Moss Kent, and his widow were charged with the execution of the will. The son Gouverneur, is still living, and has made a will and the legacy was duly paid Gouverneur Wilkins. Title searchers often raise this question, and as it affects all that part of Morrisania east of Mill Brook and as far north as the Home for Incurables, near Fordham, the facts are worthy of record.

We thus find Bronx Land and the "additional" lands mentioned in the patents of Morrisania east of Mill Brook, vested in the present Gouverneur Morris. His mother enjoyed her life estate in the property until 1837, when she died and was buried under the site of the present St. Anne's Church, which, in 1841, was erected by her son Gouverneur, in remembrance of her, and with respectful regard to two other valued relations of the name was called St. Ann's Church.

Thus far we have carried the records of the township through the successive stages, from its discovery to the Dutch occupancy, the first seizure by the British, the second and brief Dutch regime and the final establishment of the British rule. This long period is fraught with little of interest that has not been mentioned. One incident was the mortgaging of his interests in the manor of Fordham by the contentious John Archer, to Steenwyk, one of the short-lived councillors of Governor Colve. Afterwards Steenwyk, by deed from Archer, obtained possession of the entire manor, and he and his pious wife willed it to the ministers, elders and deacons of the Reformed Congregation of the Nether Dutch Church, on the express condition that it should not be sold, but presumably that the congregation should receive the benefits of its rents, issues and profits in perpetuity. The intentions of the Steenwyks were, however, found impracticable, and the General Assembly of the Colony of New York authorized the congregation to sell the lands. This was done, and the purchasers were hardy and thrifty people, who figured conspicuously in the annals of the Revolution.

Fordham, Bronx Land (the present Morrisania) and Jessup's, Richardson's, Cornell's and the Westchester patents have been so subdivided that the history of their development would be only a tedious chronicle of the laying out of highways, the marks which each farmer placed upon his horses and cattle, and of law-suits, which prove that the former occupants were as tenacious of their individual rights as their successors to-day. The simple annals of the people between the final establishment of English dominion and the Revolution are not of general interest.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

When, in 1775, the contention with the mother country had come to a critical stage, the citizens of Westchester township prepared to organize their military power. The following papers, which are contained among the returns on file at Albany, tell the story of their action:

"Borough and Town of Westchester, 24th Augt, 1775.

"*To the Honble Provincial Congress for the Colony of New York:*

"We, the Subscribers, appointed a sub-Committee to inspect the Election of Militia Officers for the said Town, do most humbly Certify, that the following persons were Chosen this 24th day of Augt, 1775, by a Majority of Voices duly qualified for that purpose, agreeable to the resolution of the Honble Congress above said (Viz.) John Oakley, Captain; 1 Lieut. Nichs Berrien, 2 Lieut. Isaac Leggett, Ensign Frederick Phillipse Stevenson.

"*Committee,* { Thomas Hunt. James Ferris. Lewis Graham.

"*Electors.*

"Anthony Allaire.	Abraham Odle.
Izarell Underhill.	Robert Farrington.
Hendrick Brown, Jur.	Francis Smith.
Thomas Merrill.	William Green.
Abraham Post.	Abraham Emmans.
Dennis Post.	Isaac Green.
Usial Fountain.	Edward Ryer.
Henry Tayler.	Gilbert Brown.
Wm. Rose.	Jacob Post.
James Munro.	Lewis Post.
John Warner.	John Williams.
Thomas Oakly.	George Hadley.
Charles Tayler.	Isaac Hadley.
Benjamin Farrington.	Joseph Hadley.
Robert Brown.	Joshua Vermyliea.
Jacob Tayler.	John Cartright.
Henry Presher.	John Ryer.
Elijah Tayler.	George Berian.
Joseph Oakley, Jun.	Izrael Post.
Daniel Deen.	John Cock.
Thomas Farrington.	Henry Bursen.
James Parker.	Abraham Asten.
Wm. Post.	George Werts.
Samuel Williams.	Abraham Vermyliea.
James Crawford.	Frederick Vermyliea.
George Crawford.	Edward Cartright.
John Odle.	Frederick Brown.
John Devo.	Elethan Tayler, Junr." [1]
Tobias Rickeman.	

[1] Vol. i. Rev. Papers, page 122. The original document is somewhat mutilated, and consequently the list of electors is not complete.

It was more convenient for the people of West Farms and Fordham to have a separate company, and therefore they sent in the subjoined petition:

"*To the Honorable Provincial Congress for the province of New York:*

"The petition of the subscribers, Inhabitants of the Manor of Fordham and West Farms, in the County of Westchester, Humbly Sheweth.

"That we are summoned to appear at Westchester in Order to Choose Officers, according to the Resolution of the Congress, it having been Represented (as we understand) that there was not a competent number of men in our District to form a Company. We therefore beg leave to inform that the Manor of Fordham and the West Farms have in the Militia always been considered as a district by themselves, and that within their limits there is upwards of Seventy men fitt to bear arms. And that an attendance at Westchester upon the meeting of the Company will be attended with great Inconveniency to many of the Inhabitants and therefore Injurious to the service intended to be advanced, from which Considerations your petitioners Humbly pray the Honorable Congress will be pleased to order that the Manor of Fordham and the West Farms have a Company within themselves and that they Elect their own Officers under such Inspection as the Honorable Congress in their wisdom shall think best. And your petitioners shall ever pray.

"Nicholas Berrien.	James McKay.
Isaac Valintine.	Robert Campbell.
Peter Valintine.	Eden Hunt.
John Stevens.	Isaac Hunt.
Benjamin Curser.	James Archer.
Abraham Dyckman.	Samuel Embree, Junr.
John Turner.	Edward Harris.
Benjamin Valentine.	John Collard.
his	Cornelius Jacobs.
George x Pilpet.	hezekiah Ward.
mark	Tunis Garrison.
Isaac Valintine, Junior.	Isack Cant.
Peter Bussing, Juner.	Gilbert Taylor.
Peter Bussing.	Robert Gilmer.
Abraham Wils.	Benjamin Archer, Junr.
Benjamin Curser, Jr.	Daniel Devoe, Jur.
Hendrick Ryer.	John Embree, Senr.
John Lint.	Jacob Lent.
John Ryer.	his
Isaac Corser.	Abram x Lent.
Isaac Corser, Jur.	mark
tunus Leforge.	Dennis Ryer.
Phillip Hunt.	Jacob alentine.
Stephen Embree.	Abraham garison.
Nathaniel Lawrence.	James Grobe.
Peter Devoe.	John Embree, Junr.
James Swaim.	Thomas Cromwell.
Nazareth Brewer.	Gerrardus Cromwell.
Thomas Hunt.	Obadiah Hide.
Abraham Leggett.	John Curser.
William Leggett.	Sirion Williams.
John Leggett, Junr.	John Ryer, Junr.
Robert Hunt, Junr.	Jacob Chappel.
Cornelius Leggett.	John Garrison.
Mr. Woods.	John Jacobs.
John Hedger.	Thomas Dogherty.
Thomas Hedger.	John Clark.
Stephen Edwards.	John Devoe.
James Rock.	John Blizard.
George Higby.	John Walbrin.
Jacob Hunt.	John Warnick.
Levi Hunt.	Thomas Gemble.[1]
Jeremiah Regen.	

"September 5, 1775."

Their prayer was granted, for in October the following minute is made in the Revolutionary Military Records:

"*Officers of the West Farms and Fordham Company.*

"West Farms and Manor of Fordham,
In the Borough of Westchester, 21st of October, 1775.

"It being determined by a Committee of the County of West Chester, that the above-said places should be one distinct Beat or district; We the Subscribers being appointed a Committee of Inspection to preside at the Election for Officers of the Militia for said beat do most humbly represent to the Honor the Provincial Congress for the Province of New York, that they have proceeded to the choice of Officers in Conformity to the Orders of the 8d Hon'ble Provincial Congress, when the underwritten Persons were unanimously Chose. Capt. Nicholas Berrian, 1st Lieut. Gilbert Taylor, 2d Do. Daniel Devoe, Junr, Ensign Benjamin Valentine.

"Thomas Hunt.
"Abraham Leggett.

"[Commissions issued this 31st Octr, 1775.]"

In the spring of 1776 the war between Great Britain and the colonies had broken out; the battle of Bunker Hill and the evacuation of Boston by the British had taken place, and Washington, with his enthusiastic but illy equipped army, was on Manhattan and Long Islands, in front of the British invaders. On July 5, 1776, General Mifflin, then stationed at the north end of Manhattan Island, wrote Washington that he feared the British might take possession of the heights north of King's Bridge (now known as Spuyten Duyvil), and asked if he should detach a party to oppose them.[2] At the same time the British ships "Roebuck" and "Vulture" sailed up the North River as far as King's Bridge and dropped anchor near the shore. A violent cannonade ensued, as the Americans had opened a battery against them. The British raised anchor and went farther up the North River.[3] This battery damaged the British fleet both in hull and rigging. This action must have occurred near Fort Washington, and a few of the shells only fell on the Westchester shore, but the raid of the British fleet impressed General Mifflin as to the necessity of fortifying King's Bridge, Spuyten Duyvil and Fordham Heights, for on August 6, 1776, he dispatched Col. Holden from Fort Washington to King's Bridge with orders to make it more tenable,[4] and cannon were sent for that purpose. It is plain, from the annals of that time, that Washington appreciated the strategic value of the pass at Spuyten Duyvil and Fordham Heights, as he feared an ascent by way of the North River with the British fleet, and the destruction of King's Bridge, by a boat expedition.[5] Putnam and Wiebert, the engineer, were ordered to throw up works for the protection of the pass.

The New York Provincial Congress had the same appreciation of the strategic importance of that point. Robert Livingston, on August 10, 1776, wrote Washington about it in behalf of Congress. He cautioned him as to the importance of the Westchester shore and urged sending regular troops there with artillery. Congress felt the danger of the destruction of King's Bridge before any force could be sent to prevent it. The New York Congress had a lack of good faith in its militia because of its raw condition, bad pay and equipment; and in some cases their loyalty to the

[1] Revolutionary Papers, vol. i. page 135.

[2] Force's "Annals," vol. i. pages 1328–1330.

[3] 1 Force, 230, 347. Also the story of the author's grandfather, who picked up one of the solid shots sent on the Westchester shore and witnessed the engagement.

[4] 1 Force, 790.

[5] 1 Force, 886.

new cause was doubted. They therefore suggested that the country north of Spuyten Duyvil Creek should be well guarded. "They knew of no country capable of being so well defended." They also suggested that all the cattle in the country be removed and purchased by the army authorities.[1] But Washington had already appreciated this necessity and was throwing up strong breastworks at that point. The New York Congress, at the same time, ordered out the whole of the Westchester militia, under its brigadier-general, Lewis Morris, to take possession of such points on Long Island Sound and Hudson River as he thought most exposed to the enemy.[2]

Meantime reconnoisances developed the necessity of securing from the enemy the upper end of Manhattan Island and Fordham Heights. Fort Washington was built on Manhattan Island and Fort Independence[3] on what is now known as the Giles property, just north of the West Farms or Fordham Manor line, on the Westchester shore so as to command Spuyten Duyvil Creek.[4] General Heath was placed in command of the troops in that neighborhood.[5]

The defeat of the Americans on Long Island and Washington's masterly retreat to Manhattan Island showed that his precautions as to the importance of a line of retreat *via* King's Bridge and Westchester County were well timed. The New York Congress had fled from the city to Harlem and after the battle of Long Island it adjourned not to meet again until it assembled at White Plains. A Committee of Safety was appointed and it met on August 20, 1776, at King's Bridge. The State treasure-chest was also brought there, but almost immediately removed up into the Saw-Mill Valley to Mr. Odell's house. It was feared that the British would go direct from Brooklyn to some point on the Sound, march across country, cut off the communication with the main at King's Bridge and hem in Washington's army on Manhattan Island.[6]

Howe was making his reconnoisances. On August 27th two ships and a brig anchored a little north of Throgg's Neck. General Heath sent Colonel Graham with a regiment to prevent any landing, but before he arrived several barges had landed on City Island and killed a number of cattle.[7] When the regiment arrived, the British retreated with one prisoner and fourteen head of cattle. Heath at once asked Mifflin for additional artillery and made an arrangement for a floating bridge over Harlem River.[8] In the mean time the militia at Throgg's Neck and City Island wanted to go home. The crops had to be gathered and Colonel Drake stated to the New York Congress that it "would be a very great ease to the county at this season."[9] On the 31st, Hand's, Shee's, Magaw's, Broadhead's and Miles' battalions joined Heath's command at King's Bridge[10] and on September 4th, Washington and Heath had a consultation and dined together at that place. The result of this conference was that Heath formed a chain of sentinels and videttes, extending on the Westchester shore from Morrisania, *via* Hunt's Point, all the way to Throgg's Neck, and broke up the roads leading from Morrisania and de Lancey's Mills (West Farms) so as to render them impassable for the enemy's artillery.[11] In many instances he caused trees to be felled across the roads, and in other places dug deep pits. On the 10th of September the British began landing troops on Montressor's Island, (now known as Randall's Island). As the fight on Manhattan Island had taken place at Kips Bay and Harlem Plains, a consultation of general officers was held on September 16th. The generals were divided in opinion as to what course the British would pursue. Some supposed Fort Washington would be the point of attack; others that they would land either at Morrisania, Hunt's or Throgg's Point. It was therefore determined in Council to guard against both contingencies. Ten thousand men were to be kept on Manhattan Island, and Heath's division was increased to ten thousand men; a floating bridge was to be thrown across Harlem Creek, so that the two bodies could support each other as circumstances might require.

On September 18th the British army was between the city of New York and the American lines, which latter extended across the island on the north

[1] 1 Force, 886. Idem, 1494.

[2] As a specimen of the equipment of General Morris' brigade, the following extract from the orders of the Provincial or New York Congress is given: If any of the men were without arms, they were ordered to bring "a shovel, a spade, pick-axe or scythe, straightened and fixed on a pole." The brigadier of this motley army was ordered to "apprehend and arrest . . . disaffected persons." All the militia was placed under "marching orders," and only sufficient guards were to be left behind to prevent insurrection of the slaves and the prisoners in the jails. "Disarmed and disaffected male inhabitants, between sixteen and fifty-five years of age," were to be "brought along" by this militia as "fatigue men," and the brigadier was given power to institute courts-martial against those who did not obey his orders.—Force, vol. i., 1494.

[3] Fort Independence is located by Mr. Bancroft, in his "History of the United States," just north of Spuyten Duyvil Creek, on the crown of the ridge which lies between Tippett's Brook and Hudson River. Mr. Edsall, the author of the "History of King's Bridge Township," the author of this sketch, old maps, local traditions and other authorities, including General Washington's field map, on file in the Historical Society Library, in New York City, show that eminent historian to be mistaken in location. Mr. Bancroft has used British, not American data. There was an earthwork near Spuyten Duyvil erected by the Americans, probably the one ordered to be built by Washington, under Putnam's and Wiebert's direction, alluded to in the text; but Fort Independence stood on the Montgomery farm, not far from the present route of Sedgwick Avenue, as just opened by the city authorities, and somewhat to the west of it.

[4] Heath's "Memoirs," 52.

[5] Idem., 54.

[6] A graphic description of the troubles which a family in Lower Westchester endured is given in the correspondence of a young military officer on the staff of General Sullivan. He had a leave of absence to go to his home and remove his aged mother and sisters, with the flocks and herds, to a place of safety in the interior of the county.—N. Y. Hist. Soc. MSS.

[7] Heath's "Memoirs," 55; Force, ii. 108.

[8] 1 Force, 1184.

[9] 1 Force, 1552; Heath, 57.

[10] Idem, 59.

[11] Force, ii. 239–240.

side of Harlem Plains, Heath had a strong picket of four hundred men at Morrisania, with a chain of sentinels, within half gun-shot of each other, posted along the shore and near the passage between Morrisania and Randall's Island. The American sentries were ordered not to fire at the British unless the latter began; but the British did begin, and there was frequent firing between the pickets. One day a British officer walking on the shore of Randall's Island was wounded by a shot from an American sentinel. An officer with a flag soon after came down to the creek, and calling for the American officer of the guard, informed him that if the American sentinels fired any more the commander on the island would cannonade Colonel Morris' house, in which the American picket officers were quartered. The American officer sent word to General Heath asking for instructions as to what reply he should make. He was told to answer that the Americans were instructed not to fire unless they were fired upon and then to return the fire; that such would be their conduct, and that as to cannonading Colonel Morris' house, they might act their pleasure. The firing ceased for some time, but one day a Scotch sentinel on the British side fired at an American and the shot was returned. A British officer came down and said that he thought there was to be no firing between the sentinels. The Americans retorted that the British fired first. The British officer replied, "He shall then pay for it." The sentinel was relieved and there was no further firing between the pickets at that place, and they were afterwards so civil to each other that they used to exchange tobacco by throwing the roll across the creek.

September 22d two seamen deserted from the British frigate "La Brune," which was lying near Randall's Island, and stated that they had but a few men on the island, that the cannon which had been on the island had been put on board the "La Brune," but that there were a number of officers at the house. Acting on this information, an expedition consisting of two hundred and forty men, was sent on board of three flat-boats with a fourth astern with a light three-pound cannon on board in case it might be found necessary. They were to drop down Harlem River with the ebb tide, and they calculated that at daybreak the tide would be sufficient on the flood to float the boats off the flats at the island. Major Henly of the general's staff, volunteered to be one of the party, and much against the general's wish he was permitted to go. Notice had been given to the pickets on the York Island side not to fire on the boats or hail them as they went down the river, but the sentinel nearest the island had not been instructed. General Heath was standing nearly opposite, on the Westchester side, to witness the attack. The sentinel challenged the boats and ordered them to come to the shore; the people on board the boats said that they were friends, but the sentry kept on challenging. The answer was, "We tell you we are friends —hold your tongue." Major Henly sprang overboard and swam to the shore, and wading up to General Heath, asked him, "Sir, will it do?" General Heath, holding him by the hand, said, "I see nothing to the contrary." Henly replied: "Then it shall do" and he waded back to the boat and got in. The sentinel on the New York side shouted "If you don't come to the shore, I tell you I'll fire." Some one in the boats cried out "Pull away." The boats went on and the sentinel fired. The boats reached the island almost at the moment intended, just as daylight was breaking. Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson and Major Logan and another field officer of a New York regiment were in the first boat. They jumped ashore, the colonel remaining in charge of his detachment. The other two were to go to the right and left, and lead the men from the other boats, which were to land on either side of the first boat. The men from the first boat landed; the enemy's guard charged, but were instantly driven back, but the men in the other two boats, instead of landing, lay on their oars. The British seeing this, returned to the charge, and the single boat-load seeing themselves abandoned, returned to the boat. Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson received a musket-ball in his leg and Major Henly was shot through the heart and instantly killed. The boat joined the others and all three returned, having lost in all about fourteen killed, wounded and missing. Major Henly was deeply regretted. If only one other of the boats had landed her men, success was probable, if both the others had landed, in the opinion of all concerned, success would have been certain. The delinquents in the other boats were arrested and one of the captains tried by court-martial and cashiered.[1]

September 29th a large number of boats crossed over from Long to Randall's Island, which movement was continued on the 30th. The same day a frigate came through Hell Gate and lay alongside the "La Brune." About noon she hoisted sail and went to the eastward, and in the evening another ship came up. October 1st she was at anchor in the channel between Harlem and Baman's or Eldridge's Island.[2]

On October 3d General Heath, with Colonel Hand, made a reconnoisance as far as Throgg's Neck. The causeway between the village of Westchester and the Neck seemed to them to be a strong strategic point. The old mill then, and for many years afterwards, stood at the west end of the causeway, and there was a bridge of planks there then, as there is now. A long range of cord-wood was piled up on the village or west side of the bridge and was so advantageously situated that it seemed as though it had been placed there for the purpose of forming a breastwork. A detachment of twenty-five picked men from Hand's regiment of riflemen was sent to defend this position, with

[1] Heath's Mems., 63-64.

[2] Ward's Island.

instructions that in case the enemy should advance from Throgg's Neck, they should take up the planking from the bridge and have everything ready to set the mill on fire, but not to do so unless the advance of the enemy could not be checked. Another party was stationed at the head of Westchester Creek. This point must have been somewhere near the present station on the Port Chester Branch Railroad known as Timpson's.[1] On the 12th eighty or ninety boats full of British troops went up the Sound from Randall's Island. They landed at Throgg's Neck and at once pushed on for the village of Westchester. Hand's men opened fire and took up the planking from the bridge. The British then tried to turn the American flank by marching around the head of the creek, but Colonel Prescott's regiment and Bryant with a three-pounder, reinforced the riflemen at the village—Colonel Graham, with a regiment of Westchester militia, and Jackson, with a six-pounder, assisted Hand's other men to hold the head of the creek. The British were checked and went into camp on the Neck. Our riflemen and the British *yagers* kept up a continual skirmish, and both sides threw up earthworks on each side of the old bridge. Washington visited Westchester the same day, though his headquarters were still at Harlem Heights. In his correspondence with Congress on the subject of this skirmish, he describes Throgg's Neck as a "*kind of island*," but the water which surrounded it as "*fordable at low tide*." He reported throwing up the earthworks, but from the number of vessels he had seen go up the East River, and also from reports brought in by deserters, he felt convinced that the greatest part of Howe's army had gone eastward, and that his object was to get into the rear of the Americans and cut off commnication between Manhattan Island and the mainland. He considered the country back of Throgg's Point defensible, especially by reason of its stone walls, both along the roads and across the fields, so that the enemy would have great difficulty in advancing artillery or even any large body of infantry with any degree of order, except by the main road.

By the 13th it was evident to all that Westchester County would be the next point of attack by the British. No less than forty-two sail had passed the mouth of Harlem River going eastward, and it was apparent that this movement was no feint, but that Howe meant to "*make his coup*" in the direction of Westchester.[2] The troops at Harlem and at King's Bridge were ordered to their alarm posts, reinforcements were sent to King's Bridge and rations for three days' march were ordered to be cooked immediately. The next day General Heath visited the troops at Westchester. Skirmishing was kept up for a couple of days, and then our position being found too strong to carry with light troops, Howe advanced his heavy guns up the Throgg's Neck road and commenced the erection of a heavy earthwork immediately opposite the Westchester Bridge, not far from the site of the present Presbyterian Church.[3] While this handful of men were checking the advance of the entire British army, Washington heard of the arrival, as they landed at New Rochelle, of the Hessian reinforcements, and was at once convinced that he could no longer hold the upper part of Manhattan Island, but must, with his illy equipped army, retreat beyond the Highlands of the Hudson. A council of war was held at King's Bridge; the Albany post road was ordered to be put in good order by Colonel Drake's regiment of Westchester militia,[4] and everything put in train for the retreat of the main army from the island of New York to the main. On the 18th the Westchester Militia Regiment at the causeway was being relieved, when the enemy opened fire from the embrasures of the heavy earthwork opposite the village. Heath ordered a brigade to advance to the support of the party at the bridge, the general himself leading, but before he arrived at the bridge he found that the entire British army were moving toward the head of the creek. Washington just then arrived on the field and ordered him to fall back and form his division for action farther west, and in such position as to also protect the main army at King's Bridge should the enemy land another force at Morrisania. For some unaccountable reason Howe did not press on towards King's Bridge, but followed a route which corresponds to the present road leading from Throgg's Neck to Pelham Bridge, and being well provided with boats, he crossed Pelham Bay and that evening the head of his column was at New Rochelle, where he was joined by the Hessian reinforcements.[5] Had he pushed directly for the Harlem River and Spuyten Duyvil Creek he would have been able to cut off part, if not the whole, of the American army. Soldiers of our last war and military men generally may regard this small fight at the old Westchester Bridge as a mere skirmish and hardly worth recording, but it was the Lexington of Westchester and a son of the soil should always regard the prosaic old causeway and the ruined foundations of the old mill still to be seen on that historic spot, with sentiments of reverence and patriotism. The Westchester Militia and Hand's riflemen at Westchester Creek and bridge covered Washington's retreat with his army to the entrenchments at White Plains and enabled him to inaugurate his masterly defensive policy which resulted in the establishment of the best and freest govern-

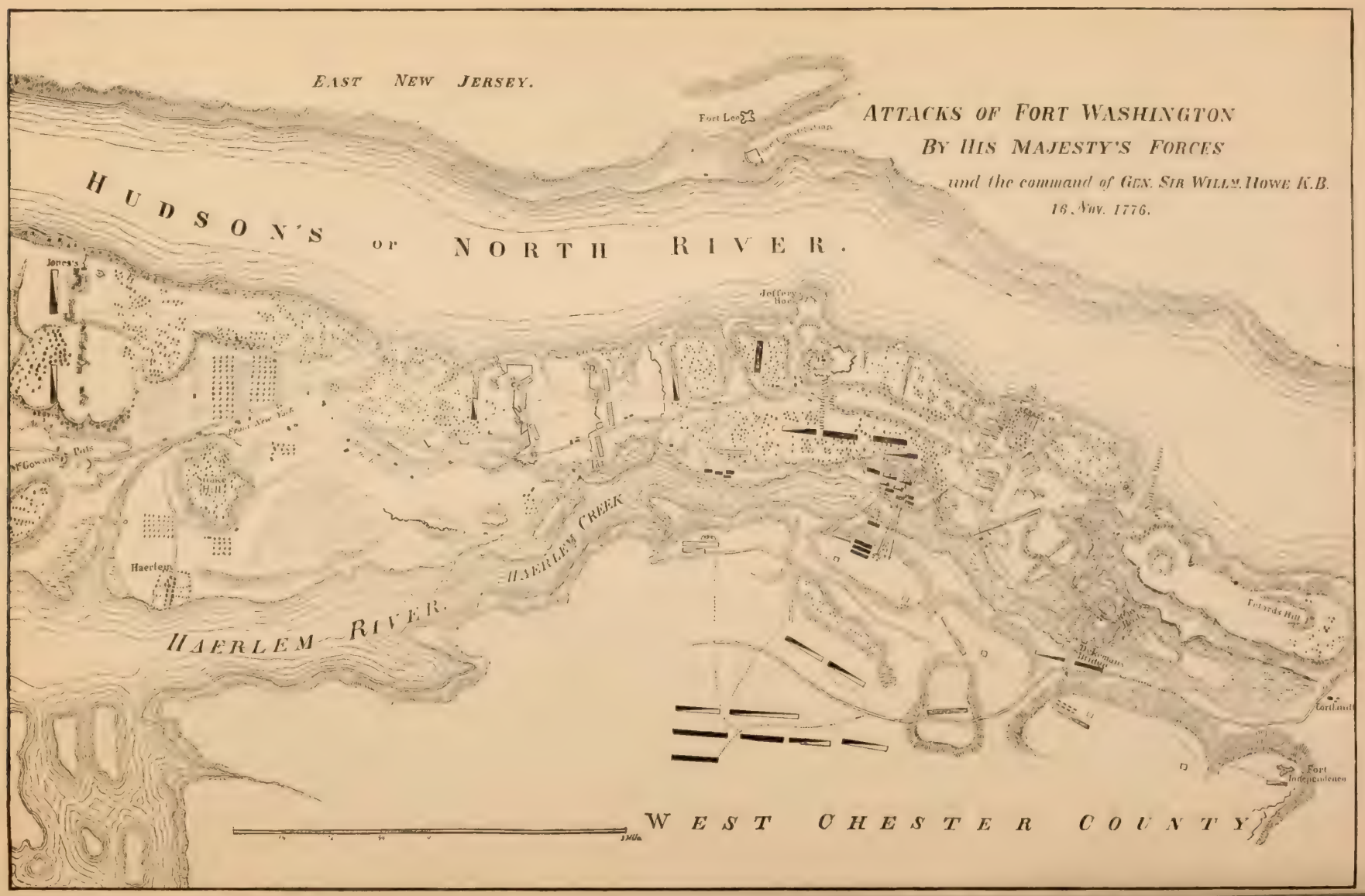
[1] Heath's "Memoirs," page 68, and Edward de Lancey's paper on the Battle of Fort Washington, vol. i., *Magazine of American History*.

[2] Force, ii. 991; Force, ii. 1025.

[3] For a good map of these operations, see Lamb's "History of New York," vol. ii. page 140.

[4] Force, ii. page 1078.

[5] Heath's "Memoirs;" Dwight's "Travels;" Edward de Lancey's paper in "Magazine of American History," on battle of Fort Washington; Force's "Annals."


EAST NEW JERSEY.
ATTACKS OF FORT WASHINGTON
BY HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES
and the command of GEN. SIR WILLM. HOWE K.B.
16. Nov. 1776.
Fort Lee
HUDSON'S or NORTH RIVER.
Jones's
Jeffery Hook
Haerlem
HAERLEM CREEK
HAERLEM RIVER.
Fort Washington
Fort Independence
WEST CHESTER COUNTY
1 Mile

ment ever known to history. It is hoped that the wealth and patriotism of the town of Westchester will some day cause an appropriate monument to be erected near the bridge in commemoration of the battle of Westchester Creek.

On the 28th of October the battle of White Plains was fought, and on the 31st, Lasher's troops, which were the last to leave King's Bridge, had joined the rest of the army at White Plains, and Westchester township was denuded of American troops, and practically within the enemy's lines, Fort Washington being the only American post south of Harlem River. Fort Independence and the other American works about Harlem River and Spuyten Duyvil Creek had been dismantled by the Americans before their retreat.[1]

But Westchester was soon revisited by the British, who continued to occupy it, or most of it, for the residue of the war. On November 5th, Van Knyphausen marched from New Rochelle and encamped at King's Bridge. Two days before, the British General Grant was at de Lancey's Mills (West Farms), on the Bronx; another brigade was at Mile Square, and the Waldeck Regiment was at Williams' Bridge. On the 12th Rahl with his Hessians had advanced on Manhattan Island as far as Tubby Hook (Inwood), and Fort Washington being already threatened on the south by the British who were left on the island, and the opposite Westchester shore being covered with British troops, Washington advised its surrender,[2] but left its evacuation to General Greene's discretion, who was in command of a force on the Jersey shore, at Fort Lee. Congress advised Greene to hold the fort. On the night of the 15th thirty British flat-boats passed up the Hudson, and by both forts, and lay concealed in Spuyten Duyvil Creek. In the mean time the British had erected heavy batteries on Fordham Heights or Ridge extending from the Boston road as far south as the present High Bridge, and on the evening of the 15th Howe summoned Colonel Magaw, who was in immediate command at Fort Washington, to surrender. The post of Fort Washington, or rather the grounds which he had to defend, extended from the Hudson to the Harlem River, and were bounded on the north by a line which will about correspond to Inwood Street on the New York City map, and on the south by One Hundred and Forty-fifth Street. Its extreme length north and south was about two and a half miles, its circuit say six miles. The northernmost point, near what is now known as Inwood Station, was under command of Colonel Rawlings, with a Maryland regiment. Magaw kept a small reserve in the citadel or main fort, which was situated on the site of the residence of James Gordon Bennett. Cadwallader commanded the American lines near One Hundred and Forty-fifth or One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Streets, and on the Harlem River side Baxter commanded a redoubt on the high hill or bluff now known as the terminus of Tenth Avenue, and almost opposite the present station of the railways at Morris Dock, on the Westchester shore. This redoubt was known as Laurel Hill.[3] The interval between Laurel Hill and One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street was left to the casual supply of troops.

On November 16th the British opened fire with heavy artillery from Fordham Heights, and made four separate attacks. Rahl led his troops through the hills and to the west of King's Bridge road; Von Knyphausen marched nearer the road, towards the Inwood gorge, with officers and men dismounted. The Americans had cannon planted along the north end of the high hill facing the approach from King's Bridge, and had also constructed an abattis of felled trees. But the British outnumbered the Americans, scaled the steep heights and a hand-to-hand conflict ensued. In the mean time Lord Cornwallis embarked with a large number of troops in the flat-boats which had been concealed at Spuyten Duyvil. They landed at Sherman's Creek, stormed Laurel Hill, captured the battery there, and killed Baxter, its brave commander. Lord Percy simultaneously advanced against Cadwallader, who was on the south line. Howe also sent men down the river in boats, so as to fall on Cadwallader's rear. Magaw and Cadwallader saw them coming down the river; their advance was covered by the heavy guns firing from Fordham Heights. Colonel Stirling, of the Highlanders, was the first to land, and scaled the heights somewhere near the present location of the High Bridge. So soon as the heights were gained, he pushed his men across the island towards the citadel, and the Hessians and Percy combining, Fort Washington fell, and from that time to the end of the Revolution Manhattan Island and the adjoining shore remained under British rule and occupation.

Thenceforth the Westchester shore, and, in fact, the whole of the ancient township was the scene for many years of raids and foraging parties. The American lines extended across Westchester from Dobbs Ferry to the Sound. On one occasion an American scouting party near Williams' Bridge would have been ambuscaded by a British scouting squad had it not been for the timely warning a young girl gave them of the British approach, she having seen them from her garret window. In the following autumn the right advanced line of the British extended from Hunt's Bridge to East Chester Creek. They kept continually shifting their position, but towards winter the troops were drawn in quite close to King's Bridge and the British built a number of huts and cantonments. De Lancey's corps of loyal refugees were quartered at and near the Morris place, at Mor-

[1] Force, 1294; Heath's "Memoirs."

[2] Bancroft, v. 448 (Brown & Little's edition).

[3] Traces of this earthwork are still to be seen.

risania. Col. Emmerick's corps, also composed principally of Tories, were posted near King's Bridge These troops, when they wanted building material for their winter-quarters, tore down the farmers' houses in the vicinity. The Americans, of course, retaliated, and skirmishes and hairbreadth escapes by the partisans of both sides were the order of the day. On one occasion Colonel James de Lancey, while visiting his aged mother at her home at the Mills, had tied his horse, a valuable imported thoroughbred, to the fence. Some American scouts seeing the horse, and knowing his value, immediately took him and carried him within the American lines at White Plains. There some enterprising Yankee bought him. The horse was known as "True Briton," and is said to be the progenitor of the celebrated stock, now known to horse fanciers as "Morgans."[1]

On another occasion Colonel Thomas, an American officer, desirous of visiting his family, and learning that the British had gone into winter-quarters at King's Bridge and Morrisania, ventured home. Word of his arrival reached the Queen's Rangers, the house was surrounded and several of Thomas' men were captured. The colonel jumped from the window and had nearly escaped when one of the Rangers caught him. Thomas was sent as a prisoner to New Lots, on Long Island. There he escaped and remained concealed in the woods for several days. He finally got into the city of New York disguised as a wood-chopper. He had let his beard grow. The British employed a negro who knew him very well to act as a detective for his capture. Thomas saw them coming and went to bed, and when his face was uncovered the negro said that was not the man. Through the influence of a friend, he obtained quarters in the house of a widow. One evening, when a search party arrived, she took him down into the cellar, turned a hogshead over him and then threw half a bushel of salt on the head of the hogshead. The cellar was searched, but this simple stratagem saved him from capture. He eventually escaped by a canoe, landed at Fort Lee and joined the Americans by crossing the river farther up.[2]

In 1778–79 the season was very inclement on the heights about King's Bridge and Fordham and but a small guard was kept. The condition of the people and the country must have been very bad. President Dwight, in his record of his travels, comments on the trepidation of the inhabitants who lived between the lines of the two armies: "They feared everybody they saw, and loved nobody." In conversation "answers were given to please the inquirer," or if they could not please, they tried by the answer "not to provoke." Fear was the only passion which animated them; the power of volition seemed to have deserted them; they were not civil, but obsequious, not obliging but subservient; their houses were scenes of desolation, furniture plundered or broken, the walls, floors and windows injured by violence and decay, cattle were gone and fences burnt; the fields were covered with a rank growth of weeds and wild grass; the world was motionless and silent, unless one of these unhappy creatures went on a rare visit to the house of a neighbor no less unhappy, or a scouting party alarmed them with expectations of new injuries and sufferings. The wheel-tracks were grown over and obliterated, and the venerable chaplain of a New England regiment, afterwards president of Yale College, said that their condition reminded him of the Song of Deborah: "In the days of Shamgar and Jael the highways were unoccupied and the travelers walked in the by-paths. The inhabitants of the villages ceased, they ceased in Israel."[3]

Though this territory was in the hands of the enemy, its people and residents still had their representation in what was then the County Legislature, or County Committee, as shown by the following interesting document:

"KING STREET, February y^e 12, 1777.

"A Number of the Freeholders and Inhabitants of Westchester County having appeared at the Court House on the 16th April, 1776, in consequence of Notice given for that Purpose by the Committee of the said County, chose the Persons hereafter named to serve as a Committee for the said County from the 2^nd Monday in May, 1776, to the 2^nd Monday in May, 1777—any twenty whereof to be a Quorum, viz^t:

"*For Morrisania.*

"Lewis Morris, Jun^r.—1.

"*For Westchester.*

"Thomas Hunt.	Gilbert Oakley.
Abraham Leggett.	Daniel White.
Israel Honeywell.	John Smith—7.
John Oakley.	

* * * * * * * * * * *

"I do hereby certify that the above is a true Copy taken from the Records of the Committee of the County of Westchester.

"EDWARD THOMAS, *Clerk.*"[4]

In the summer of 1777 Colonel Lord Cathcart was in command of the British out-posts stationed at King's Bridge and along the Fordham Ridge.

Simcoe's Queen's Rangers,[5] Emmerick's corps and Hovenden's, James' and Sandford's partisan corps were also stationed there. A chain of redoubts was constructed by the British on Fordham Ridge, at distances just far enough apart to secure the flanks of a

[1] "History of the Morgan Horses." This fact was brought to my attention by kindness of Edward F. de Lancey, Esq.

[2] Simcoe's "History of the Queen's Rangers."

[3] Dwight's "Travels," iii. 491.

[4] Calendar of Revolutionary Papers, vol. i. page 632.

[5] The Queen's Rangers were originally raised in Connecticut and the vicinity of New York by Colonel Rogers. They at one time mustered about four hundred men, all Americans and Tories. Hardship and neglect had reduced their numbers, and, after several changes in commanders, they were finally placed under the command of Captain J. G. Simcoe, of the Fortieth British Regulars, about October, 1777, he being given the provincial rank of major. Sir Henry Clinton, in commenting on the gallantry of the corps, said, "The Queen's Rangers have killed or taken twice their own number." After the American War, Colonel Simcoe was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, and in October, 1794, he was promoted major-general, and became civil Governor and commander-in-chief of the Island of San Domingo. October 3, 1798, he was promoted to be lieutenant-general, and died in 1806, at the age of fifty-four years. Though our enemy, his gallant deeds are worthy of record.

battalion. These redoubts can, many of them, be traced to-day. One was on the country place of Mr. Claflin, another on that of Mr. Bailey, and still another in Mr. Malis' woods, just west of Sedgwick Avenue. The light troops lay encamped about half a mile in advance of the line of the redoubts, so as to secure them from surprise. The American advance line extended from the Saw-Mill River to New Rochelle, and sometimes the American scouting parties would come as far south as Williams' Bridge. The Queen's Rangers and Emmerick's corps had in their ranks many Tory natives of Westchester, who had a knowledge of the country equal to our own men. Clinton and Morgan, from the American side, were continually foraging the adjoining country, between the two lines, which was so irregular and broken with stone walls as to render it most practicable for such excursions; besides, the British could not trust the people of the country. In the day-time the British guards were advanced as far as the high ridge overlooking the Bronx, just above Williams' Bridge. At night only a picket line was left there. On one occasion a picket sergeant, belonging to the Queen's Rangers, in advancing the picket guard, was captured by the Americans, who had crawled up behind the stone fence. As the sergeant had deserted from the American army, he was thrown into prison and threatened with death; a threat that the British would kill the first six Americans they captured, in case the sergeant was put to death, alone saved his life and resulted in his exchange.

But the British occupancy was soon disputed by the Americans in greater force. In January, 1778, a large force of Americans were sent to attempt the capture of King's Bridge and Fordham Heights. General Lincoln advanced down the Albany post road from Tarrytown, Wooster and Parsons from New Rochelle and East Chester, and Scott took the centre road from White Plains, which debouches in the old road near the new reservoir just being constructed near Williams' Bridge. General Heath was in command of the whole expedition. The calculation was that the three columns would reach King's Bridge about the same time. Lincoln was to halt at Van Cortlandt's, Scott at Valentine's Hill, near the present South Yonkers Station, and Wooster at the top of the Williams' Bridge Hill. Wooster struck the enemy's pickets first at the top of the Williams' Bridge Hill, and pushing on, drove the enemy from the redoubt on the Claflin, or Perot farm, and the British commander of the fort at King's Bridge was ordered to surrender. The redoubt on the Bailey place, which commanded the fort at King's Bridge from the south and rear, was also taken possession of by the Americans, and fire was opened on the fort at King's Bridge. It was determined to carry this fort by assault.

The enemy cannonaded from the fort and killed one American as the guards were being relieved at the Negro Fort.[1] A plan to cut off the battalion in the fort at King's Bridge, by putting a strong force over Spuyten Duyvil Creek on the ice, was matured. A thousand men were detailed for the purpose, but the weather growing warm, it was deemed too hazardous to risk the men on the ice the next morning. There was a heavy cannonading kept up all day, and the enemy on the island were thrown into great confusion. Heath observing that the British, during the cannonade, took refuge behind the hill at the bridge on the Hudson River side, rode around in the afternoon to Tippit's Hill, which was in the rear of the British position, though on the Westchester shore, and concluded that a field-piece placed there would leave the enemy no hiding-place. This was near the present residence of Mr. Edsall, at Spuyten Duyvil.

On January 21st the artillery battle was continued on both sides, and Heath succeeded in getting a field-piece to the summit of Tippit's Hill. Thus the enemy were cannonaded from the front and rear, and their position made untenable. Some took refuge in the redoubt, while others lay flat under the bank, or betook themselves to the cellars. In a short time the American artillerymen had swept the field clean and there was no object left for them to train their guns upon. The weather had grown very moderate. On the 22d a smart skirmish occurred near the fort, and Heath sent for a twenty-four-pounder and some howitzers. On the 23d a lively fight took place just before dusk in the broken ground near the south side of the fort, probably on the Dykman farm. An ensign and one man of the New York Militia were killed and five wounded; the loss of the enemy was unknown, as they were close to the fort.

On the morning of the 25th the enemy made a sally in the direction of de Lancey's Mills, where they surprised and routed the guard, wounding several, but neither killing or capturing any of them. A regiment near that place quitted their quarters. Emboldened by their success, about ten o'clock in the morning the British made a powerful sally in the direction of Valentine's (Bailey place) and the Negro Fort (Claflin's place), instantly driving the guards and pickets away. The guards threw themselves into the old redoubt near Williams' Bridge (the present site of the new reservoir on Michael Varian's farm), and the enemy took a position behind a stone wall to the southwest. Two regiments of the militia were formed in the road near Williams' house, which, according to the De Witt map, (vol. 4, Hist. Soc., No. 122.) was situated east of the Bronx, and the horses being hitched to the limbers of the field-pieces, Captain Bryant was ordered to cross the river by fording with his piece, and the militia was ordered to follow. Captain Bryant unlimbered his field-piece when he had reached the top of the Williams' Bridge hill, and to prevent his horses being killed, the men pulled the gun up the rest of

[1] This was on the place of the late H. B. Claflin.

the way with drag-ropes, but the steepness of the hill was such that the men were obliged to drag the gun almost within pistol-shot before they could depress it sufficiently to play upon the enemy. The moment this was done a round shot made a breach in the stone wall four or five feet wide. A second shot opened another and the enemy fled back to the fort. The American loss was two killed and a number wounded. On the 27th the brass twenty-four-pounder and the howitzer were brought up and ordered to open fire on the fort, but on the third discharge of the twenty-four-pounder it was dismounted by its own recoil. No shells had been sent with the howitzer.

Heath attempted in every way to draw the enemy out of the fort by feint or otherwise. A detachment was sent down to Morrisania to light up a great number of fires in the night, so as to make the British believe that the Americans were in large force at that place with the design of crossing to New York Island at or near Harlem. To heighten this impression, several large boats were sent for and brought forward on carriages. The British guard on Montressor's (Randall's) Island were so much alarmed that they set the buildings on fire and fled to New York. On the 29th a severe snow-storm threatened; so Generals Heath, Lincoln, Wooster, Scott and Ten Broeck came to the unanimous conclusion that the troops should move back before the storm came on to places where they could be sheltered from the inclemency of the weather. As they possessed no artillery sufficient to batter the fort, and they were opposed to storming it with militia, and the principal object being to destroy or bring off forage, which could be accomplished without opposing the men in the open field or scattering them about in houses, where they would be in danger of capture in detail—for these reasons the troops were ordered to retire as soon as it grew dusk. Lincoln's division marched to Dobbs Ferry and Tarrytown, Wooster's to New Rochelle and Scott's to White Plains. They were not safe in their quarters before the snow fell heavily.

In 1779 Heath was again in command of the American outposts, which continually raided Westchester township. In August of that year Sheldon's and Morgan's horse and the militia, with forty men of Glover's Continental brigade, made a raid in the neighborhood of Morrisania, captured some prisoners and cattle and were finally driven off by the British. A few days afterwards the British, seeing the necessity of having strong defenses at the north end of Manhattan Island, built a fort on Laurel Hill, at the high point now the terminus of Tenth Avenue, and about this time also constructed Redoubt Number Eight, on the Westchester side, on the site of the present residence of Mr. Gustav Schwab, near Morris' Dock. Shortly after the building of Fort Number Eight, Lieut. Oakley, of the American army, took five prisoners and came very near capturing Colonel de Lancey, the leader of the Tory Westchester light horse, who was quartered at that time at the Archer house, which lay just under the guns of the fort. The old house is standing today and traces of Fort Number Eight are to be found on Mr. Schwab's lawn. The gallant Armand in the same year made a raid and captured Captain Cruger of Bearmore's corps.[1] During 1780 the township was the scene of constant military manœuvres. In February of that year a body of British cavalry crossed the East River on the ice from Long Island to Westchester.[2] Arnold also began to fit out a boat expedition in Spuyten Duyvil Creek, which, however, was never carried out. De Lancey was making continual raids from Fordham and Morrisania on the adjoining country, and the Americans were constantly retaliating, at one time having gone so far into the territory as to destroy a pontoon bridge which the enemy had thrown across the Harlem at Morrisania and carried off large numbers of cattle.[3]

The last important military movement in Westchester township was Washington's grand reconnoisance, in 1781, in company with Count Rochambeau and other French officers. It was part of his plan of wresting New York City from the British, or else forcing them to draw upon their troops in the South for the protection of the city. The French forces, which had landed at Newport, were marched across the country and joined Washington on the Hudson, and it was intended that both armies should move down the river to the vicinity of New York, and there, in conjunction with the fleet of De Grasse, undertake the capture of the city. The project miscarried because the British were more strongly re-enforced than had been anticipated; but Lincoln, who had come down from Tarrytown, succeeded in getting his men into Fort Independence, just over the lower line. The enemy discovered him and an irregular skirmish ensued. De Lauzun, the French general, who was co-operating, was at that time at East Chester and heard the firing of the guns. His part of the programme was to surprise de Lancey at Morrisania, but finding that the enemy were on the alert he hastened to Lincoln's support, at Fort Independence. Washington, who, in the mean time, had the main body of the army under his command at Valentine's Hill (near the present depot of the New York City and Northern Railroad Company, at South Yonkers), also advanced. The British retreated by their boats across Harlem River.

Washington determined that he would reconnoitre their works, at all events. On July 21st Lincoln and Chastellereux made a reconnoisance of the works to the north of New York Island. Some advanced by the old Albany road, some down the Saw-Mill Valley, and the third column by the East Chester road. Scammel's light infantry was in advance, to prevent intelligence of the general movement spreading. Shel-

[1] Heath's "Memoirs," 215, 223, 228.
[2] Heath, 232.
[3] Heath's "Memoirs."

don's cavalry and the Connecticut troops were to go to the eastward of Westchester township and scour Throgg's Neck; his infantry and the Count De Lauzun's lancers were to scour Morrisania. The main body arrived at Fort Independence at daybreak. The British on New York Island did not seem to know what was going on. While the troops kept the enemy in check, Washington and Rochambeau, accompanied by the engineers of their staffs and with an escort of dragoons, reconnoitred the British position. A map prepared by Washington's engineer, now at the Historical Society Library in Second Avenue, with its pencil-marks and memoranda, brings the whole movement down almost to an eye-witness standpoint. They rode across country from the Hudson to the Sound. The British shelled them from several points, but the *cortege* proceeded leisurely on their business.[1]

Nothing more of much moment seems to have occurred in Revolutionary times within the bounds of Westchester township. Soon the surrender at Yorktown and the treaty of peace with Great Britain enabled the sturdy yeomen of Westchester to behold the last scene in this drama of war, when Washington, with his escort, crossed Harlem River to witness the evacuation of New York by the British.

HARLEM RIVER.

The conveniences afforded by the Harlem River for navigation had much to do with the early settlement of the west side of Westchester County. It is an estuary of East River, which is itself an arm of the sea, and its southerly or main outlet and its communication eastwardly with Bronx Kills afforded the Dutch and English pioneers easy routes of water communication with New York and between the plantations and inchoate towns on the water front. As very many of the subjects both of the King and the Prince of Orange came from the coast towns of England and Holland, there were among them plenty of men who knew how to build, equip and sail a boat, and so they were scarcely warm in their new homes before their sloops and periaugers stemmed the Harlem, and their white wings amazed the Indian aborigines. The sole obstacle to this land-locked navigation was the third outlet of the Harlem,—the dangerous Little Hell Gate, where the menacing black rocks and angry whirlpools obstructed the passage between Randall's and Ward's Islands.

Prior to 1814 the river was navigated by small craft, but in that year Robert McComb obtained from the Legislature permission to throw dams across the stream at Eighth Avenue and King's Bridge, and in 1838 the New York water commissioners attempted to impose another obstacle to free navigation by carrying the Croton water over to the city reservoirs on a solid embankment.[2] The importance of the river led, in 1827, to the formation of the Harlem River Canal Company, which, on April 16th of that year, was incorporated to construct a canal from Spuyten Duyvil Creek to Harlem River, and to improve the navigation of the river so as to form a navigable channel from it to the East River. The enterprise was abandoned because the company thought there was no money in it. At various sessions in 1836, 1837 and 1838 the Common Council of the city of New York discussed the advisability of taking up in some shape the work that the company had dropped, and received from Engineer George C. Schaeffer a report recommending improvements, substantially the same system as that proposed in recent years by the United States engineers. Although Mr. Schaeffer estimated the cost of the work at only eighty-six thousand dollars, the Council was timid about entering into it, and for eighteen years nothing was done, and the river remained closed to thorough navigation by McComb's Dam until the obstructions were removed by the force of public opinion and the action of the citizens in the neighborhood. In 1855, at the request of the city authorities, the Legislature authorized the Governor to appoint a special commission to establish pier and bulkhead lines on Harlem River, and in 1858 this task was completed under the supervision of General Totten, United States army, Professor Bache of the Coast Survey, and Captain Davis, United States navy. In their report they laid emphatic stress upon the importance of the preservation of the navigation of the Harlem to accommodate the wants of the city and Westchester County. "The distance from Hudson River to Hell Gate by this passage," they wrote, "is eight and a half miles. Its easy access from the Sound and moderately easy access from New York Harbor and its quiet interior, would seem to make it a desirable thoroughfare for vessels passing from Long Island Sound to the Hudson, and in certain cases even for those passing between New York Harbor on the East River and the Hudson."

This report was not fruitful of any results. On March 30, 1857, the State Legislature passed resolutions urging Congress to take measures to clear out the obstructions at the expense of the United States, to which no attention was paid. In 1860 Engineer J. McLeod Murphy surveyed the river, at the instance of the commissioners of New York County, and recommended a canal from Fordham Landing to Spuyten Duyvil Creek, as was outlined by Schaeffer nearly a quarter of a century previously, but he put the whole cost of the improvement up to one hundred and ninety-nine thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven dollars. In 1863 the Hudson and Harlem River Canal Company was incorporated, and its engineer, Isaac D. Coleman, reported in favor of one canal, on Schaeffer's plan, and another, through the northern end of Randall's Island, following the course of Bronx Kills, so as to open a passage eastward for vessels coming through the Harlem by which they might

[1] Irving's "Life of Washington," vol. iv., chap. xxii. Putnam's Ed., 1857.

[2] The history of the proceedings which led to the removal of McComb's dam and the thwarting of this plan of the water commissioners will be found in subsequent pages of this chapter.

avoid the dangers of Hell Gate. The company twice procured an extension of its charter, but, as it never took any further steps, its grant became forfeited in 1870.

In 1866 the commissioners of Central Park, who were then charged with the duty of improving the river and supervising the erection of bridges, made an elaborate report to the Common Council on the subject. Andrew H. Green, then controller of the Park Department and afterwards of New York City, commenting upon it, said, "It needs but a short look into the future to see this river busy with the craft that are to supply the thriving population on both its banks. As a water-way for commerce this estuary has the advantages of the Thames and the Seine." He pointed out that the improvements must be undertaken by public instead of private enterprise, and forecasted the course of legislation which has placed under governmental control the improvement of the river.

As a consequence of this continual agitation and suggestion, Congress, in 1874, passed an act directing an examination and survey to be made, and in February, 1876, General Newton made a report favoring the establishment of an open water-route between the Hudson and the Sound by way of Spuyten Duyvil Creek, a cut through Dykman's meadows, and thence to the Harlem River. He estimated the cost at three million three hundred and twenty-one thousand dollars. Proceedings for the acquisition of the right of way are nearly complete, and before long, in a few months, perhaps, the work of construction will be begun.[1]

BRIDGES OVER HARLEM RIVER.

KING'S BRIDGE.—In another part of this volume is noted the ferries at Harlem and Spuyten Duyvil kept by Johannes Verveelen. In 1712, Frederick Philipse, of Yonkers, was authorized to construct the present bridge at King's Bridge, and it was ever afterwards the principal passage to the mainland.

FARMERS' BRIDGE.—The origin of the Hadley or Farmers' or Dyckman's bridge is, to a certain extent, unknown. Perhaps it is the "causey" or "causeway" mentioned in the early history of Fordham. It is said to have been in existence before the Revolution. It is shown on many of the old military maps of the vicinity, published during 1776, and is supposed to have been built by the proprietors or people of the Manor of Fordham, to enable the inhabitants of that place to obtain more ready access to the city and save them a detour to get upon the State road, leading to Yonkers and Albany, *via* King's Bridge.

It was for a century kept in order by the city authorities of New York, as the authorities in Westchester County contended that as the whole of it was within the limits of New York County, it was the duty of the city corporation to keep it in repair.[2]

It is in contemplation by the city authorities to discontinue this bridge and King's Bridge, and erect either a tunnel or one large bridge at the upper end of Manhattan Island, but as yet the plans for this change are not perfected.

Between the Farmers' Bridge and the High Bridge commissioners are about erecting a new bridge, spanning the stream and extending from Aqueduct Avenue on the Westchester shore to the Tenth Avenue on the Manhattan Island side. This bridge is to be built in pursuance of the Laws of 1885, and is to be a masonry structure with an arch spanning the entire channel of the river, over one hundred feet above high water-mark. The contract is about to be let.

THE CROTON AQUEDUCT OR HIGH BRIDGE.—The high bridge which crosses the Harlem River at the northwest corner of Morrisania was built as an aqueduct to convey the water of the Croton River to the reservoirs of New York City. It spans the Harlem where that stream has a width of six hundred and twenty feet and its banks an elevation of one hundred feet. The original design of the engineers was to convey the conduit across the river by means of a stone embankment, broken by a high arch, through which the water would flow in a syphon, but the objections of the property-holders in the vicinity caused the bridge plan to be adopted. The aqueduct has fifteen arches, eight of which are on the river bottom. They are each eighty feet in width and one hundred feet high above flood tide. The seven shore arches have each fifty feet span. To reach the foundation of each pier a coffer-dam was built and pumped out until the sand bottom was excavated and the solid rock laid bare or a firm pile foundation prepared on which the masonry was laid. Above the roof of the arches the huge iron pipes which carry the water are fixed on wooden sills, and above them is the foot-way of the bridge. As the elevation of the arches is less than that of the Croton Aqueduct, a system of syphons and gate houses receives the water at the east side and discharges it at the west. The aqueduct was in working order on July 4, 1842, but the bridge was not completed until six years and six months afterward. Its extreme height above the river surface is one hundred and fourteen feet, two inches. It is constructed of sound gneiss, equal in durability to granite. The cost of the aqueduct was $8,575,000, including purchases of land and extinguishment of riparian rights. This figure was within five per cent. of the estimates of Chief Engineer Jervis. To it, however, must be added $1,800,000, the cost of distributing pipes, the interest, the expense of placing the loans, etc., which bring the total up to $12,500,000.[3]

[1] The authorities for above: The various Reports alluded to in the author's possession, Proceedings by Common Council, Board of Aldermen, Acts of New York Legislature, Proceedings Commissioners of Central Park, and private memoranda. Thanks are due to Captain Tuomey, clerk of the Board of Aldermen of New York City, for valuable assistance, as many of the documents referred to are rare and difficult to find.

[2] Proceedings of Board of Supervisors N. Y. Co., April, 1855.

[3] Schrampke's account of the Croton Aqueduct.

The following inscription appears on the mason work of the structure:

"Aqueduct Bridge.

Finished December 31st, 1848

Philip Hone,
Nathaniel Weed,
M. O. Roberts,
J. H. Hobart Haws,
A. C. Kingsland,
} Water Commissioners.

John B. Jervis, Chief,
P. Hastie, Resident,
E. H. Tracy, Assistant,
} Engineers.

J. Vervalen, Inspector of Masonry.

George Law,
Samuel Roberts,
Arnold Mason,
} Contractors."

On the gate-houses at either end is the inscription—"1848."

The bridge as originally constructed carried two iron pipes three feet in diameter, but in 1860 it was improved by adding a large pipe seven feet in diameter, which lies between the two smaller pipes.

The side walls of the bridge were raised at the same time and the pipes were covered with a brick arch, on the top of which is a promenade, from which a view up and down the Harlem is obtained, which is one of the most attractive in the vicinity of New York. This improvement is commemorated by a bronze tablet let into the walls of the gate-houses on both the New York and Westchester sides of the river, reading as follows:

"The Improvement of this bridge by adding the large pipe, raising of the side walls and covering the whole work with an arch was commenced October, 1860. The new pipe was put in operation December, 1861. The masonry completed in 1863.

"*Croton Aqueduct Board.*

"Thomas Stephens, President Commissioner; Thomas B. Tappen, Assistant Commissioner to Dec. 4, 1862; Alfred W. Craven, Commissioner and Engineer-in-chief; Engineers: George S. Greene, Engineer in-charge to Feby. 31st, 1862; Wm. F. Dearborn, Engineer-in-charge from Feby. 1st, 1862; Contractors, Thomas F. Rowland, for the pipe; J. P. Cummings, for the masonry."

The Central Bridge or Macomb's Dam.—In 1800 the mayor, aldermen and commonalty ceded to Alexander McComb and his heirs and assigns, "All that certain piece or parcell of land covered with water situated in the 7th Ward (now 12th Ward) of the city beginning at the West side of Kingsbridge at low water mark on the north side of the river, creek or run of water called Spuyten Duyvil; thence running along the creek westerly at low water mark one hundred feet; thence crossing the creek to a place at low water mark one hundred feet from Kingsbridge; thence along the creek easterly at low water mark to Kingsbridge and thence along the West side of the bridge to the place of beginning." A passage-way fifteen feet along the course of the creek was reserved to be kept clear, open and unincumbered, so that all small boats and craft might freely and without obstruction pass and repass the same, with a right on the part of the corporation to re-enter and dispossess Macomb or his successors in case he failed to comply with the condition. It seems, however, that Macomb did not keep the passage-way open. He erected a tidal grist-mill west of the bridge, and in 1855 it was still standing. Macomb was to pay twelve dollars and fifty cents per annum rent. In 1834 Macomb ceased to pay rent, but in 1854 his heirs came forward and paid up all arrears. In 1855 a committee of the Board of Supervisors recommended that the old mill be declared a nuisance and the grant forfeited, as it was evidently an improvident and void grant from its inception. During 1855 the proprietors were about fitting it up as a hotel, as it had then ceased to be used as a mill, but about that time a heavy gale of wind blew it over.[1]

But the supply of water at the tide-mill at King's Bridge was inadequate, for as early as 1813, Macomb obtained a grant to build a dam across the Harlem River from Bussing's Point, on the Harlem side, to Devoe's Point, on the Westchester side, so as to hold the waters of the river for the benefit of the mill at King's Bridge, thus practically making a tidal mill-pond between the present side of the Central Bridge at Seventh Avenue and old King's Bridge. This erection was known for years as "Macomb's Dam."

The act required that it should be so constructed as to allow the passage of boats and vessels accustomed to navigate the river, either by means of a gate-lock, apron or other contrivance, and that Macomb should always have a person in attendance, so that no unnecessary delay should happen to persons wishing to pass with their boats. The Common Council ratified the grant and upon it a lease was issued to Macomb, his heirs and assigns forever, of all the lands under water required for the purpose and also a considerable amount of upland on the Manhattan Island side, embracing a valuable gore between the road leading to the dam and Seventh Avenue. Forfeiture for non-payment of rent was provided in the lease. The annual rental was the same as for the mill at King's Bridge, and was in arrears for many years, but in the mean time Macomb and his successors levied toll on all vehicles and persons who passed over the bridge, and continued to do so down to the time of the erection of the present Central Bridge.

But it appears that this unauthorized toll-bridge and obstruction to the navigation of the river was resisted by the people on both sides of the river. In 1839 Charles Henry Hall, Thomas W. Ludlow, Robert Morris, of Fordham, his son, Lewis G. Morris, of the same place, Lewis, Gouverneur and William H. Morris, of Morrisania, the Valentines, Berrians, Devoes and others and even citizens of the village of Westchester, and most of the farmers in the vicinity, determined that the dam should at least be so

[1] Docs. Board of Supervisors of N. Y. County and personal information from Isaac Michael Dyckman, of King's Bridge.

constructed that it would afford an unobstructed passage for vessels. Public meetings were held,[1] the best legal talent retained, and money was raised to protect the full navigation of the river.

Lewis G. Morris, then quite a young man, was by the votes of his associates entrusted with the leadership of the fight. In order to bring the question, if necessary, within the jurisdiction of the United States Courts, it was determined that a vessel laden with a cargo from a neighboring State should ascend the river and demand passage way through the *opening* which the grant had directed should be kept for vessels, but which Macomb and his successors had neglected to provide. Mr. Morris therefore built a dock on his place about a mile north of the present site of High Bridge and chartered a *periauger*, called the "Nonpareil," with a cargo of coal on board consigned for delivery at Morris Dock. He arrived with his boat at the dam one evening at full tide and demanded of Feeks, the toll gatherer, that the draw or passage-way be opened; of course Feeks could not comply. Some flat boats which had been provided had on board a band of one hundred men; and Feeks not opening the draw, Mr. Morris with his men forcibly removed a portion of the dam, so that the "Nonpareil" floated across. From that time a draw was always kept in the bridge, but for many years the passage was very difficult, the tide being so strong that it was only possible to pass at slack water.

The Renwicks had succeeded the Macombs to the rights in the dam. At first an attempt was made to indict Morris for disturbing the public peace, but by the advice of the recorder and district attorney it was determined he had a right to demand passage for his vessel. The Renwicks then brought suit in the Superior Court to recover from Morris the damages for his alleged trespass, but on the trial the judge charged the jury that the dam as built was a *public nuisance* and that any one had a right to abate it. An appeal was then taken to the Supreme Court and there Mr. Justice Cowen held likewise. Not content with this decision, the Renwicks carried the suit to the Court of Errors on appeal, where all the judgments below were affirmed.

Chancellor Walworth wrote the opinion; among other things he said: "The Harlem River is an arm of the sea and a public navigable river; it was a *public nuisance* to obstruct the navigation thereof without authority of law. The act of the Legislature did not authorize the obstruction of the navigation of the river in the manner in which it was done by the dam in question." He also held that no time runs against a *public nuisance*.[2]

It is fair to Mr. Morris and his associates to state that this overt and bold act on their part has preserved to the city the navigation of the stream, and largely to their efforts is due the fact that some years later the Croton water was brought into the city by the High Bridge and not over a low bridge without a draw, as was first contemplated. On the 3d of May, 1839, the Legislature passed an act directing the water commissioners to construct an aqueduct across the river, with arches and piers. The arches in the channel were to be eighty feet span, and one hundred feet in height above high water-mark to the under side of the arches at the crown, or they might carry the water across by a tunnel under the channel of the river, the top of the tunnel not to be higher than the present bed of the channel.[3]

Later on, by act of April 16, 1858, the Legislature directed the mayor and aldermen of New York and the supervisors of Westchester County to erect and maintain a public free bridge across Harlem River from a point in the city near the terminus of Eighth Avenue to a point in Westchester County at or near the terminus of the Macomb's Dam road. This was the authority for building the present Central Bridge. Lewis G. Morris and Charles Bathgate were appointed commissioners for the county. The commissioners were directed to remove the old Macomb's dam and the obstructions in the river caused by it and to see that the river was made navigable according to its natural capacity. The expense was limited to ten thousand dollars for each county, and of the share of Westchester County, one-third was taxed upon West Farms and Morrisania and the residue upon the rest of the county. The cost proving much heavier than was anticipated, each county was authorized in 1859 to double its original appropriation, and in 1860 Westchester was

[1] The free navigation of the Harlem River had always been an important question with the people of the southwestern section of Westchester County. On March 3, 1838, the land-owners of the town of Westchester held a meeting at Christopher Walton's store, at Fordham Corners, and appointed a committee to memorialize the General Assembly in opposition to the low bridge which it was proposed to build, without a draw, to convey the Croton water supply into New York City. The same committee was instructed to ascertain the best method of removing the obstructions in the river at Macomb's dam and Cole's bridge. The memorial stated that the signers had been informed that the water commissioners intended to carry the Croton water across Harlem River by inverted syphons built over an embankment of stone, filling up the whole of the natural channel, and with only one archway on the New York side only eighty feet in height, instead of by an aqueduct bridge, which had already been planned, one hundred and twenty-eight feet above the tide, with arches of eighty feet span disposed across the entire width of the river. The city of New York might by the low bridge plan save $509,718, the high bridge having been estimated to cost $935,745, and the inverted syphon plan would cost but $426,027; but the memorialists claimed that their rights to the navigation of the river would by the latter plan be totally destroyed. They showed that prior to the obstructions of Macomb's dam and Cole's bridge the Harlem was navigated to Berrian's Landing and that their ancestors and some of themselves had used the Harlem to ship their produce to market. They also showed that at that early day surveys for the improvement of the navigation of the river had been made at the instance of the corporation of New York; that Macomb had been guilty of violating his grant by not putting a draw in his dam, and asked the Legislature to compel the water commissioners to direct such an erection across the river as would not impede navigation. Counsel were employed, who gave an opinion that the people had a right to remove the existing nuisances by force, and the result was Mr. Lewis G. Morris' forcible passage of McComb's dam, as elsewhere related in this chapter.

[2] Renwick *vs.* Morris, 7 Hill, 575.

[3] Chapter cccxviii. Laws 1839, page 293.

authorized to add another ten thousand dollars, New York at the same time contributing forty thousand dollars more. The commissioners paid to the Duncan P. Campbell estate, then the owner of the dam, piers and abutments of Macomb's dam, eighteen thousand dollars for all his property and rights, including the approaches to the bridge on each side of the river and his privilege of using the waters of the river. In 1861 the bridge was completed and thrown open to travel. It is in contemplation to remove this bridge and cross the river at this point by a tunnel underneath the stream.[1]

THE MADISON AVENUE BRIDGE. — Next in order is the bridge crossing the Harlem from the terminus of Madison Avenue to One Hundred and Thirty-eighth Street on the Westchester side. As early as October, 1874, the citizens on the Westchester shore petitioned to have a wooden pile-bridge built at that site. After several changes of plans an appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars was made. In June, 1877, a resolution was passed authorizing the acquisition of the right of way for the approaches to the bridge, and in 1878 the Board of Estimate authorized the issuing of bonds for building the bridge. Soundings were again made so as to determine the sites for the piers, but not until February, 1879, did General Greene, the engineer, submit plans and specifications as to soundings and cost. On October 15, 1879, John Beattie was awarded the contract for fifty-nine thousand four hundred and forty-four dollars. A. P. Boller was called in as consulting engineer and made some suggestions as to change of plan. Beattie complained of the changes. On October 3, 1880, Eugene E. McLean, engineer of construction, was relieved from duty, and E. B. Van Winkle, topographical engineer of the Department of Parks, was placed in temporary charge. A change in the masonwork was again recommended in 1880 and the work was again delayed. Wm. J. McAlpine was then appointed engineer of construction and A. P. Boller was invited to consult with the board as to the iron superstructure. June 6, 1881, the contract for construction of approaches was awarded to John McQuade for ninety-four thousand six hundred and twenty dollars. The whole cost of the bridge was four hundred and ninety-two thousand two hundred and ninety-five dollars.

This bridge is now crossed by the Madison Avenue line of horse-cars operated by the Harlem Railroad Company.

THE HARLEM OR THIRD AVENUE BRIDGE.— The Harlem Bridge, at the terminus of Third Avenue, was first authorized by an act of the Legislature passed March 31, 1790,[2] granting the privilege to Lewis Morris, his heirs and assigns. The Morrises assigned this grant to one John B. Coles, who, on the 25th of March, 1795, obtained an act of the Legislature authorizing him, his heirs or assigns to build a dam across the Harlem River at that place, to be of stone and to be so built as to answer for the foundations of the bridge as well as to collect the waters of the river for the use of grist and other mills. The act provided for locks and that a man should be in attendance on the lock at all times; that the bridge should be completed within four years; that Coles and his heirs should keep it in repair for sixty years and collect the tolls, after which it should vest in the people of the State.[3]

It appears, however, that although Coles erected the bridge in pursuance of the last act, and though the commissioners named in the first act did lay out a road from the bridge to East Chester, yet the damages to the persons through whose hands the road passed were not paid and some part of the road was not opened, though Coles had expended a considerable sum in making and clearing the road, but that much money would still have to be expended. Nevertheless, the Legislature in 1797 established the road as a public highway and directed it to be opened as such, although the damages to the adjoining land-owners were not paid. Coles was authorized at his expense to cause the road to be cleared and rendered convenient for travelers, and for thirty years afterwards to collect an additional toll for passing the bridge, not exceeding fifty per cent. above what was authorized by the other acts, but he was to keep the road in repair for that time.[4]

The original Coles or Boston road extended up Third Avenue as far north as a point near the present line of One Hundred and Sixtieth Street, and thence ran east down the hill across Mill Brook over a bridge. (The stream is now filled in and forms a part of Brook Avenue at this point.) The road then deflected north and followed the present Fordham Avenue until what is now known as the Boston road was reached, and then followed it to the village of West Farms, where it struck the present Main Street in that village and ran north, crossing the Bronx at the bridge by the Bleach, and thence through Bronxdale and along the present route of the East Chester road till the East Chester line was reached, at Black Dog Brook. It then extended north through East Chester on the present route as it passes the tavern of Stephen Odell.

[1] Acts above referred to and Reports of Commissioners on file in New York and Westchester Counties.

[2] March 31, 1790.—Chapter xxxvii. of the laws of that year authorized Lewis Morris to construct a bridge from Harlem to Morrisania, which was to be provided with a draw; the rates of toll were established. The commissioners of highways in New York were authorized to lay out a convenient road from any part of the main road leading from the city of New York to Harlem River at the bridge then authorized, and Doctor Joseph Brown, George Embree and John Bartow were authorized, at the expense of Lewis Morris, to lay out a road four rods in width from the bridge through the towns of Morrisania, Westchester and East Chester until it should strike the main road in East Chester. The land for the new road was to be condemned and paid for by the respective towns, but Mr. Morris was to pay the commissioners.—Ed. Laws of N. Y., Childs & Swaryne, 1790, page 30.

[3] Chapter xxxi. Laws 1795, page 23.

[4] Chapter lxiii. Laws 1797, page 153 (Robins' edition).

In 1798 Coles was relieved from a part of his duty to keep the road in repair, and his additional toll cut down twenty-five per cent.[1] This was undoubtedly occasioned by reason of the State having lent its aid to build a part of the road, for we find that in 1797, by an act passed for improving certain great roads in the State, the road from Coles' Bridge to East Chester was provided for, and a sum of money authorized to be paid on the order of a justice of the Supreme Court. The moneys for paying for this road were raised by a lottery which was authorized by the act.[2] In 1808 Coles and his associates prayed that they might be incorporated, and the Legislature passed an act incorporating the "Harlem Bridge Company." They were, by the act, compelled to keep the road leading from the bridge to East Chester in good repair. The following rates of toll were permitted to be collected:

Every four-wheeled pleasure carriage and horses	37½ cts.
Every two-wheeled pleasure carriage and horses	19 "
Every pleasure sleigh and horses	19 "
Every common wagon and horses	12½ "
Every common sled and horses	12½ "
Ox cart and oxen	12½ "
Every one-horse cart and horse	9 "
Every man and horse	9 "
Every ox, cow or steer	1 "
Every dozen hogs, sheep or calves, and so in proportion for a greater or less number	6 "
For every foot passenger	3 "

State and United States troops, with their artillery, carriages and stores were to pass free of toll.[3]

Under the foregoing acts and grants Coles and his associates built the bridge, and although it was insufficient for land travel and its draw so narrow as to seriously impede the navigation of the river, as late as 1855 his successors were endeavoring to have the charter renewed. In 1857 the Legislature passed an act reciting the fact that on April 1, 1858, it was to become a free bridge, to be maintained as such by the counties of New York and Westchester The mayor and street commissioners of New York City and the county judge and chairman of the Westchester Board of Supervisors were empowered to build a new bridge in their discretion and levy a tax for the cost. Judge William H. Robertson and Chairman Alsop H. Lockwood were the Westchester members of this commission, which, in June, 1860, appointed William H. McAlpine engineer of the work. He made plans for an iron draw-bridge on stone piers, at a cost of three hundred thousand dollars, and it was eventually built, although not until some changes had been made in the plan to better accommodate navigation. On July 14, 1886, the New York authorities awarded a contract to a Wilmington, Del., company, for the construction of a new iron bridge at a cost of two million two hundred thousand dollars.

The Harlem Bridge is crossed by the Fordham and West Farms Horse Railways.

In addition to the above traveled bridges are the Hudson River Railroad Bridge, at the junction of Hudson River and Spuyten Duyvil Creek; the New York City and Northern Railroad Company's bridge, at the terminus of One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street and Ninth Avenue, connecting with west-side system of elevated railways in New York (it was constructed in 1879–80 under authority of the Rapid Transit Act of 1875 and by permission and under the supervision of the Park Department;[4] the Fourth Avenue Harlem Railroad bridge, an iron structure;[5] and the new iron bridge of the suburban Rapid Transit Company at the terminus of Second Avenue.[6]

In the early part of the century a bridge also crossed the Harlem, connecting Ward's Island with New York Island, but the bridge and its piers were removed many years ago.

HIGHWAYS AND ROADS IN MORRISANIA AND WEST FARMS.

By the Sautier surveys, printed in 1779 by Fadden, we find the town traversed by two principal highways. One came from Morrisania, opposite Harlem, and ran northeast to Westchester village, and then north to the present Farmers' Bridge, then called Dyckman's Bridge. From King's Bridge the highway ran at the foot of the Giles place to the Boston and Albany road, as at present, crossing the Bronx at Williams' Bridge. Another road led east from the Farmers' Bridge to the village of West Farms.

From the Westchester town records, however, we find a record dated October 5, 1725, which relates to a highway "in the manor of Ffordham, beginning at the foot of the hill to the westward of the Bronx River near Peter Bussing's land and running thence along the side of the hill to the corner of Benjamin Archer's orchard, where it comes into the old road." This in all likelihood is the road leading from the present King's Bridge road near Judge Tappen's place at Fordham.

Another road ordered in 1729 led from the King's road "to the landing below John Hunt's house, which landing was formerly known by the name of

[1] Laws 1798, page 448, Chapter lxxvi. (Loring Andrews' edition of the Laws).

[2] Laws 1797 (Robins' edition).

[3] Laws 1808, page 10.

[4] A. P. Bollen was the engineer of this bridge and Smith & Ridley the contractors. It is the most graceful structure which spans the stream, excepting, perhaps, the High Bridge.

[5] Many of our readers will undoubtedly recall the old covered wooden structure which used to span the stream at this point with a way for foot-passengers as well as the railroad.

[6] This bridge was constructed under the same authority as the New York City and Northern Railroad bridge above mentioned. J. J. R. Croes was the engineer. By the efforts of the company, and especially its president, Mr. S. R. Filley, of Woodstock, the people of the annexed district are insured of a speedy connection with the east-side system of elevated railways in New York City. Much praise is due to Mr. Filley for his unremitting efforts, in spite of great opposition, in accomplishing the organization of his company and promoting rapid transit.

White Bank," and the people on whose property it touched were authorized "to keep gates." It would seem that this must be a road leading from the highway between Morrisania and West Farms to Hunt's Point. On November 15th of the same year a road was ordered to begin at the King's road in Fordham, and lead "nigh to the water side and landing;" and the same day provision was made for a road "beginning at the King's Road in Fordham, at the Corner of Peter Kens' field, and thence southerly until it comes to the abovesaid road leading to the Dutch meeting-house."

The present Farmers' Bridge road dates back to June 6, 1730, when Commissioners Honeywell and Leggett, acting upon the complaint of the people of Fordham Manor, condemned the King's road "down the hill through the farm which Benjamin Archer now possesseth," and laid it "through the enclosed field of Archer to the eastward where the road now is cleared and beginneth at the Post road leading to King's Bridge at the corner of the fence near John Archer's orchard, and thence southerly until it comes to the road that leads through the farm which John Vermilyea now possesseth on the Manor." June 13, 1730, an order was passed for a road from the King's road below the hill on Fordham Manor to the highway leading to the Fordham Meeting-house. The meeting-house which was the old Dutch Church formerly stood at the junction of the Macomb's Dam road and the Berrian Landing road. It was mentioned that this thoroughfare was to pass by "Michael Odle's Still." A road to East Chester must have been in existence prior to 1733, as it is alluded to in the act of March 1st of that year, On April 9, 1733, the highway through Jonathan Lawrence's land down to West Farms was altered and laid "nigher the river, according to stakes set up and rocks marked." What is now the road from Farmers' Bridge to the depot at King's Bridge was made under the following order in 1734:

"Upon a review of the road from King's Bridge to Halstead's Bridge, we have made the following alteration, to wit: Beginning where said road and the road from West Farms meet, we have laid out said road through the Widow Archer's land as stakes are now set up to the old road, and then across said road to the Yonkers line, from which place John Archer, assisted by us, has himself agreed to and laid out the said road to run through his land in the Yonkers as stakes are this day set up until it meets ye former or old road again, and then ye old road is continued as formerly."

The old Macomb's Dam road came under the care of the commissioners in 1768, their proceedings of May 3d in that year being understood to have reference to it. The transcript from the road-book of that date says,—

"Commissioners, at request of the freeholders and inhabitants of that part of the Manor of Fordham lying upon Harlem River to the South of the Old Dutch Church, viewed the road as then used from the publick road (laid out to the river by said church), beginning a little to the eastward of the said Dutch Church and thence running southerly as the said road runs to the landing at the back of the house now occupied by Charles Doughty on the patent to Turneur; and have at their request now laid out the same road as and for a publick highway, to be two rods wide, with privilege to hang gates on the same, provided they are kept in repair so as to swing with conveniency and not otherways."

The present cross-road from the Macomb's Dam road to Tremont is of recent date (say about 1845) and the road connecting the Macomb's Dam road with the King's Bridge road, near the present Dutch Reformed Church, was opened about the same time.

The writer can remember when no road led to West Farms from Tremont, but a person desiring to drive from Harlem River to West Farms was compelled to drive by way of Fordham. Fordham Avenue was merely a lane through Gouverneur Morris' farm, which extended from the old Quarry road near the Home for Incurables to Rae's Corners (the crossing of the Coles road at Mill Brook at One Hundred and Fifty-sixth Street), and then the lane continued south to Saint Ann's Church and Gouverneur Morris' gate, substantially by the route of St. Ann's Avenue as now laid out. Most of the cross-roads and some of the main ones of to-day were opened by land-owners for the purpose of developing their property. The limits assigned to the author does not permit him to pursue this subject further.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE TOWNSHIP, INCLUDING THE COLONIAL, REVOLUTIONARY AND MODERN PERIODS.

Cornelis Steenwyck, one of the earliest proprietors in Westchester town, was a member of the Council of the province of New Netherland during the restoration of the Dutch rule, in 1673. We find Lewis Morris in the Council from 1684 to 1685, and also James Graham. Richard Paxton, in 1689, was one of the Councilors of Leisler, and Samuel Edsall, at one time owner of Bronxland, in 1690. Caleb Heathcote was also in the Council from 1692 to 1697, and Robert Waters, of Westchester, served from 1698 to 1702, when he was suspended for taking the popular side. Caleb Heathcote served as Waters' successor from 1702 to 1720, and Waters was again in the Council from 1710 to 1731. He died in June, 1731. Lewis Morris was in the Council again from 1721 to 1729, in Caleb Heathcote's place, and the rival family of De Lancey, as successor of Heathcote, displaces Lewis Morris in the person of James De Lancey, who served from 1729 to 1753. This distinguished man was Lieutenant-Governor of the province from 1753 to September 3, 1755; also from June 3, 1757, to July 30, 1760. He returned to the Council from 1755 to 1760, when he died. Oliver De Lancey served in the Council from 1760 to 1766, and James, the son of James, was offered a seat in 1769, but declined it. Gouverneur Morris, a citizen of this township, was one of the members of the Council of Safety, which was appointed by the New York Assembly and sat from May 14 to Sept. 10, 1777, and from Oct. 8, 1777 to Sept. 10, 1778. For many years Richard Morris, of Fordham, chief justice of the Supreme Court, served as a member of the Council of Revision. The township has at various times furnished its quota of

distinguished men to the State Senate. Lewis and Richard Morris served at the sessions of 1777–1778; Richard alone in 1778–1779; the two brothers again in 1780–1781; and Lewis in the fourth session down to July 1, 1781. He was returned in 1784–1787–1788–1789 and 1790. Philip Livingston, who owned the Van Schaick place, on Throckmorton's Neck, was a State Senator in 1780–1790–1791 and 1792. Samuel Haight, from the old borough town, represented the district in 1799–1800; and Thomas Thomas in 1807–1808. Then the old town furnished no Senator until 1868, when William Cauldwell, of Morrisania, was elected, and was returned in 1870.

Caleb Heathcote was the first of the townsmen who filled a place on the bench of the County Court. He was appointed in 1695, and Samuel Purdy in 1752. In 1777 Lewis Morris was appointed, but the next year resigned in favor of his son-in-law, Robert Graham. Silas D. Gifford became a judge of the County Court November, 1871. March 13, 1715, Lewis Morris was made chief justice of the Supreme Court of the province, and on August 21, 1733, was succeeded by James De Lancey. Richard Morris was appointed chief justice of the Supreme Bench of the State October 23, 1779, and served until he was retired by reason of age. Abraham Tappen was elected to Supreme bench November 5, 1867, his term expiring January 1, 1876.

The township has furnished three surrogates of the county. John Barton held the office from 1739 to 1754, inclusive, and Richard Hatfield entered upon the discharge of its duties March 23, 1778. On May 15, 1862, Silas D. Gifford was appointed surrogate by the Governor in place of Mr. Coles, deceased.

Natural Characteristics, Residences, Etc.—The territory comprised within the limits of what was formerly the townships of West Farms and Morrisania, now Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Wards, New York City, presents varied aspects of scenery. The rapid growth of the city of New York has already destroyed much of its natural beauty, and in a few years its appearance will be changed. A plain, old-fashioned country road is already the exception; macadamized avenues and in many places paved streets fill up the valleys and cut through the hills where formerly the green country lanes, shaded by beautiful trees, delighted the wayfarer. Still, there is much of natural beauty left, and the city authorities, in adopting plans of streets, roads and avenues through the townships now in the city limits, have shown good taste and judgment in abandoning the rectangular plan of streets so common in all modern municipalities and laid out the thoroughfares in accordance with the natural slope of the ground. The country is hilly, with broad valleys between, the direction of the hills running generally north and south. Along the ridge overlooking the picturesque Spuyten Duyvil and Harlem are to be found views which a resident of the great city would travel miles in foreign lands to visit. Owing to the windings of the stream and the irregular shape of Manhattan Island, vistas of Hudson's River and the straight line of the Palisades of New Jersey greet the eye looking westward, while at the base of the ridge the Harlem and Spuyten Duyvil lie in a deep valley, giving the appearance of a succession of lakes rather than one continuous stream.

Historic associations, blended with natural beauties, tempts one who has known the territory all his life, in giving a description of its present appearance, to combine with it a short gossipy account of its present as well as former owners. Beginning at the northwest corner of what was West Farms, just south of the Yonkers line, we find a beautiful panoramic view of the Harlem and Spuyten Duyvil Creek. At one's feet lies King's Bridge or Paparinamin or Fordham, as we see by the colonial account of the region the present King's Bridge was formerly called; just over the Yonkers line, on the site of the present residence of William O. Giles, stood Fort Independence, the last American work on the Westchester side abandoned by the American army on Washington's retreat to White Plains. Immediately south of the Giles place is still to be seen, just east of Sedgwick Avenue, the remains of an old powder magazine used by the British during the Revolution, and just east of the avenue stood the Negro Fort, now on the grounds of H. B. Claflin, which afterwards, with other works, formed a chain of redoubts and cantonments and outworks for the British during the entire period of their occupancy of New York City during the Revolution.

Another of these works is on the lawn of N. P. Bailey, which has been identified as the King's Battery. On the grounds of H. W. T. Mali earthworks are also recognizable near the line of the New York City and Northern Railroad. The residence of Gustav Schwab stands upon the site of Fort Number 8. Immediately south of that fort, and in the valley just below the residence of ex-Mayor Franklin Edson, still stands an old stone farm-house which during the Revolution was occupied by one of the Archers, and the writer of this article remembers to have heard his grandfather give an account of his visit there when the fort on the hill was in the occupation of the British.

Farther south and crossing a small stream which intersects the ridge at this point, soon to be the route of a thoroughfare called Burnside Avenue, one comes to the residence formerly of Mrs. Emma Dashwood, now owned by Timothy C. Eastman, and nearer the river, fronting on Sedgewick Avenue, is the residence of Gulian Ludlow Dashwood, clerk of St. James' Vestry, president of the Fordham Ridge Whist Club, and the bachelor factotum of the neighborhood. According to Burke's "Landed Gentry of England," Mr. Dashwood is Baron de Spencer in his own right, but, like a sensible man, he prefers his American

friends and a competency in his native land to an empty title in a foreign one.

Just south of the last place is Fairlawn, the beautiful residence of Hugh N. Camp. On the river side of the homestead stands the picturesque cottage of his son-in-law, Perry Williams. At some point of the ridge near this place the batteries of the British troops were stationed, and under the cover of their fire the British flat-boats were able to descend the river and scale the heights of Laurel Hill, immediately opposite, when the attack was made on Fort Washington. From Mr. Williams' house the earthwork at Laurel Hill is discernible. Immediately opposite Mr. Camp's entrance-gate, on the site now occupied by the embankment of the Croton Aqueduct, stood the residence of Richard Morris, colonial judge of Vice Admiralty, and afterwards second chief justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York. Mr. Lewis G. Morris, who owns a part of the original farm of Judge Morris, occupies the adjoining place, Mount Fordham, inherited by his father, Robert Morris, from the chief justice.

Still farther south on the same ridge are several beautiful residences. At the beginning of the century this tract was known as the Poole Farm, and John Poole, one of the original family, still occupies a portion of it. The most northerly of these places is High Cottage, belonging to the estate of the late Romanzo W. Montgomery, a wealthy merchant of New Orleans, though originally from the Eastern States. The view from High Cottage is one of the finest on the Ridge. Mrs. Lees, widow of the late James Lees, of the well-known firm of Lees & Walker, now succeeded by Lindlaw & Company, occupies the next place, and the most southerly property on the former Poole Farm is Villa Boscobel, the residence of the late William B. Ogden, the first mayor of Chicago, and a railroad king of the West. During his later years he gave full rein to his refined taste and Villa Boscobel, with its beautiful grounds, green-houses, choice shrubberies, flowers and arboretums, is a fit monument to his taste and refinement. He was also much interested in developing the neighborhood. To his wise counsel and experience much is due for the present plan for laying out and improving the city suburbs, of which Villa Boscobel will for years form a notable feature. His widow keeps up the villa in a style befitting its founder, and her kind deeds in this vicinity and in other communities give additional lustre to the memory of one who has left a precious trust in worthy hands.

Just south of the Ogden estate is a pretty cottage belonging to the estate of Mr. Ogden's sister, the late Mrs. Judge Wheeler, whose husband, Norman K. Wheeler, was the first police magistrate appointed to serve in the annexed district after West Farms was annexed to New York City.

Just south of the Wheeler and Ogden properties the stone aqueduct known as High Bridge crosses the Harlem.

South of High Bridge, not far from the junction of Ogden Avenue and Woolfe Street, is a small stream which was the southern boundary of the Archer patent, already mentioned. Crossing the stream, the lands in Daniel Turneur's patent are reached, and all south of the stream, bounded on the east by the Harlem and on the west by Cromwell's Creek, was afterward known as Devoe's Point—the Nuasin of the Indians. Upon this southerly end of the back-bone of Westchester is situated the settlements of Clermont and Highbridgeville. Ogden Avenue passes along the ridge in a southerly direction, and after leaving the village passes between several very pretty residences. On the highest part of the ridge is Woody Crest, the residence of the late Mrs. Anderson, and somewhere near this place stood the house of Daniel Turneur, the original patentee. At the terminus of Ogden Avenue a junction is formed with it and Central or Jerome Avenue and Sedgwick Avenues, and the Harlem River is crossed at this point by the Central Bridge or Macomb's Dam.

Returning to the Yonkers line, and taking in all the territory lying between the summit of the ridge and the Harlem Railroad, are two valleys, one the headwaters of Cromwell's Creek, the other that of Mill Brook. Immediately at the Yonkers line are the lands of the American Jockey Club, formerly the Bathgate Farm. The property belongs to the corporation known as the Jerome Park Villa Site Improvement Company, but the American Jockey Club is the lessee. This club was formed soon after the close of the Civil War, for the purpose of improving thoroughbred stock, and conducting race meetings honestly, free from the rowdy and gambling element which had brought them into disrepute. Leonard W. Jerome, William R. Travers and S. L. M. Barlow, of New York, John Hunter, of Westchester, and Governor Oden Bowie, of Maryland, were the leading spirits in establishing the organization. It at once raised the standard of racing in America, and from this Renaissance of the turf dates the present prosperity and good management of all our large race courses, and the increased interest in improving the breed of horses. It is a curious coincidence that "Eclipse," the celebrated American racer of former days, was for some time under the care and management of James Bathgate, the former owner of the present park of the American Jockey Club.

To the east of Jerome Park is the farm of Michael Varian, in whose family the lands on which the old stone house stands have been held for nearly, if not more than, a century. Upon the crest of the high ridge, overlooking the Bronx Valley to the eastward, stood an earthwork erected by General Heath in 1776, so as to command the crossing of the Bronx at Williams' Bridge. This site has now been acquired by the city of New York for a reservoir, in which the waters

of the Bronx River are to be stored and from which they will be distributed through the city.

Still farther east, and at the northeast corner of what was formerly West Farms, is the small village of Williams' Bridge. The ancient highway which passes through this section east and west and descends the steep hill to the Bronx was the former road to Connecticut and the other New England States, and before the construction of Harlem Bridge was the only traveled route to New England. It is still known as the "Boston road," but should not be confounded with another highway farther to the eastward in Morrisania, also called by the same name. In the valley to the east of the residence of Mr. Varian is the residence of Hon. W. W. Niles, a prominent lawyer in New York City, who has represented the district several times in the New York Legislature. He is a friend of Hon. Samuel J. Tilden and is recognized as a leading man in the counsels of the Democracy.

Returning to the west and the line of the aqueduct, south of the Jockey Club, stands the Dutch Reformed Church of the Manor of Fordham, and near by are the residences of H. B. Claflin and William G. Dun, of the great dry-goods house of H. B. Claflin & Co. On the hill, to the east, is the old Briggs house, one of the land-marks of the neighborhood, and now celebrated on any race-day as the place of assemblage for the crowd who desire to witness the events without paying entrance-money at the gates. It has recently received the appropriate appellation of "Donnybrook Hill," and many scenes transpire there similar to those which are enacted at the historic fair in Ireland. Near by is the residence of Charles L. Cammann, of the old banking firm of Cammann & Co., whose wife, Cornelia de Lancey, belongs to the family of de Lancey, so closely identified with the history of the township. Next-door is the residence of the Rev. D. Lawrence Jewett, whose wife, Miss Dickinson, was the daughter of the Rev. Dr. Dickinson, one of the oldest and most respected of the late residents of the township, and on Central Avenue, not far from the last, is the residence of Frederick W Devoe.

Farther down the Fordham and King's Bridge road is the residence of Hon. A. B. Tappen, ex-justice of the Supreme Court of this State. The old Josiah Briggs homestead stands on the crown of the Fordham Ridge, and across the way is an humble cottage, the residence of the poet, Edgar Allen Poe, about the years 1843–45. It is said that while residing in this house he composed "The Raven." Near the present Central Avenue is the old Peter Valentine homestead farm-house, now much modernized by the "old squire's" son-in-law, the Hon. John B. Haskin. Mr. Haskin has filled many offices of trust and honor. He served at one time as chairman of the Board of Supervisors, was president of the Board of Education of School District No. 2, and represented the district in the House of Representatives.

Just south of the Haskin property, extending east from the Croton Aqueduct to the valley of the Mill Brook, were the Butler, Berrian, Bassford and Fisher farms, now mostly cut up into village lots and fast improving. Just west of Mr. Haskin's house, on the corner of Jerome and Croton Avenues, stands the church and rectory of St. James Parish, Fordham; and east of the railroad is St. John's College, near which is St. Mary's, the Catholic parish church. On the rocky ridge on the west side of Mill Brook is the Methodist Episcopal Church and the old Bashford homestead, in recent years much improved by the late E. V. Welch. To the south are the growing villages of South Fordham, Mount Hope and Mount Eden, and, overlooking the village of Tremont, the House of Rest for Consumptives.

The territory south of the King's Bridge road and as far south as the south boundary of the Woolf farm and the north boundary of the present Zborowski place was still in the Manor of Fordham, and at the beginning or early part of this century was divided up between the Butlers, Berrians, Archers, the easterly part of Judge Morris' farm, the Fishers, Weeks, Poole and Woolf families. The Woolfs were of Hessian origin, their ancestor, Anthony Woolf, having come to this country with the Hessian troops during the Revolution; but taking a fancy to America, he did not return, and settled on the Woolf farm on Cromwell's Creek, which, by his industry and frugality, he was enabled to purchase. The present owner of the property is now the lessee of the de Lancey or Lydig's Mills at West Farms.

South of the Woolf and Weeks farms we strike the line of the old Manor of Morrisania. On the hills overlooking central Morrisania stands the handsome residence of the late Martin Zborowski, who built it about 1855–56. The land came to him by his wife, Miss Anna Morris, a descendant of the original patentees. The house is very beautiful and the grounds about it well laid out and finely wooded. This place is soon to be taken in as a part of Clermont Park by the city of New York. Eliot Zborowski is the present owner. Adjoining the Zborowski place is a tract of land now called Inwood, formerly the property of Mrs. Julia Stebbins, *née* Morris, a sister of Mrs. Zborowski, but the property has been sold off into small lots and has lost its distinctive features. South of the Zborowski places and Inwood was the former Cromwell farm and that part of the Manor of Morrisania which fell to the share of James Morris, formerly sheriff of New York City. The mansion-house is still standing and occupied by his son, William H. Morris. It commands a fine view of the Mill Brook Valley to the east and the now growing village of Morrisania. Much of this tract has been sold by Mr. Morris to the Astors and others. Bordering upon his lawn the Gentlemen's Driving

Association have established a race track called Fleetwood. While Fordham boasts of the American Jockey Club, Fleetwood is patronized by the lovers of that purely American institution, the trotter. Not far from the park Mr. Robert Bonner had his residence, and "Dexter," "Maud S." and other "flyers" are familiar with Fleetwood. It is a notable fact that before the Revolution a portion of the same ground was used as a race-track. The rest of the territory between Cromwell Creek and the Harlem Railroad is greatly subdivided. The creek is spanned by two bridges built by the town trustees of Morrisania during their existence. The whole of this region has been largely affected of late years by the opening and construction of Central or Jerome Avenue. This broad avenue, seventy-five feet wide, runs from the Central or Macomb's Dam bridge north, first through the Cromwell's Creek Valley and thence to the Woodlawn Cemetery gate in Yonkers. The old Macomb's Dam road was taken into the lower part of the avenue and the excavations and embankments have practically changed the surface. The avenue is the favorite resort for persons owning fast horses. The commissioners who were charged with the construction of the road thoughtfully planted shade trees at the sides and in a few years' time it will be one of the best shaded avenues in the city.

Returning to Williams' Bridge, we find just at the foot of the hill, on the Bronx, the large estate of Peter Lorillard, which occupies most of the space between the Harlem Railroad and the Bronx, the estate being on both sides of the latter river. Saint John's College comes in at this point and just south of the college grounds comes in the Powell farm. This property was owned in the early part of the century by the Bayard family, and the widow of Mr. Bayard married Reverend William Powell, rector of St. Peter's Church at Westchester. In addition to his parochial duties, Dr. Powell kept a boys' school at Fordham, which, in its day was as famous as any of the present modern boarding schools for young men. The old house is still standing, but the property has been cut into lots and Dr. Powell's pupils would have great difficulty in recognizing their former playgrounds. South of the Powell farm, at the junction of three roads at Belmont, is located the Home for Incurables, on the property formerly owned by Jacob Lorillard, deceased. Going east, toward the village of West Farms, we reach the fine brick mansion built by Captain Frederick Grote, and occupied by him for many years. Captain Grote served the town for some time as supervisor.

West of Belmont is a large tract of land formerly belonging to the de Lanceys, but now owned by the Lydig estate. It extends east of the Bronx and has within its limits de Lancey's Mill of revolutionary fame, but known for more than half a century as Lydig's Mills. The most beautiful part of the place is on the border of the Bronx, where a pond has been formed by the mill dam. It is in about the centre of this pond that the several boundary lines of the Archer, Westchester Borough and Jessup and Richardson's patents met.[1] Mr. David Lydig, an extensive miller of his day, purchased the place in the early part of this century, and there established himself in the old de Lancey house, which stood on the east side of the Bronx. The old house and the mill were burnt, and another house was built west of the Bronx which is still standing.[2] Mr. Lydig owned mills in the valley of the Genesee when that region was the grain-growing part of our country and later on he built the mill near West Point, on the Hudson, which was turned by the stream which forms the Buttermilk Falls. His son, the late Philip Lydig, who married a Miss Suydam (the daughter of another Genesee miller celebrated in his time), succeeded to his father's estate and lived there for many years. He was the father of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Philip Lydig, who served with distinction as assistant adjutant-general on the staff of General Ambrose Burnside during the Civil War. His brother, David Lydig, resides part of the year at the family homestead. This Mr. Lydig married a granddaughter of the late Vice-President and Governor, Daniel D. Tompkins, of Westchester County. One of the daughters married Hon. Charles P. Daily, chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas in the city of New York. Another daughter married Hon. John R. Brady, one of the present justices of the Supreme Court in the First Judicial Department, of which a portion of our townships form a part. The Lydig place, together with much of the land adjoining it on the north and east, will soon be condemned by the city authorities as a public park which is to be named Bronx Park. Just south of the Lydig place is the village of West Farms.

This village, formerly known as de Lancey's Mills, owes its settlement to the location of the mills at that point, but prior to the building of the Harlem or Coles' Bridge its population was inconsiderable and the village of Westchester was the principal village of the township. The making of the Coles or Boston road through the village placed it on the highway between New York and New England, and for several years the Bronx attracted many manufactories to it.[3] The terminus of the Harlem Bridge and West Farms Horse Railroad and the depot of the Port Chester Branch of the New Haven Railroad just east of the Bronx renders it accessible. In the centre of the village stands the residence of Samuel M. Purdy, Esq., counselor-at-law, who on several occasions represented the township as justice of the peace and member of Assembly. He at one time was elected to the lat-

[1] Personal information given me by Andrew Findlay, the oldest and most experienced surveyor of the neighborhood.

[2] Old merchants of New York.

[3] Its water was found to be particularly suitable for the preparation of textile fabrics.

ter office by the unanimous votes of his townsmen. James L. Wells, twice member of Assembly and since annexation twice alderman, also resides in the village, and here Daniel Mapes, a respected, public-spirited citizen, resided for many years and kept the country store.[1] At the south end of the village is the tidy residence of Dr. Norman K. Freeman, one of the oldest practitioners of medicine and surgery in the district. The doctor was also much interested in former years in organizing a higher grade in the common schools in the township and has held many offices of a public nature. Along the line of the Southern Boulevard, southwest of the village, stands the Vyse mansion, formerly erected by Thomas Richardson, a wealthy Irish linen merchant, and at the junction of the Westchester road and Southern Boulevard stood the Fox Mansion, this point being known, and still by old settlers spoken of, as "Fox's Corners."

William Fox was a wealthy merchant of New York City. He married a daughter of William Leggett, of West Farms and Leggett's Point. He was of the Quaker persuasion, and the members of the Fox and Leggett families are buried in the old Quaker burying-ground at Westchester, just south of the Episcopal Church. He had several children,—William, George, Mrs. Augustus Schell and Mrs. Tucker. From him is descended the Tiffany family (who still own some of the original property) and Austin G. Fox, a rising lawyer of the New York bar, and Mrs. Rebecca Riggs, of the same city.

To the east of Fox's Corners stands Brightside, the beautiful residence of Colonel R. M. Hoe, of the world-renowned firm of R. M. Hoe & Co., printing-press manufacturers.

Since this work has been in press Mr. Hoe died in Europe. Though a poor boy, by the industry and mechanical skill of himself and his brothers, the firm increased its business to such an extent that it has its factories on both sides of the Atlantic. Most of the improvements made in the steam-presses of to-day are due to the careful study and knowledge of practical mechanics which Colonel Hoe possessed. The colonel was also diligent in the affairs of his township; was one of the commissioners who constructed the Southern Boulevard, a promoter of the Morrisania Steamboat Company and the Suburban Rapid Transit Company, and vestryman of St. Ann's Church at Morrisania. He was respected and beloved by his fellow-townsmen.

Near the southeast corner of the Westchester road and the Southern Boulevard stand the residences of the brothers Simpson, the well-known bankers; and on Hunt's Point, to the east of Fox's Corners, are the former residences of the late Edward G. Faile, Paul N. Spofford, William Caswell and Francis Baretto.

Edward G. Faile was one of the founders of the firm of Thomas Hall and Edward G. Faile & Co., grocers in New York. He settled at Hunt's Point about the middle of this century, erecting a handsome mansion and making great improvements on the farm. He was an extensive breeder and importer of Devonshire cattle, and at one time was president of the New York State Agricultural Society. He was a vestryman of St. Ann's Church, Morrisania, and engaged in many works of charity and benevolence. He left surviving him, Thomas Hall Faile, Charles and Edward (merchants), Samuel (a farmer at White Plains), and Mrs. William Smith Brown.

Paul N. Spofford was one of the founders of the firm of Spofford & Tileston, of New York, the well-known shipping merchants and managers of the Charleston and Savannah Line of steamers. He moved to Hunt's Point about 1830 and built the present house now standing on the Hunt's Point road. He left several children, among whom are General Paul Spofford, Gardner Spring Spofford, Joseph Spofford and Mrs. Thomas Pearsall.

William Caswell, a member of the well-known grocery house of Wm. Caswell & Co., of New York City, married Miss Watson, a daughter of William Watson, of Westchester. (*q. v.*)

Francis Barretto, a New York merchant, married a Miss Coster, daughter of John G. Coster, of New York, and settled at Hunt's Point many years ago. Mr. Barretto represented the township in the Board of Supervisors; was also at one time a member of Assembly.

The view from Hunt's or Barretto's Point is one of the finest on the East River. It commands a view eastward of the entrance to Long Island Sound and to the south of Flushing Bay and the Long Island shore. On it is also the old family cemetery of the Hunts and in it repose the remains of Joseph Rodman Drake, the poet, the author of the famous poem to the American flag. It is said that Drake wrote those lines while having before him the panoramic view of the region now being described. On the stone over his remains are inscribed the immortal words,—

> "None knew him but to love him,
> None named him but to praise."

During the author's last visit to this cemetery the tombstone was in disrepair. Some literary organization should see that Drake's last resting-place is properly preserved.

Southwest of Hunt's Point, and divided by the Sackwrahong Creek, is Leggett's Point, the most southerly and westerly part of the former Jessup and Richardson's patent, and later on township of West Farms. Originally possessed by the Richardsons, by intermarriages and purchases it finally came into the possession of the Leggetts, a respectable Quaker family, for more than a century identified with the history of West Farms. It was finally purchased by Benjamin Whitlock, of the formerly well-known firm of grocers,

[1] Sketches of these gentlemen appear elsewhere.

B. M. & E. A. Whitlock, who greatly improved it; later it fell into the hands of B. S. Arnold, a wealthy coffee merchant of New York, and now has become a pleasure resort. To the west of this point and along the line of the Southern Boulevard is the country-seat of Mr. Samuel B. White, formerly owned by his father-in-law, Mr. Dennison, an old and respected merchant of New York. Mr. White was at one time president of the Grocers' Bank in New York City, but has now retired. Near by is also the former residence of Philip Dater. Much of this property has been cut up into city lots, but some of it still remains in the family's possession. Philip Dater, of New York, merchant, succeeded the firm of Philip Dater & Sons.

Near Leggett's Point is the North Brothers' Island in the East River, now the property of the city of New York and formerly belonging to the township of Morrisania. On it the United States government has erected a light-house to warn vessels seeking a passage through Hell Gate and the East River. Near by, on the main, is Port Morris, formerly known as Stoney Island, the same having originally been separated from the main by a small creek or canal. Here is the terminus of the Port Morris Branch of the Harlem Railroad, and off Port Morris is the deepest water in the vicinity of New York. The "Great Eastern" made her first anchorage here, having come in by way of Long Island Sound, her captain fearing that the bar at Sandy Hook would not admit of her entrance into the lower Bay of New York. Near by is Pot Rock, on which, during the Revolution, a British ship-of-war was sunk. A company has for years been seeking to find, by means of divers, some of the lost treasure, but with what success has not yet been revealed. Just west of Port Morris, and on the westerly side of the Southern Boulevard stands Rockwood, the beautiful residence of Samuel E. Lyon, Esq., a distinguished lawyer of New York and Westchester County.

Mr. Lyon is of old Westchester County stock. He was born in East Chester and married the daughter of Jonathan Ward, for many years surrogate of the county. When quite a young man he distinguished himself by sustaining the will of Henry White, of Yonkers, better known as Van Cortlandt, thereby saving to the Van Cortlandt family of the present day, at King's Bridge (see King's Bridge), the large estate now in the possession of the present proprietor, Augustus Van Cortlandt. He for years stood at the head of the Westchester bar. He resided at White Plains for several years. Cases of great importance, however, compelled him to abandon his Westchester home and take up his residence in the metropolis, where he has ever since enjoyed a lucrative and honorable practice. Though several times offered a judicial position and political honors, Mr. Lyon has preferred the emoluments, honors and retirement of private practice to public positions, and now, in his declining years, though as vigorous as ever, he reaps the reward of his ability, industry and integrity. To him our townsmen are indebted for much sound advice and counsel. He served as one of the commissioners for the Morrisania survey; was counselor for the Southern Boulevard commissioners and commissioners of the Central or Macomb's Dam bridge; is entitled to the credit of having drafted the act for the annexation of West Farms, King's Bridge and Morrisania to the city of New York; he drew the acts authorizing the improvement of Harlem River by the Federal government, and has recently carried through the courts, to a successful issue, the preliminary work incident to acquiring the right of way for that important undertaking.

Just south of Mr. Lyons is situated the residence of John J. Crane, Esq., a respected merchant of New York, and one of the promoters of the Suburban Rapid Transit Company. Near by, to the west of Mr. Lyons, are a number of country-seats, fast being absorbed into city lots, many of which will, in a short time, be absorbed into a new park, which the city is about to make, called St. Mary's Park, and in the immediate vicinity is old St. Ann's Church, described in another chapter. Just on the banks of the Harlem Kills stands the house formerly of Gouverneur Morris, and not far distant, near the Port Chester Railroad depot, was the site of Bronx's house, where, as we have already seen, the first treaty of peace with the Indians was signed. To return to Fordham and describe the valley of the Mill Brook, as it used to appear before the flourishing settlements, near the Harlem Railroad, of Tremont, Central Morrisania, Morrisania Station, Melrose and Mott Haven, would be a pleasing task; but all their former beauties have departed, and suffice it to say that they are part and parcel of the great metropolis. One oasis of rural occupancy still exists at Central Morrisania. The Bathgate farm is still almost intact, and the old farm-house, with its barn-yard, orchard and other agricultural surroundings, still remaining entire within ear-shot of the tinkling of horse-car bells and the tooting of locomotive whistles. But the easterly portion of this property is soon to be taken by the city to form a new pleasure ground, which is called Crotona Park.

The Bathgate family came to the township in the early part of the century from Scotland. One brother, Alexander, settled at Morrisania as foreman for Gouverneur Morris, and afterward purchased from his son the farm now situated at Central Morrisania. He left three sons and several daughters,—James, a doctor of medicine, and Alexander, a farmer, who occupy the old homestead on Fordham Avenue, with their sister still unmarried. Charles, recently deceased, who was at one time supervisor of the town. James, the other brother, resided at Fordham, and was a farmer. He owned the farm on which the Jerome Park Jockey Club is now located. He left four children,—Charles W., formerly supervisor;

Maria (single), now residing with her brother at Fordham; Mrs. Myers; and Mrs. Ardil B. Raymond, whose husband was for many years the miller at De Lancey's Mills, and town clerk of West Farms (Devoe).

Three members of this family are, or have been residents of the township. They are of Huguenot origin. Frederick is the senior member of the large paint and oil firm of F. W. Devoe & Co., of New York City. His brother, Moses Devoe, resides on Fordham Ridge, on the Fordham Landing road, in the old Valentine homestead. He is a retired butcher of New York, but the family are of Westchester origin. Another brother, Colonel Thomas F. Devoe, has been for years inspector of markets in New York City, and a fourth brother, George W. Devoe, was supervisor of the township. This branch of the family came from Yonkers.

THE PRESENT TOWN OF WESTCHESTER SINCE THE REVOLUTION.

BOUNDARIES.—We have seen that though Westchester township at the time of Colve's interregnum was erected into a town, it did not become a borough entitled to elect representatives to the General Assembly until 1686, when Governor Dongan confirmed the Nicolls patent to Quimby and others. It was still, however, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, attending the courts that were held on Long Island and contributing its quota, to that precinct. Morrisania in the mean time was a separate manor, and what are now known as West Farms and Fordham had their distinct courts under the Archer patent. In 1691 the county of Westchester was formed, and in 1696 Governor Fletcher granted to the inhabitants of Westchester town a charter erecting them into a borough town under the name and title of the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of Westchester.[1] Colonel Caleb Heathcote, then a Councilor, and at that time erecting a mill at Westchester Creek, was appointed the first mayor, and William Barns, John Stuart, William Willett, Thomas Baxter, Josiah Stuart and John Bailey, gentlemen, were appointed the first aldermen. Israel Honeywell, Robert Hustis, Samuel Hustis, Samuel Ferris, Daniel Turneur and Miles Oakley were appointed assistant aldermen. The new officials were duly sworn in. Colonel Heathcote presented the town with its seal, and in the following year a town hall was erected. Though not mentioned in the charter as being within the bounds of the borough, the people of Fordham and West Farms seem to have borne allegiance to the rulings of the Mayor's Court of Westchester.

The change from the borough existence under the colonial system to that of a town under the State government took place in 1785, when the town of Westchester was created by an act of the New York General Assembly.[2] Still there was some doubt as to the precise limits of the town, and in 1788 the Assembly defined the bounds as follows:

"All that part of the County of Westchester bounded Easterly by the Sound and the land granted to Thomas Pell, called the Manor of Pelham; Southerly by the Sound; Westerly by the County of New York and Northerly by the North bounds of the Manor of Fordham and the north bounds of the land called the Borough Town of Westchester, including the islands in the Sound, lying Southward thereof and in the County of Westchester, excepting thereout the tract called Morrisania."

By Chapter 279 of the Laws of 1846, passed May 13th and entitled "An Act to divide the town of Westchester, in the County of Westchester," all that part of the town of Westchester described agreeably to a map of that part of the town lying easterly of the Bronx River, made by Andrew Findlay, surveyor, was erected into a separate town and was to retain the name of "Westchester." The new town is described as follows and that description covers its present limits:

"Beginning at a point in Long Island Sound where the Bronx River empties into the same; thence running Northerly along the centre of the Bronx River, as the same now runs, until it comes to the boundary line, between Eastchester and Westchester aforesaid; thence running Northeasterly along the said last-mentioned boundary line until it comes to Eastchester bay, which separates the town of Pelham from the town of Westchester aforesaid; thence running still Southeasterly, easterly, Southerly and westerly, winding and turning as the shore winds and turns, extending as far into Long Island Sound as the true boundary line of said town extends until it comes to the Bronx River aforesaid and place of Beginning. All the remaining part of the town of Westchester, as the same is now defined, shall be and hereby is erected into a new town to be named the town of West Farms."

The unsettled claims and the privileges heretofore had by the people of the old town of Westchester under the "Old Charter" were directed to continue to be held and enjoyed by the inhabitants of each of the new towns of West Farms and Westchester. The town-meeting for Westchester was directed to be held at the house of Benjamin Fowler, in said town, on the first Monday in June, and for West Farms at the place where the last town-meeting was held. William H. Bowne was appointed moderator for the Westchester meeting and Ardil B. Raymond as moderator at the West Farms meeting.

GOVERNMENT.—Formerly the borough of Westchester elected its supervisor at a different season of the year than the other towns of the county. In the Manor of Morrisania the steward was the supervisor, and whether Fordham had a separate supervisor the data

[1] Liber 6 of Patents, page 101. It is believed that the original patents granted to the town by Dongan and Fletcher were in the possession of the late Mr. Leggett, of West Farms. The writer's information is from a printed abstract, kindly furnished him by Edward F. de Lancey. He has also seen a full printed copy of the charter, in possession of Albion P. Man, counselor at-law, New York City.

[2] By Chapter lxxii. of the Laws of 1785, the freeholders and inhabitants of Westchester were authorized to elect at their town-meeting six freeholders, for the purpose of having such trustees to order and dispose of all or any part of the undivided lands in the township as fully and amply as trustees have been used to do under any charter given heretofore to the inhabitants of said town. Power to lease a ferry across the East River from the township of Westchester to the township of Flushing was given the trustees. The district heretofore called and known by the style of the borough and town of Westchester was directed hereafter to be called and known as the town of Westchester.

prior to 1788 do not show, but in that year Fordham and the borough had but one such official between them. From 1773 we find James Ferris representing the borough and Lewis Morris the manor, but from the opening of the Revolution down to 1784 Westchester, Fordham and Morrisania were not represented in the board. In that year Thomas Hunt was supervisor and William Morris represented the Manor of Morrisania, which was a separate precinct and entitled to separate representation in the board. In 1785, Abraham Leggett represented the borough and Lewis Morris the manor, and in that year the tax on Morrisania was £1 11*s*. 11*d*. and on Westchester £9 10*s*. 4*d*. Prior to 1786 the parish had supported the poor, and in that year, Lake Hunt being supervisor, provision was made for adjusting the accounts of the church wardens relative to support of the poor. In 1787 Israel Underhill represented the town in the County Board and continued as such until 1802. In 1791 Morrisania was deprived of representation and made a part of the town of Westchester. Westchester township was erected in 1788.

The jail and court-house, which was formerly located at Westchester village, near the site of St. Peter's Church, was burned in 1790, and the supervisors of the county allowed the trustees of the village £70 therefor. In 1802 the number of taxable inhabitants was 185, and the total valuation of real and personal property $696,822. Captains Ferris, of Westchester, and Berrian, of Fordham, commanded two town military companies. From 1802 till 1816 Benjamin Ferris was the supervisor; from 1816 to 1818 Basil J. Bartow succeeded him, but from 1819 to 1828 Ferris continued to represent the town. In the latter year the aggregate assessed value of property in the town had increased to $833,010, and the number of taxable inhabitants to 229. Israel H. Watson was supervisor from 1829 to 1832, in which year Asiatic cholera prevailed in the township and the sum of $88.52 was expended by the Board of Health in suppressing the disease. In 1833–34 Augustus Huestace was both supervisor and justice of the peace; but in 1835 Israel H. Watson returned to the board. In that year William Barker, of Westchester, who for twenty-eight years had been clerk of the Board of Supervisors, resigned, and the board passed a vote of thanks for his faithful services. Watson continued to represent the town until 1839, when Andrew Findlay, the well-known civil engineer and surveyor, succeeded him. Findlay continued to serve until 1846, with one exception in 1844, when Robert R. Morris, of Westchester, filled the office. In 1846 the Legislature passed an act dividing the township, all that portion of the territory west of the Bronx being erected into the township of West Farms, and that east of the Bronx continuing under the old name of Westchester.

The division of the township created a contest for the seat of supervisor. Both Findlay and Watson claimed to be legally elected. It seems that when, on the 13th of May, 1846, the act was passed, Mr. Findlay claimed that he was duly elected at the regular town-meeting, which was held prior to the passage of the act, and Watson claimed that he was elected for the new town of Westchester at an election held on the 30th of June, after the passage of the act. The supervisors decided in Mr. Findlay's favor; so he became the last supervisor of the old town of Westchester and the first supervisor of West Farms. At the time of the division of the township the aggregate assessment amounted to $841,490; the number of taxable inhabitants was 442 and the population in both townships was about 5052.

In 1847 Mr. Findlay was again supervisor; in 1848 Daniel J. Coster succeeded him. During that session Mr. Coster presented a complaint to the board, made by the Rev. Henry Duranquet, a priest of the Roman Catholic faith and a resident of Westchester, stating that the keeper of the county poor-house had refused to permit him to administer the sacrament to an inmate, on the ground that the priest's services were "idolatry" and that he *was helping souls to hell*. The supervisors, at Mr. Coster's suggestion, passed a resolution recommending the superintendents, of the poor to remove the keeper. Mr. Coster served another term and was succeeded by Robert R. Morris, who continued in office till 1853, with the exception of the year 1850, when Bayard Clark served one term. In 1852 Mr. Morris was extended the courtesy of being the nominee of the board for chairman, but his party being in the minority, Robert H. Coles, of New Rochelle, was elected. In 1853, '57, '59, '60, '61 and '64 Abraham Hatfield represented the town. Denton Pearsall served in 1858. In 1862 Wm. H. Bowne was supervisor, and served another term in 1876. In 1870–71 the office was filled by Patrick Hendricks, who served until succeeded by Hugh Lunny, in 1872. The subsequent supervisors have been F. C. Havemyer, (1874), J. M. Furman (1875), Wm. H. Bowne (1876), Hugh Lunny (1877), Robert C. Watson (1878), James Henderson (1879), Peter Briggs (1882), James Henderson (1883), Daniel J. McGrory (1884), who was re-elected in 1885.

In 1847, after the division, the number of taxable persons in Westchester town diminished to 215 and the assessment to $763.775. In 1850, although the taxables had increased only to 249 persons, the property valuation had risen to $2,079,799. In 1855 the taxables were 1265 in number and the assessed valuation $2,184,750. In 1870 the total population was 6015, and in 1880, 6789.

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—As the early settlers of Westchester town were Puritans, who had fled from England to find freedom of worship beyond the sea, it was their first care, after they were housed, to provide for religious services. We touch the first account of a congregation in the report of the Dutch

commissioners, who, when they visited Oostdorp, in 1656, witnessed a Sunday meeting, at which Mr. Baly said a prayer and Mr. Bassett read a sermon. The people had no regular minister until 1674, when Rev. Ezekiel Fogge officiated for them, and was in all probability the first clergyman who held services in the village. On February 11 and October 7, 1680, Morgan Jones performed baptism and the marriage ceremony, from which it must be supposed that he was a regular Congregational minister. On April 2, 1684, the justices and vestrymen of Westchester agreed with those of East Chester and Yonkers to accept Warham Mather "as our minister for one whole year," and to pay him sixty pounds in country produce. On January 2, 1692, the people in meeting resolved that Colonel Heathcote or Captain William Barnes should procure them an orthodox minister, but it does not appear that either of them fulfilled the mission. By the act of Assembly of September 21, 1693, the parish of Westchester was set off to include the precincts of Westchester, East Chester, Yonkers and the Manor of Pelham, and was required, as were the other parishes, to call "a good, sufficient Protestant minister." The Westchester freeholders and inhabitants failed to take any steps in conformity with this statute until May 7, 1695, when they deputized Church Wardens Justice Barnes, Justice Hunt and Edward Waters to agree with Warham Mather for a settlement among them.[1]

Pending Mather's acceptance, the town voted, May 5, 1696, to repair the old meeting-house, and on May 3, 1697, to build a town-house, which should also be used for public worship; but as the General Assembly passed an act to aid the towns to build and repair their meeting-houses, the work on the town-house was stopped, and in 1700 a new parish church was erected under the supervision of Trustees Josiah Hunt, Edward Waters, Joseph Haviland, John Hunt, Joseph Bayley and Richard Panton, who resolved that it should be twenty-eight feet square, with a "terret" on the top, and should cost forty pounds.

Meanwhile, the struggle which occurred in all the other towns between the Puritans and the adherents of the Church of England, the latter being supported by the provincial government, was in progress in Westchester. The Puritans, who were in the popular majority, contended that under the act of 1693, which merely specified "a good sufficient Protestant minister," they had the right to call in a clergyman of their own faith. The Church of England people held that the Assembly meant to particularize ministers of the Established Church. It is not necessary to go into details of the controversy here, as they have been set forth in another chapter. It is sufficient to say that Colonel Caleb Heathcote, who had been chosen one of the church wardens, fought the Puritans on the point of installing the non-conformist Mather. The ultimate decision rested with Governor Fletcher, and he refused to induct Mather to the living. Mather preached in the parish for several years, however, and quitted it in 1701 to remove to New Haven.

The first regularly inducted rector of the parish was John Bartow, who was elected by the vestry of 1701–2, of which the town members were William Willett, Thomas Hunt, Joseph Haviland, John Bayley, Richard Ward, John Buckbee and Edward Collier. He came over from England in 1702 and was an ordained priest of the Anglican Church, having been vicar of Pampsford, Cambridgeshire. His first service in the Westchester Church was on December 6, 1702. He had first been appointed to the parish of Rye, but Governor Cornbury had settled him at Westchester upon the petition of the all-powerful Heathcote. He appears to have been a hard-working pastor, for, in a letter to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, he commends his own conscientious discharge of his duty and informs him that he has "hardly ever missed to officiate on the Lord's Day" and has frequently ridden ten or twenty miles a day to visit the sick. His salary was always in arrears, but he managed to buy a house and five acres of land for one hundred pounds, and the town had granted twenty acres of glebe and three acres of meadow within half a mile of the church, "which in time will be a convenient residence for the minister, and also a small share in some undivided land, which will be to the quantity of about thirty acres more, but about four miles distant."

In 1702–3 the church wardens were Col. James Graham and Justice Josiah Hunt and the vestry Thomas Baxter, Sr., Joseph Drake, John Archer, Thomas Pell, Joseph Haviland, Miles Oakley, Daniel Clark, Peter Le Roy, John Buckbee, Thomas Hunt, Sr., Edward Collier, clerk, and Erasmus Allen, messenger. They resolved, June 5, 1703, to raise £55 for the support of the minister and the maintenance of the poor, the share of Westchester town being £27 18*s.*, and of Morrisania £3 7*s.* In this year the church was threatened with dispossession of its lands by George Hadley, grandson of John Richardson, their original owner. Hadley claimed them as an inheritance from his mother, the daughter of Richardson, but the church replied that they had already been sold by Joseph Hadley, father of George, to one Thomas Williams and had escheated to the crown because of the latter dying intestate. Hadley failed to substantiate his title, and at meetings on August 3, 1703, November 3, 1703, and May 3, 1704, the trustees of the town confirmed these grants for parsonage lands, and further confirmation was had by the act of the General Assembly, August 4, 1705. In 1706 Mr.

[1] Warham Mather was born at Northampton, Mass., in 1666, and was the grandson of Richard Mather, the famous non-conformist divine, whose sons were Nathaniel, Samuel, Increase and Eleazer, all of whom followed their father in the ministry. Eleazer was pastor of the church at Northampton, Mass., and married the daughter of Rev. John Warham. His son, Warham Mather, bought land in Westchester from John Yeats, on May 29, 1697, and sold them in 1703 to Daniel Clark. He died in 1745.

Bartow suffered much discouragement. He wrote on August 14th to the secretary of the Gospel Society that his task of planting the Church of England "amongst prejudiced, poor and irreligious people" was greater than he could bear, and, to add to his troubles, the society in 1707 stopped the annual salary of £50 which it had been paying him in addition to his receipts from the parish. Two years afterward he was much more cheerful and wrote about making "many proselytes to our holy religion, who are very constant and devout in their attendance on divine service; and those who were enemies at my first coming are now zealous professors of the ordinances of our church."

January 10, 1709, Joseph Hunt, Jr., and Jeremiah Fowler were chosen wardens, and Miles Oakley, Thomas Baxter, Sr., and Thomas Hunt vestrymen for the town. It is a curious fact that the majority were dissenters, of whom the minister wrote that "they will part with no money but barely what the Assembly has allowed for the maintenance of the ministers and poor;" but yet his congregation "rather increases both in hearers and communicants," and in 1709 he baptized forty-two persons, and thirty-six the next year. In 1724 he had in his parish two hundred families, and the average attendance on afternoon services on Sunday was seventy, the morning attendance being smaller. He died at Westchester in 1726, having firmly established his church and also a public school. The first schoolmaster was Charles Glover, who was appointed by the Gospel Propagation Society in 1713, he being "recommended under the character of a person sober and diligent, well affected to the Church of England, and competently skilled in reading, writing, arithmetic, psalmody and the Latin tongue." The society paid him a salary of £18 annually. His successor was William Foster, who had the school when Bartow died.

The next rector was Rev. Thomas Standard, whom the society sent over in 1725. Governor Burnett's mandate, inducting him to the Westchester parish was issued July 8, 1727. In his report of November 5, 1729, to the society, he relates that there are not above three or four families well affected to the Church of England, the majority of the people being Quakers, but he had thirty communicants, and under the most favorable circumstances, in summer, one hundred attendants upon services. In the spring of 1735 he had some trouble with Schoolmaster Foster, who, in 1744, was superseded by Basil Bartow. In 1745 his church was "in a peaceable and growing state." He died in 1760, and the parish was vacant until the appointment of Rev. John Milner, June 12, 1761. In Governor Colden's letters of institution it is first officially spoken of as St. Peter's Church, the name which it still retains. Things had changed so much that on June 29, 1762, he was able to write to the society that there were no dissenters, except a few Quakers, in his parish. A year later he wrote that the number of communicants had increased to fifty-three and that he had baptized eighty-seven persons since his arrival.

On May 12, 1762, on petition of John Miller, John Bartow, J. Willett, Lewis Morris, Jr., Peter De Lancey, N. Underhill, James Graham and James Van Cortlandt, they were incorporated, with the rest of the inhabitants of the town, in communion with the Church of England, by royal charter, as "The Rector and Inhabitants of the Borough Town of Westchester." By this instrument Isaac Willett and Nathaniel Underhill, Sr., were appointed church wardens, and Peter De Lancey, James Graham, James Van Cortlandt, Lewis Morris, John Smith, Theophilus Bartow, Cornelius Willett and Thomas Hunt vestrymen. A house for the minister was purchased with a glebe of thirty acres not far from the church. Mr. Milner appointed Nathaniel Seabury schoolmaster, and was so successful in his ministrations that many families of Quakers joined his church. In 1765 he resigned because the vestry refused to refund him any of the money he had expended on the glebe, and in the fall of 1766, Rev. Samuel Seabury was settled as his successor. The latter found that the communicants had fallen to twenty-two in number, and that the general condition of church affairs was very unsatisfactory. He was a partisan of the crown and attributed to the growing spirit which culminated in the Revolution "unbounded licentiousness in manners and insecurity to private property." In April, 1775, he was one of the signers of the White Plains protest against "all unlawfull Congresses and Committees," and the pledge of royalty to the King. On November 22, 1775, a party of Connecticut troops carried him to New Haven, where he was imprisoned for a month. In September, 1776, he fled to the protection of the royal troops on Long Island, abandoning his pulpit and his school, in which he had a fair number of scholars. He kept, for the remainder of the war, under British protection, and in 1784 became the first bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country.

The church was utterly disorganized during the Revolution. On February 15, 1788, it was recreated by a meeting of the citizens of Westchester town, who elected as trustees Henry Lewis Graham, Joseph Browne, Thomas Hunt, Israel Underhill, John Bartow, Philip I. Livingston and Samuel Bayard. Under the act of Assembly of April 6, 1784, they organized as "The Corporation of the Protestant Episcopal Church of St. Peter's, in the Town of Westchester," and the act of incorporation was duly acknowledged, April 19, 1788. On August 2, 1795, the parishioners assembled for the purpose of a second incorporation under the act of Assembly "for the relief of the Protestant Episcopal Church." The trustees of 1788 sold the old church to Sarah Ferris for £10, who removed it, and they sent around a sub-

scription paper to obtain money to build a new church on or near the site of the old one. They also obtained from the Gospel Propagation Society a grant from the legacy of St. George Talbot, and on January 26, 1789, contracted with John Odell to build a church for £336. On January 2, 1792, they chose as rector Rev. Theodosius Bartow, who was followed on January 20, 1794, by Rev. John Ireland. In 1795 they obtained from the trustees of the town a release for the site of the church and cemetery, and Israel Underhill and Philip I. Livingston were elected wardens, and John Bartow, Jr., Thomas Bartow, Oliver De Lancey, Warren De Lancey, Joseph Brown, Jonathan Fowler, Robert Heaton and Nicholas Bayard, vestrymen. Mr. Ireland served as rector until 1797, during which period the new church building was finished and consecrated. March 9, 1798, Rev. Isaac Wilkins succeeded him, and in 1806 reported forty communicants and eighteen baptisms. Rev. William Powell was elected his assistant July 12, 1829.

Mr. Wilkins served until his death, February 5, 1830, and Mr. Powell was called to the rectorship. He died April 29, 1849, and was succeeded by his assistant, Rev. Charles D. Jackson. A new parsonage was built in 1850, and a new church in 1855, at a cost of sixty thousand dollars. This was burned to the ground January 9, 1877, during the incumbency of Rev. Christopher B. Wyatt, who succeeded Mr. Jackson, October 26, 1871. The present church was built upon the site of that destroyed by fire, which itself occupied a portion of the church erected in 1790. Near by is the parochial school-house, and adjacent to it the church-yard, which dates back to the settlement of the village. It has many monuments and stones erected to the memory of members of the De Lancey, Bayard, Honeywell, Livingston, Post, Doty, Hunt, Bartow, Baxter, Lewis Adee, Findlay, Tucker, Reed, Burnett, Ludlow, Timpson, Wilkins, Lorillard, Morris and other prominent families who are interred therein.

The Friends.—The very numerous element of Friends among the early population of Westchester has been referred to in the preceding pages. It appears, indeed, that they held religious services within the town almost or quite as soon as did the Puritans, and that the old meeting-house already spoken of as having fallen into decay in 1696 was built and used by them. There is a tradition that the first meeting of the Friends in America was held in Westchester, and that George Fox preached here in 1672. Monthly Meeting was appointed by the Yearly Meeting at Flushing, L. I., to be held at Westchester on the 9th day of Fourth Month, 1725. In 1723 the Friends built the meeting-house which is still standing south of St. Peter's Church, and is now in possession of the Hicksite branch; nearly opposite stands the meeting house of the Orthodox Friends, which was erected in 1828.

Methodist Episcopal Church.—On the 8th of October, 1808, the congregation of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the town of Westchester met in pursuance of the act to provide for the incorporation of religious societies, passed March 27, 1801, and elected the following trustees: William Johnston, Gilbert Lewis, Abraham Secord, Benjamin Morgan, Moses Hunt and Gilbert Shute. They assumed the name of the Zion Methodist Episcopal Church of the town of Westchester. Other articles of incorporation, dated October 26, 1826, seem to have been filed with reference to this church, for on that day, at a meeting held in their place of worship, the congregation elected John Westfield, Andrew C. Wheeler, Joseph Smith, Frederick Titus, John F. Fay and Isaac Lounsbury trustees.

Zion Church became dissolved by reason of *non-user*, and therefore, to effect a re-incorporation, on February 7, 1835, the congregation assembled at the church near the village of Westchester, where they were accustomed to attend for divine worship, and elected Isaac Lounsbury, Thomas Bolton, Samuel R. Munn, William H. Lounsbury and Thomas J. Phillips trustees, and resolved that the society should be thereafter known as the Methodist Episcopal Church of Zion, in the town of Westchester. The church edifice was erected in 1818.

Another Methodist Episcopal Church is situated at Olinville, and was known as Olin Chapel. It was incorporated August 29, 1854, the first trustees being Smith H. Platt, John Pratt, Alexander Ramsey, W. P. Janes, W. S. Dodge, Christopher Knauer and Garrett Burgess. On September 23, 1871, other articles of incorporation were filed, under the name of "The Olinville Methodist Episcopal Church." The trustees then chosen were Charles C. Von Benschoten, Stephen Barker, Walter P. Jayne, Burton Bradley, William S. Dodge, W. W. Niles, John T. Briggs, Daniel Burgess and Levi H. Mace.

The Presbyterian Church.—The First Presbyterian Church of Throgg's Neck stands at the top of a hill, just opposite the causeway crossing Westchester Creek, at the village of Westchester. It is not far from the site of the British batteries, which were erected on that hill. The congregation was incorporated June 6, 1855, and George S. Robbins, Edwin D. Morgan and James E. Ellis were its first trustees.

Catholic Institutions—*The Protectory, etc.*—Within the limits of the town of Westchester, on its western border and near the Harlem and Port Chester Railroad Station, is the New York Catholic Protectory. It grew out of the solicitude of a number of laymen and clergy of the church for the welfare of the street gamins of the great city. Projects previously mooted by the Society of St. Vincent proved barren of results because of the lack of funds, but in the latter part of 1862 a meeting of prominent gentlemen in the parochial residence of the Church of the Annunciation, Manhattanville, then in charge of the late Rev. John Breen, resolved upon taking practical

steps, and, as an earnest of their intentions, subscribed, in sums of $5000, $2500 and $2000, enough money to assure the financial success of the undertaking. Dr. Levi Silliman Ives, formerly Protestant Episcopal bishop of North Carolina, who was converted to Catholicity in 1852, volunteered his services for the supervision and guidance of the institution. Rev. Brother Patrick, of the Order of Christian Brothers, tendered the services of that order for its immediate management, whereupon Archbishop Hughes gave his approval of the work and set upon it the seal of his official authority.

On January 2, 1863, a number of the twenty-five gentlemen selected by the archbishop presented the "Articles of Organization of the Society for the Protection of Destitute Children." February 11th another meeting was held at the residence of Rev. Monsignor Quinn, then rector of St. Peter's Church, New York City, who was participating most zealously in the project, and with whom for two years Dr. Ives was in daily consultation. At this meeting there were present Dr. Henry J. Anderson, Charles O'Conor, Charles M. Connelly, Eugene Plunkett, Dr. Donatien Binsse, Dr. L. S. Ives, Rev. William Quinn, Joseph Fisher, Daniel Devlin, John Mullen, Lewis J. White, John McMenomy, Florence Escalante, Eugene Kelly, Henry L. Hoguet and Edward C. Donnolly. These gentlemen discussed the fact that, year after year, thousands of Catholic children were lost to that faith through a system which ignored such a principle as religious rights in the helpless objects of its charity.

A committee of seven was appointed to seek a charter from the Legislature, and on April 14th this was granted under the title of "The Society for the Protection of Destitute Roman Catholic children in the city of New York." The corporators were Felix Ingolsby, Charles A. Stetson, Eugene Kelly, Charles M. Connelly, Daniel Devlin, Andrew Carrigan, L. Silliman Ives, Edward C. Donnelly, Edward Frith, Henry J. Anderson, Joseph Fisher, Eugene Plunkett, John McMenomy, Donatien Binsse, Lewis J. White, John O'Brien, John Milhau, Bernard Amend, John E. Devlin, Florencio Escalante, John O'Conor, Henry L. Hoguet, James Lynch, Frederick E. Gilbert and Daniel O'Conor.

In the charter it was provided that the Protectory may take and receive into its care:

"Children under the age of fourteen years, who, by consent in writing of their parents or guardians, may be entrusted to it for protection or reformation.

"Children between the ages of seven and fourteen years of age, who may be committed to the care of such corporation as idle, truant, vicious or homeless children, by order of any magistrate in the city of New York empowered by law to make committal of children for any such cause.

"Children of the like age who may be transferred, at the option of the Commissioners of Public Charity and Correction of the city of New York, to such corporation.

"The Society has power to place the children in their care at suitable employments, and cause them to be instructed in suitable branches of useful knowledge, to bind out the children, with their consent, as apprentices or servants during minority or any less period, to learn such proper trades and employments as shall be judged most conducive to their future benefit and advantage; and any person to whom any such child shall be bound shall execute a bond to the said corporation in a sufficient penal amount, conditioned for the good treatment of such child, and to instruct, or cause to have him or her instructed, in reading, writing and arithmetic, and to give such child, at the expiration of his or her apprenticeship, at least one new suit of clothes and five dollars in money, and the said corporation may insert in the indentures of apprenticeship such clauses and agreements as the poor officers, authorized to bind out children, are empowered or required to insert in like indentures.

"Children intrusted to the corporation by the voluntary act of their parents or guardians shall be deemed to be in the lawful charge and custody of said corporation; and such intrusting shall be evidenced by writing in form.

"Whenever any child above the age of seven and under the age of fourteen years shall be brought by any policeman of the city of New York before any magistrate of said city, upon the allegation that such child was found in any way, street, highway or public place in said city, in the circumstances of want and suffering, or abandonment, exposure or neglect or of beggary, . . . and it shall be proved to the satisfaction of such magistrate . . . by competent testimony, or by the examination of the child, that by reason of the neglect or vicious habits of the parents, or other lawful guardian of such child, it is a proper object for the care of this corporation, such magistrate, . . . by warrant in writing under his hand, may commit such child to this corporation, to be and remain under its care until therefrom discharged in manner prescribed by law. . . .

"Whenever the parent, guardian, or next of kin of any child between the ages of seven and fourteen years, about to be finally committed for any of the causes specified in the preceding sections of this act, shall request the magistrate to commit such child to said corporation, it shall be the duty of such magistrate so to commit such child.

"If, at any time after a child shall have been committed to said corporation, as above provided for in the act, it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of the said corporation that such child was, on insufficient cause, or otherwise wrongfully so committed, the said corporation shall, on the application of the parents, . . . discharge the child from the said asylum, and restore it to such parents. . . . If, after a child shall have been properly committed, . . . any circumstances should occur that, in the judgment of said corporation would render expedient and proper a discharge of such child from the asylum, having a due regard to the welfare of the child and the purposes of the asylum, the said corporation . . . may, at discretion, discharge the child from the said asylum . . . on such reasonable conditions as the said corporation may deem right and proper.

"This corporation shall be the guardian of every child, bound or held for service, by virtue and in pursuance of the provisions of this act . . . and it is hereby made its special duty to inquire into the treatment of every such child, and redress any grievance in manner prescribed by law."

An appeal for financial aid met with generous response, and the Protectory began its career of usefulness in two private dwellings in Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Streets, near Second Avenue, where, under the pastoral care of Rev. Father Clowry, who attended to their spiritual wants, the boys found their first home and shelter. The Christian[1] Brothers assumed charge.

Notice of these partial arrangements had only time to reach the poor, or the benefactors of the poor,

[1] Rev. B. L. Pierce, chaplain of the House of Refuge, in his book entitled "Half a Century with Juvenile Delinquents," makes the following statement:

"The officers of the Boys' Protectory belong to the order of Christian Brothers. They give themselves to the Church when they take the vow of the order, to be teachers wherever they may be appointed to labor. They will never be priests; they are expected to pursue no form of business hereafter, but for life will remain in the office of instructors. Their salaries are simply the requisite provision for their living, sick or well. These men are constantly with the boys in school, work, recreation and in the dormitory

when applications in behalf of unprotected children became so numerous and pressing as to compel the executive committee, in view of their necessarily limited means and accommodations, to restrict the number of inmates to such boys as might be committed from the courts or transferred to their care by the "Commissioners of Public Charities and Correction." Hence the records of their office show that, but for the want of sufficient room, at least double the number which they now report might be enjoying the blessing of the institution.

Owing to the difficulty of renting suitable buildings, the committee were unable to make provision for the reception of girls before the 1st of October. About that time, however, they succeeded in procuring a building at the corner of Eighty-sixth Street and Second Avenue, well suited to the purpose. This they were enabled to place under the direction of the Sisters of Charity, a religious order whose members, by their noble and generous self-devotion, in the care of the sick, forlorn, the destitute and helpless in every form, age and condition in life, have been the theme of praise in story and song in every clime and tongue, and from persons of all shades of belief, race and religion.

The houses in Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Streets were soon found to be inadequate for the accommodations of the daily increasing numbers, and the managers, were within eight months of the day of opening, forced to seek other and more commodious quarters. Two buildings were then rented in Eighty-Sixth Street, near Fifth Avenue, and so soon as convenient the boys moved into them.

The difficulties experienced in providing accommodation, in obtaining the considerable sums necessary in the inauguration of so vast a work, were but a minor portion of the onerous task placed upon the managers' shoulders. The far more difficult problem of "what to do with the abandoned child," and "how to do it" had now to be directly solved.

Most of the children received, particularly during the first few years, were the victims of indolent or vicious habits. Experience taught that, to succeed in this work of reformation, constant occupation, pleasantly diversified, was essential, and space for play-grounds, out-door labor, and places wherein trades could be learned was required.

In the earliest reports of the Protectory we find,—

"In the course of *five* months, in the shoe department, where 32 boys are employed, there has been expended the sum of $1737.12, including machinery, material and instruction, with the result of $2197.26 produce, which nets us a profit of $460.14 and the machinery. In the tailoring department the training of the boys requires more time, and hence a less expeditious profit."

While the New York Catholic Protectory thus pursued its mission, each day's experience more fully proved the necessity of moving out of the city. Apart from the fact that it was impossible to secure sufficient accommodation in the heart of a great metropolis, the managers became daily more convinced that the influence of the surroundings in a vast city like New York was against their work. The problem which then propounded itself was to secure "proper location elsewhere." In the minutes of one of the regular meetings held at this time the president said,—

"In view of the circumstances, and in firm conviction of the prosperity, if not the very existence, of our institution, depends upon the immediate erection of a building somewhere, every exertion possible has been made by the Executive Committee to discover a suitable place for this purpose. We have visited all the islands in East River and found in them all some fatal objections. We then turned our attention to the mainland, and could discover nothing within the limits of the city which seemed to promise any better accommodations. After consulting our legal adviser we felt gratified in looking beyond these limits. An advertisement of the sale of a farm, near the village of Westchester, induced us to visit and examine it in respect to its suitableness to meet our object in view. Four members of the Executive Committee,—Dr. Anderson, Mr. Hoguet, Mr. White and the President,—with the Most Rev. Archbishop, the Advisory Chaplain and a number of the clergy, have visited the farm, and, after a thorough examination, have unanimously come to the conclusion, taking everything into consideration, that we are not likely to secure a more favorable site for our institution. Your President, therefore, after making himself master of the facts relating to this property and to the terms of sale, recommends its purchase by the Managers."

It will be remarked that thus far the managers of the New York Catholic Protectory have relied chiefly upon private generosity to sustain the work. But, beginning with 1864, we find that the State and other authorities recognized the work as of public utility, and assisted it accordingly.

It has already been remarked that want of proper space and accommodation alone prevented the accomplishment of the full measure of success which the managers hoped to attain.

It was, therefore, with no little satisfaction that they announced the purchase, on the 9th day of June, 1865, of a valuable farm of about one hundred and fourteen acres, with commodious barns and outhouses, near the village of Westchester, for forty thousand dollars, upon which they have completed a spacious brick building, designed to accommodate from six hundred to eight hundred destitute boys, and another of equal dimensions for the accommodation of girls.

St. Raymond's Catholic Church is located on the road leading from Westchester to West Farms, and is not distant from the Protectory. Attached to it is an extensive cemetery and a fine, large parochial schoolhouse. It has a numerous congregation.

HIGHWAYS, BRIDGES, ETC.—From the Sautier Surveys (Doc. Hist. of N. Y.), printed in London by Fadden in 1779, we find a main highway running from Morrisania *via* de Lancey's Mills (West Farms) to the village of Westchester, but by an entry on the 13th day of the Ninth Month, 1722, in the county road-book, on file in the office of the county clerk, it appears that on June 8th of that year Commissioners Lewis Morris, Jr., John Stephenson, Joseph Drake and John Hoit made return that they had laid out a public road in the town of Westchester,—

"From the bridge that lies across the brook that runs between Underhill Barns's land and runs westerly as the way has usually been run, four rods wide between said Barns's land, including the watering place lying by y^e^ side of Underhill Barns's home lot, according to the bounds now sett up and marked, till it meets w^th^ a public road laid out by the Commissioners through the sheep pasture."

The road through the sheep pasture was probably the one which was discontinued in 1727. It began at the "Northerly corner of the Quaker meeting-house," and after passing through "ye common land" and skirting the properties of Peter Ferris, the Widow Colyer and John Maphis, terminated at "the town landing by the Mill." In 1723 a road was run "from the corner of John Huestis' garden" to the country road "by the house that John Packer lives in." In 1726 a road was built to "Jethamar Polton's saw-mill upon Brunck's River;" and on July 29, 1727, the highway "from the road y^t^ goes to Brunx's River, where Joseph Hallstead now lives, from the causeway by Col. Heathcote's Mill, between the land then of Israel Honeywell, Senr., since deceased, and the land of Thomas Hadden to the said Ferris' land," was ordered to be closed. November 21, 1728, the commissioners reviewed a highway "from Joseph Hallstead's land southerly, to be an open road; he (the said Hallstead) to build a good stout bridge over the low ground against the house where Abigail Reed liveth, at his own cost." April 10, 1729, they closed the road "already laid out through y^e^ Frog's (Throgg's) Neck," but in 1731 revoked their action, and the highway was again established from the ferry through Augustine Baxter's land.

The road mentioned as laid out in 1727 is undoubtedly the old road which ran from the present Westchester Bridge to the old bridge next south of the mill at West Farms. The road of 1729 is undoubtedly the present highway leading to Fort Schuyler through Throgg's Neck, but we find it again laid out in 1737 in order to avoid some difficulties occasioned by Peter Baxter's fence. The present road from Westchester Bridge to Pelham Bridge was authorized as follows:

In 1817, Hermann Le Roy, Thomas C. Taylor, William Edgar and their associates were incorporated as a turnpike company to make a turnpike road beginning at the causeway leading from the village of Westchester, at some point on the east side of the bridge over Westchester Creek, and to run from thence in the most convenient route to the bridge lately erected over the mouth of East Chester Creek and were to be known as the "Westchester and Pelham Turnpike Road Company."

The Boulevard running from Pelham Bridge to the bridge south of the Westchester village causeway is of recent origin, but the road which runs from Westchester village to the Bronx at the south end of the village of West Farms was originally known as the Westchester turnpike. The road known now as the East Chester road, extending from the Bleach to the East Chester line, and sometimes called the Boston road, is a continuation of the Coles road mentioned in the chapters on West Farms and Morrisania.

Bridges in the Township.—William's Bridge, the most northerly of the bridges in the township which cross the Bronx, has already been mentioned in our colonial account. The next bridge south of it at the Bleach was constructed when Pelham Avenue was authorized by the Laws of 1864 and 1865.

The bridge at Lydig's Mills was built probably about the time the road from Westchester to the mill was constructed, though a wading-place existed there after the construction of the dam. The other bridges over the Bronx were constructed in comparatively late years; that in the centre of the village when the road from Tremont to Westchester was opened. All the bridges over the Bronx are now maintained at the joint expense of the township and the city of New York.

Pelham Bridge, which crosses East Chester Creek at the head of East Chester or Pelham Bay, was authorized as follows:

By a legislative act of March 16, 1812, Herman Le Roy, James Harvey, William Bayard, John Bartow, Richard Ward, Elbert Roosevelt, Daniel Pelton, Joshua Eustace and John Hunter were incorporated as the East Chester Bridge Company, and authorized to build a toll-bridge from the farm of James Harvey, in the town of Pelham, to the point of Throgg's Neck called Dormer's Island. Within a few years a storm destroyed the bridge, and on April 12, 1816, the General Assembly empowered the company to sell its property and franchises at public auction, the purchaser to become the owner of the franchise for forty-five years. Nothing seems to have been accomplished under this act, and in 1834 George Rapelje was authorized to build a bridge over East Chester Creek "at the point where the bridge formerly stood." If the draw permitted free navigation, and the Common Pleas judges of the county were satisfied with the structure, it being made their duty to inspect it, Rapelje was allowed to collect tolls upon traffic. His grant was to run thirty years, but in 1860 the supervisors of Westchester County were directed by an act of the Legislature to purchase this Rapelje's or Pelham Bridge and make it free, which they promptly did.

Dormer's Island, mentioned above, is the present hummock or high land since known as Taylor's Island, and now occupied by General Ellis and others.

Characteristics and Present Occupants.—The township is a well-wooded, park-like country, interspersed with thriving settlements, and at the extreme eastern limit the East River expands into the broad Long Island Sound, indented on the Westchester shore with numerous bays and inlets washing the feet of commanding eminences, from which combined views of inland and marine scenery are to be obtained unsurpassed in any other part of this

beautiful State. It seems to have been designed by nature to form a fitting suburb to the great city which adjoins it.

On its extreme eastern limit on Throgg's Point, at the commencement of Long Island Sound, is Fort Schuyler and the United States government light-house. The fort was erected about the middle of this century, and, in connection with the batteries on the Long Island shore, protects the entrance into New York Harbor by the East River. Hammond's Point, near by, now owned by the estate of the late F. C. Havemeyer, a well-known merchant, and at one time supervisor, commands one of the finest views on Long Island Sound. Near by the bay is Pennyfield, the residence of the widow of the late George T. Adee, a respected citizen, and one of the members of the old family of Adee, long settled in the township. Mr. Adee was for many years identified with some of the largest financial institutions in New York. He was a director of the Equitable Life Insurance Company, and for a long time vice-president of the Bank of Commerce. Near by are the Dominick Lynch, Francis Morris and Van Schaick places, all now the property of the Havemeyer family and Mr. John Morris. Mr. John Morris is the son of the late Mr. Francis Morris, an English gentleman who came to this country many years ago, and who, besides being prosperous in business, was a successful breeder of the thoroughbred race-horse. In the immediate vicinity, fronting on Pelham Bay, is the residence of Miss Catharine Lorillard Woolfe, whose power to do good to her fellow-creatures is only surpassed by her judgment, discretion and generosity. The grounds are adorned with rare shade-trees, greenhouses and graperies, and, though rarely at the paternal mansion, the town claims her as a townswoman, and finds in her a worthy successor to her father, the late John David Woolfe.

On the Neck road is also the Van Schaick homestead, whose owners some years since left by his will a sum of money to found a free library and reading-room for the township. This building is on the road near the Episcopal Church in the village. Driving towards the village on the Neck road, one passes the old Carter mansion, the Turnbull place and the Cemetery of St. Raymond (Roman Catholic), and near by is the former residence of William H. Bowne, now deceased, who, with his family, have for generations been identified with the town. On Ferris' Neck and Zerega's Point are the residences of Mr. Ferris, whose family owned the land for generations, Mr. Zerega and Jacob Lorillard. And near by, next to the Presbyterian Church, is the celebrated boys' school, kept by Mr. Thomas Harrington, at which he is now teaching the sons of his former pupils. On the road to Pelham, before crossing the old causeway, stands the former residence of the late Mr. Syndey B. Bowne, a worthy and respected Quaker, resident of the township, whose son Thomas has succeeded him and his brother William in the management of the old country store in the village, known throughout the county still as "Sydney Bowne's." This store is and probably was the best sample of a country store ever known. Sydney always had everything which was asked for. Once on a wager some gentlemen asked for some goose-yokes, rather a rare commodity. Sydney furnished the article on the spot. Another bet was then made that he could not furnish a pulpit. For a moment the venerable Quaker was at a loss, but suddenly, recalling the contents of the garret, he exclaimed, "Thomas, thee will find Parson Wilkins' old pulpit behind the chimney in the garret." It seems that when the church was renovated, Mr. Bowne had bought the old pulpit.

On the north side of the neck at Pelham Bridge are the neat cottages of Mr. Pierre Lorrillard, Jr., ——— Kent, Gouverneur Morris, Jr., and the beautiful residence of General Ellis. The general, after an adventurous life in California, among other public trusts, having been adjutant-general of the State during the last war, and in other respects having done much to keep that State in the Union, has retired to his beautiful home at the head of East Chester Bay, for rest from his labors. Next to General Ellis' is Anneeswood, the residence of John Hunter, Esq., of the Hunter family of Pelham. Mr. Hunter has, near by, his paddocks for his racing stock, and may be counted as one of the successful gentlemen of the turf. He was one of the promoters and founders of the American Jockey Club, and is perhaps as well informed on turf matters as any one in America. His house, a large stone mansion, sets back from the Boulevard in a fine forest of oaks and chestnuts.

Next to Mr. Hunter's is the former residence of John F. Furman, recently deceased, a gentleman of public spirit and liberal views. He, at one time, represented the town as supervisor. Adjoining the Furman place on the west is the former residence of the late Lawrence Waterbury, now occupied by his son, Mr. James M. Waterbury, who is at present the president of the Country Club in Pelham. Near by is the old George Lorillard mansion, now owned by his grand-nephew, Mr. Lorillard Spencer. On the road leading to the village, through Middletown, is the residence of Claiborne Ferris, of the family of Ferrises, identified for generations with the township. At one time Mr. Ferris represented the district in the State Assembly. Near by, on the Boulevard, is the residence of James Henderson, for several terms supervisor of the township. Leaving Throgg's Neck and crossing the old bridge, we pass through the picturesque village of Westchester, and turning to the left and south, we find on the left of the road old St. Peter's Episcopal Church and the two Quaker Meeting-houses.

Farther on is the former residence, on Indian Brook, of the late Edward Haight, who represented the district in Congress, and near by is the residence

of Dr. Ellis, one of the oldest and most experienced practitioners of medicine in the county. To the left and farther south is the glebe and parsonage of St. Peter's and by a road turning to the east one arrives at Castle Hill, the former residence of Gouverneur Morris Wilkins, a grandson of Rev. Isaac Wilkins, one of the former pastors of St. Peter's, and son of Martin Wilkins, a distinguished lawyer, of whom an account is given in another part of this work. The property is now owned and occupied during the summer months by Colonel Screven, a son-in-law of the late Mr. Wilkins. On Clason's Point are the old Daniel Ludlow and Robert Henry Ludlow places. The former, after passing through many hands, is now the property of Mr. Leland, of New York, and the westerly portion of this neck is in the possession of the estate of Robert Henry Ludlow, Esq. Near by, after crossing Pugsley's causeway, we come to Wilmont, the former residence of the late William Watson, Esq, a well-known dealer in Irish linens and for many years a respected citizen of the town. His son, Mr. R. C. Watson, represented the township for one term in the Board of Supervisors. Near Wilmont, on the east side of the Bronx, is situated the De Lancey estate, or so much of it as is within the township of Westchester. The de Lancey family are descended from Etienne de Lancey, a French Huguenot who came to this country after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The mill and the other property adjoining before the Revolution was in the possession of Peter de Lancey. His son John was the father of Mrs. Governor Yates, whose daughter, Mrs. Samuel Neil, now owns and occupies a portion of the premises. James, the other son, was the famous commander of the Westchester Light-Horse, the British partisan chief already mentioned in our Revolutionary chapter. It is a strange fact that though both sons were Loyalists during the Revolution, James' property was forfeited by the act of attainder, while John's was not.[1]

The other part of the de Lancey estate is owned by the heirs of Philip Lydig.[2] Just north of the mills on the banks of the Bronx is Bronxdale, the site of the bleaching mills of the Bolton family, and immediately north of the Bleach is the large estate of Peter Lorillard, extending both sides of the river with a handsome stone mansion, garden, hot-houses and graperies.

Peter Lorillard was the son of Peter Lorillard, who, with his brothers George and Jacob, were well-known and respected merchants in New York in the early part of this century. Peter, the elder, and George were the founders of the celebrated firm of P. Lorillard & Co., now perhaps the largest manufacturing firm of tobacco in New York. The snuff mill of the firm was formerly operated on the Bronx, but of late years the factory has been located in Jersey City. Jacob, the other brother, was a leather merchant in New York, in "*the swamp.*" George never married. Peter had him surviving—Peter married Miss Griswold, from whom descended Peter (or Pierre), the present head of the firm; Catharine married James Kernochan, of New York; Jacob married Frances Uhlong, of New York; Eva married Lieut.-Col. Lawrence Kip, United States army; Ernest, deceased, *sans* issue; Mary married Henry Barhey, of Switzerland; George married Miss Lafarge, of New York; Louis married Miss Beekman, of New York. Jacob, the third son, leather merchant, married Miss Kuntze, of New York; by her he had Catharine Anna, married George P. Cammann, M.D., late of Fordham; Margaretta H. married Thomas Ward, M.D., of New York; Eliza M. married N. P. Bailey, of Fordham and New York; Jacob, deceased, married Miss Bayard, of West Farms; Emily married Lewis G. Morris, of Fordham; Julia married Daniel M. Edgar, formerly of Westchester.

North of the Lorillard place, and fronting the Bronx, are the hamlets of Olinville and Williams' Bridge. Here is the residence of Mr. Peter Briggs, and near by on the East Chester road that of the late Harvey Kidd, the first a supervisor and the latter member of Assembly from the township. On the road from Williams' Bridge to Westchester are situated the country places of the late Abraham Hatfield, for many years supervisor, and near by resided Denton Pearsall, at one time president of the Bowery Butchers' and Drovers' Bank.

RAILROADS.—The township is intersected by the Port Chester Branch of the New Haven Railroad. On this line the following stations are within the township: West Farms, Protectory, Westchester, Timpson's and Baychester.

Fordham and Morris

BIOGRAPHY.

FREDERICK C. HAVEMYER.

The progenitors of the family who have obtained so honorable a position in this State were William F. and Frederick C. Havemyer, who came to America from Buckeburg, Schaumburg, Lippe, Germany, about the year 1802. The former was the father of William F. Havemyer, late mayor of the city of New York. The latter married Catharine Billiger, and their children were Charles H., Diederick M., George L. H., Edward H., Frederick C., Charlotte (wife of W. J. Eyer, a clergyman of the Lutheran Church), Catharine (wife of Warren Harriot), Susannah (wife of Dr. Henry Senff) and Mary R. (wife of John I. Northrup).

[1] "History of New York," by Chief Justice Jones and notes by Edward F. de Lancey.

[2] For Lydig, see West Farms.

Frederick C. Havemyer, the only surviving son of this family, was born in the city of New York in 1807. At the age of nine years he entered the classical school conducted by Joseph Nelson, a very popular instructor and familiarly known as the blind teacher. In 1821 he entered Columbia College, where he remained till the completion of the sophomore year, obtaining that mental discipline and classical knowledge which have so largely assisted him in mercantile life. His father and uncle had previously established a sugar refinery, under the name of W. & F. C. Havemyer, in Vandam Street, New York. This establishment he entered as an apprentice and was formally introduced as such to his uncle by his father. Having obtained a thorough knowledge of the business, he formed a partnership with his cousin, William F. Havemyer, late mayor of New York, which continued till 1842, when both retired from business, and were succeeded by their brothers, Albert and Diederick. Possessing, at the age of twenty, sufficient skill and knowledge to conduct the business of a refinery, during all the years of this co-partnership he worked with his men in every branch of the business, from passing coal to the furnaces to the highest duties of refining, becoming an expert in every department, and this experience gave him immense advantage when, at a future day, under systems not then discovered, it was his destiny to re-enter a business which he then supposed he had left forever.

His father died in 1841, and for more than ten years Mr. Havemyer devoted himself to the care of his own and his father's estates. During these years he made a tour of pleasure and observation through the United States, and also traveled in Europe. In 1855 he again engaged in active business in Williamsburg, then a suburb of Brooklyn, and the business then established has been continued with greatly increased facilities up to the present. So greatly has it grown that the capacity of refining has been increased five hundred tons of raw sugar a day, and four thousand barrels of refined sugar are turned out every twenty-four hours. The consumption of coal is one hundred tons per day, while two thousand men are employed and the steam-engines represent twenty-two hundred horse-power. Throughout the whole establishment everything is conducted in the most systematic manner, and a practical man visiting the establishment is immediately impressed with the magnificient engineering everywhere present,—the arrangement of the machinery, the closeness of the connections and arrangements for the cheap and easy handling of the immense amount of material daily used. There are seventeen steam-engines, many of them of large capacity, and all of modern construction.

In 1861 the firm was composed of Frederick C. Havemyer, his son George and Dwight Townsend, under the firm-name of Havemyer, Townsend & Co. George Havemyer was killed by an accident before the close of the year. He was a young man of brilliant promise and his death was a severe blow to his father's family. Subsequently Mr. Havemyer admitted his son, Theodore A., and his son-in-law, J. Lawrence Elder, as partners, and the firm-name became Havemyers & Elder, which is still retained. F. C. Havemyer, Theodore A. and H. O. Havemyer and Charles H. Senff now constitute the firm.

In January, 1882, the principal buildings of the refinery were destroyed by fire. A new and more capacious refinery was soon after erected upon an adjoining site and is now in full operation.

The present residence of Mr. Havemyer is a mansion built by a Mr. Hammond, a large landholder, about 1800. The place adjoins the grounds of Fort Schuyler, is beautifully located and affords fine views of Long Island Sound.

Mr. Havemyer married Sarah L. Osborne. Their children are Frederick, George W. (deceased), Theodore A., Thomas J., Harry O., Mary (wife of J. Lawrence Elder), Catharine (wife of L. J. Belloni, Jr.) and Sarah L. (wife of Frederick Jackson).

COLLIS POTTER HUNTINGTON.

Mr. Huntington was born October 22, 1821, at Harwinton, Litchfield County, Conn. He comes of good stock, which counts among its noted men in this country Samuel Huntington, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, president of the Continental Congress, and Governor and chief justice of Connecticut; Bishop F. D. Huntington and the celebrated painter, Daniel Huntington.

Mr. Huntington's father was a farmer, and at one time a manufacturer on a small scale. He was an honest, prudent and painstaking man, but never attained wealth. He had nine children, of whom Collis P. was the fifth. After the usual and excellent custom of New England people in former days, the children were not only sent to school, but were early and carefully trained to habits of regular industry, taught the value of time and money, and encouraged to take a just pride in contributing to the maintenance of the household, or where, as in this case, that was not necessary, in depending on their own labor for pocket-money.

A story, very characteristic of the man in later years, is related of the boy Collis by a neighbor, still living, who gave him the opportunity to make his first dollar. The boy, then scarcely nine years of age, was employed by this neighbor to pile up in the woodshed a quantity of wood which had been sawed for the winter. He piled it neatly and smoothly, and when this was done, with that spirit of thoroughness and liking for good work with which, in middle age, he built railroads, he picked up all the chips in the wood-yard, and swept it clean with an old broom. His employer, returning home in the evening, was so well pleased with the way in which the boy had done his



J. C. Havemeyer

work, that he patted him on the head, praised him for his faithfulness, and gave him a dollar, saying: "You have done this so well that I shall be glad to have you pile my wood next fall again." Young Huntington showed himself greatly delighted with the praise and the dollar—the first dollar he had ever earned or owned. "But," added the gentleman, who remembered this incident in the boy's life, "Collis said to me, with a bright laugh, 'You don't suppose I'm going to pile wood for a living the rest of my life?'"

When he was fourteen years of age he left school, and asked his father to give him his time on condition that he should thenceforth support himself. It was the custom in those days in New England for boys to serve their parents until they were of age; this service, of course, entitling them to maintenance. It is a curious proof of the confidence which the boy inspired in those who knew him, that not only did his father presently consent to his proposition, but when young Huntington went to New York, at the age of fifteen, he was able to obtain credit for a small purchase of goods, with which he began his career as a merchant, a country neighbor of his father's not only vouching for him, but saying: "You may send me all Huntington's notes; he is sure to pay."

Beginning in a small way, the young man soon extended his business, and before he was twenty-four had traveled over a considerable part of the Western and Southern States. He took as partner an elder brother, who is now a farmer in Otsego County, in the State of New York; and at Oneonta, in this county, the two finally settled themselves as general dealers or country merchants, extending their operations also in grain, butter, coopering, and, in fact, in all business directions which the region made profitable.

In October, 1848, the two brothers made a shipment of goods to California, where the rush of gold-seekers had created a sudden demand for many and various products. They sent their cargo around Cape Horn, and almost before it could arrive, Mr. Huntington determined himself to try the new region. He probably felt that he needed a larger field for his enterprising spirit and his ability than was afforded by an interior county in New York. He transferred his share in the home business to his brother, and sailed for San Francisco, by way of the Isthmus, in March, 1849. He had then been actively engaged in business, but upon a small capital slowly saved, for ten or twelve years. He was twenty-eight years of age, in perfect health, active, stronger than most men, with an iron frame and good New England habits; and his first adventure on the way showed that the man had kept the sagacity and clear-headed enterprise of the boy. He was landed on the Isthmus in company with several hundred other anxious gold-seekers; they all got across to the Pacific as well as they could, hiring donkeys for their baggage and marching on foot themselves. But when they reached Panama, no vessel appeared to take them north. They found a great crowd—the passengers by a previous steamer—waiting impatiently, and they were detained long enough to see several other steamer-loads arrive from New York and New Orleans. Thrown together in a small foreign town, a promiscuous company of adventurers, with no restraints of public opinion, and nothing to occupy their minds or hands, the unhappy people took to gambling and various kinds of dissipation; and the climate and their own imprudence caused much misery and sickness and a great many deaths. Mr. Huntington feeling the need of employment to while away the tedium of delay, and disinclined to dissipation, undertook the transport of baggage and cargo across the Isthmus. He began with one donkey, and was so successful that he was presently the owner of a train of animals, and while the less energetic gold-seekers were wasting their means and health, the long delay of ten or twelve weeks enabled him to earn a handsome sum of money, which gave him an important start on his arrival in San Francisco. It is a notable fact that while almost all the delayed passengers suffered from fevers, and many died, Huntington, who worked constantly, and marched on foot in the hot sun many times across the Isthmus, had not a day's illness.

He arrived in San Francisco in August, 1849, having been five months on the way. He saw at once that that city was not the place for him, and on the very morning of his arrival, after buying a breakfast of bread and cheese, hunted up a vessel going to Sacramento. He found a schooner, the master of which—later the captain of one of the finest steamers on the Sacramento River—offered him a dollar an hour to help load her, and he earned his passage-money in this way, and landed in Sacramento richer by some dollars than when he arrived in San Francisco.

His training and natural inborn capacity as a merchant and business man now came into play. Neither he nor his partner and dear friend of many years—the late Mark Hopkins—ever spent much time in actual gold-mining. Mr. Huntington, it is said, returned to Sacramento after four days at the nearest mining camp, convinced that gold-digging had too many risks beyond the control of the digger to be to his taste. He became again a merchant, and began, in a small tent and with a very limited supply of goods that business career in California which made him during many years, one of the foremost merchants of the State and one of the most successful.

There are many amusing stories current among old Sacramento men of Mr. Huntington's early business career, all showing the remarkable sagacity, quickness to see and grasp opportunities, and sterling honesty and love of fair play which have been his conspicuous traits. It is told of him that he was once besought to buy a large tent, the property of a com-

pany of intending miners who had disagreed, and were eager to divide their property and separate. He offered them one hundred and fifty dollars for it, which they accepted on condition that they should have a day to remove their other possessions. He had no sooner bought it than he took a lump of charcoal and marked on the tent in large letters "For Sale," and in two hours had sold it for two hundred and fifty dollars, to the amazement of the previous owners, still sitting under its shade, who had not thought of the simple device of advertising their desire to sell.

When San Francisco harbor was filled with ships deserted by their crews, Huntington was offered large quantities of ship's bread at a very low price, and bought all he could get, foreseeing that some day all these ships would sail away home and would then need supplies; and when this came to pass, and he sold at a great advance, those who had thought him foolish wondered they had not foreseen the event also. Old Californians say that in those early days, when anybody in Sacramento was "stuck" with a consignment of something which had no sale, he went to Huntington, who was pretty sure to buy if the article was cheap enough, and very certain, after a while, to resell it at a handsome profit. Those who knew him in those days say that he was always content with a fair profit; that he soon became known as a man who never misrepresented the article he wished to sell, and that his customers increased rapidly because he left them also the opportunity to make a good profit. There is a story told of him that he once bought several hundred grain cradles, which had lain for a long time in the owner's loft. Huntington unpacked them, showed them on the street, and presently, as he had foreseen, there was a brisk demand for them. They went off "like hot-cakes" at eighteen dollars apiece. "You might get thirty for them," said a friend; "are you not making a mistake?" "Not at all," replied Huntington; "I paid five, and I want to sell them all, don't you see? They are too bulky to keep. It is better to let others have a chance also to make some money." No doubt his experience and training as a country merchant in Otsego County was of great advantage to him in those early and busy Sacramento days, when he turned his hands to everything, and knew, as by intuition, what his customers would like, and how to arouse as well as to meet a popular demand.

One thing remains to be said: he retained his early New England habits; he did not drink, nor smoke nor gamble; he slept in his store, and was up and at work before the earliest of his clerks. He was scrupulously honest, and to use a phrase current in those days in California, he "did not allow anybody to run over him." The miscellaneous business, begun in a tent, grew by-and-by into a permanent hardware store at 54 K Street, in Sacramento, where Huntington sold all kinds of miners' supplies. Next-door to him Mark Hopkins kept store also, until one day he sold out and thought he would retire. The two men had become acquainted. Hopkins, from the hill country of Massachusetts, and Huntington, from the neighboring parts of Connecticut, found they had many ideas in common, political and religious, as well as business ideas; and naturally, in that new country, they became friends and, before long, partners in business, constituting the firm of Huntington & Hopkins. "He was the truest man I ever knew," said Mr. Huntington of his old partner, a few years ago; "he had the clearest head in California; but for the mere work of buying and selling goods in those early days he was no better than a child. He had no taste for it, and left it to me; but there were many things of greater importance than mere buying and selling which Mark Hopkins could do far better than any of us." The two partners never had even the ripple of a disagreement in all their many years of close business and social intimacy. They were friends in the truest and deepest sense, and this friendship has been among the pleasantest and most important of the influences which made up Huntington's life.

By 1856 the firm of Huntington & Hopkins had accumulated what was then, even in California, a handsome fortune. Their house was one of the most solid on the coast; they were known as shrewd, careful and very wide-awake business men; their rule was to ask a high price for everything, but to sell only a good article—the best in the market. They avoided all hazardous speculative transactions, and "stuck" to hardware. Mr. Hopkins once told the present writer: "We never owned a dollar of stock in a mine, never had a branch house, never sent out a drummer to get business, and never sued a man for a debt."

But Huntington & Hopkins were not merely or only business men. Both took a lively interest in political questions, though always avoiding what is called politics. They were Free-Soilers and Republicans at a time when the wealth and social influence in the State were mostly on the Democratic side. Naturally, No. 54 K Street presently became a place where leading Republicans met to discuss the news and plan opposition to the Democratic party, and in a small upper-story room in 54 K Street, the *Times*, the first Republican newspaper of California, was begun, under the editorship of James McClatchey, one of the ablest publicists in the State, and now editor of the *Sacramento Bee*. But, besides hardware and politics, another subject was much discussed at 54 K Street in those days—a railroad across the continent. This was the great question which then agitated every cabin in the State. How to get a railroad across the Sierra Nevada range was the great difficulty, and California was deeply stirred when an engineer named Judah, who was, as they said, "Pacific Railroad crazy," gave out that he had found a long and easy ascent by the way of Dutch Flat, which was practi-



C. P. Huntington



THE HUNTINGTON HOMESTEAD,

THROGG'S NECK,

RESIDENCE OF C. P. HUNTINGTON.

cable for a road. Judah was an enthusiast. He called public meetings and solicited subscriptions to enable him to make a thorough reconnoissance, and merchants and miners, and even women, gave, according to their means, ten, fifty or a hundred dollars for this object. At last came the Presidential election of 1860, and the rumble of war, and everybody buttoned up their pockets. The scheme was about to fail. The public had something else to think of. San Francisco, where the Democrats and Southern men wanted a southern line, turned its back on poor Judah. Matters seemed to have come to an end, when Huntington came forward with a new proposition.

"I will be one of seven, if Hopkins agrees, to bear the expense of a careful and thorough survey," said he; and the result was, that at a meeting held at 54 K Street, seven men entered into a compact that they would pay out of their own pockets all the needful expenses of a complete survey for a railroad across the mountains. Of these seven, Judah, the engineer, presently died, and another dropped out. The five who remained were helped by a few outside subscriptions, but so visionary was the enterprise believed to be at that time that a Sacramento banker, who desired to help it, felt himself obliged to decline aid on the express ground that the credit of his bank would suffer if he were known to have business relations with so wild a scheme. In this way the Central Pacific Railroad Company was organized, with Leland Stanford as president, C. P. Huntington as vice-president, and Mark Hopkins as treasurer; and the latter once said, years afterwards, that about this time he often thought they "had more railroad in 54 K Street than would be good for the hardware business." They were determined not to be swamped, and agreed to pay cash for all that was done; to keep no more men at work than they could pay every month, and to make every contract terminable at the option of the company. The time came when this policy saved them.

Mr. Huntington went to Washington when the company was formed, to see to the conditions of the government charter then before Congress; and before he departed for the East, the five middle-aged business men, who had undertaken this huge enterprise, gave him a power of attorney to do for them and in their name anything whatsoever—to buy, sell, bargain, convey, borrow or lend, without any condition except that he should fare alike with them in all that concerned their project. From this time forward Mr. Huntington's labors were mostly in the East. He remained in Washington, looking after the Pacific Railroad Bill, until it was at last passed and signed, and his opinion of the adventure on which this launched him and his associates was not different from that of the general public; this opinion, as well as a singular courage and determination on his part, were well expressed in the telegram in which he announced to his partners his success: "We have drawn the elephant; now let us harness him." Having telegraphed this message, he instantly went to New York to begin arrangements with hesitating and doubting capitalists for feeding the ravenous beast. It was now that all his qualities of persistence, courage, financial ability and knowledge of men were brought to the test. The government bonds were promised only upon the completion of certain miles of road; the capitalists of New York would not take the bonds of the road until some part of it was in operation; stock subscriptions came in too slowly to help out and Huntington saw failure staring him in the face. But his courage and determination rose with the emergency. Instead of going begging among speculators, or pledging his bonds for material, he boldly announced that he would not part with the bonds except for money—cash; and that he would not sell any at all unless a million and a half were taken. His boldness won; but when the required amount was bid for, the purchasers timidly desired some further security, and Huntington, without a moment's hesitation, made himself and his four partners personally responsible for the whole amount, and it was on this pledge of their private fortunes that the first forty miles of the Central Pacific Railroad were built. But even then, so great were the straits of the enterprise, that when Huntington returned to Sacramento, after completing this first loan, and buying and shipping rails and other needed material, he found the treasure-chest so low that it was necessary either to diminish the laboring force on the work or raise more means. Once more he was equal to the emergency. "We have no time to lose," he said, "and we must do it ourselves; Huntington & Hopkins can keep five hundred men at work on the road for a year at their own charge; how many will the rest of you undertake?" And it was agreed that the five partners should maintain out of their private fortunes eight hundred men on the works for a year. That resolution greatly diminished their troubles; for before the year was over they received their government bonds and their credit was established.

But for Huntington this was only the beginning of worries and labors which would have crushed any man only a little weaker or less able than he. It was his task to remain in the East, not only to raise money, but also to expend a great deal of it for material and supplies. All the rails, locomotives, powder and various other material for the road were bought by him, and shipped around Cape Horn or across the Isthmus. His transactions brought him into contact with all sorts of people in New York and other Eastern cities, and it is still told of him that when some one who did not know him came to him in 1862 with an offer of a handsome commission if he would deal with him, Huntington replied: "I want all the commissions I can get, but I want them put in the bill. This road has got to be built without any stealings;" and his bold refusal to be fleeced by sharks, and his straightforward ways of conducting

business, gained credit for him and his partners, and secured for himself the high and honorable rank he enjoys as one of the few really great financiers of this country.

Allotted space does not permit a narration of the vast labors of Mr. Huntington in building the Southern Pacific Railroad, and the Chesapeake and Ohio and its adjuncts—constituting together a continuous line four thousand miles long from San Francisco, the dominant harbor of the Pacific coast, to Chesapeake Bay, the finest natural harbor on the Atlantic; nor of the other great systems of transportation by land and water over which his control is primary and direct. It is said that the total length of railroads completed and in progress, now intrusted to the charge of C. P. Huntington, is, in round numbers, something over ten thousand miles.

Mr. Huntington continues to live, during the winter, in New York, where he manages the affairs of his railroads and other great enterprises. He is largely interested in over seven of the great steamship lines of the country, is one of the founders and directors of the Metropolitan Trust Company, of New York, and has a place on the directory of the Western Union Telegraph Company. He does not go much into general society, but keeps a hospitable house of his own on Murray Hill. He spends about seven months of every year at his charming country-seat at Throgg's Neck, on Long Island Sound, whence he can reach his business and return every day. In person he is tall, of a vigorous build, with grayish-blue eyes, an aquiline nose, and a firm, solid jaw, which feature in him resembles that of General Grant. His favorite in-door relaxations are reading and whist, of which game he is an excellent player. He has formed a large and well-selected library, and has a familiar and constant acquaintance with the best books in it. He is a lover of poetry and a student of history, particularly of modern history, and has known admirably how to use his scant leisure. He has also gathered a large and very valuable collection of paintings, and is pretty certain to be seen at any notable sale of pictures, not only in New York, but in other Eastern cities, bidding judiciously, but unhesitatingly, paying a long price for a good work of art. He was, until recently, not only a skillful, but a very daring horseman, and while he was building the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, parts of which run through an extremely difficult country, he was noted for his horsemanship, even among the people of that region of horsemen. Friends and business acquaintances know him as the possessor of a shrewd wit. He is an admirable story-teller, and knows how to settle a dispute with an apposite illustration almost as well as the late Mr. Lincoln. His years and labors have not told heavily upon him, and have not robbed him either of his physical activity or of his gay humor, which makes him a pleasant companion and friend. He has always had the capacity to bind friends to him by strong ties, and to get the best and most zealous service out of those he employs, who know him as one who exacts the strict fulfillment of duty, but who also generously rewards faithful service. In business he is careful and laborious, but an excellent administrator. He has the capacity to do a great deal of work in the hours he gives to it, and he has always been wise enough to redeem some part of his daily life from business cares and devote it to his family and to his library, where most of his evenings are spent. "Neither cast down nor elated" might very well be his motto; for neither has his great and fortunate career spoiled him or changed the simple habits of his life, nor have the vicissitudes of fortune been able to disturb his equanimity.

His country residence, at Throgg's Neck, is a refuge and great source of pleasure to him. From the broad verandah of the house a neatly-kept lawn slopes away under the branches of noble trees down to the water of the Sound, and here, on a clear day or a pleasant evening, Mr. Huntington, a gentleman of commanding stature, dressed in black and wearing a black skull-cap, may often be seen strolling up and down in conversation with friends, or watching the steamboats and sailing-vessels as they pass, rarely otherwise than in a genial humor, and always ready with his jovial story and generous laugh. His beautiful estate, consisting of some thirty-odd acres, was purchased from F. C. Havemeyer. This gentleman had expended a great deal on its embellishment; and Mr. Huntington, securing the best talent and sparing neither time nor money, has continued to adorn and improve the house and lands until at present—with its system of water, its gas-works, its private wharf, at which large vessels are occasionally moored, its stables, conservatories, farm buildings, pastures, shady walks, gardens and flowers—it is a model residence and a place well fitted to divert the fancy, restore the strength and rest the heart of one so earnest and unsparing of himself in work.

CHAPTER XXI.

MORRISANIA.[1]

BY FORDHAM MORRIS.

THE town of Morrisania was formed from West Farms December 7, 1855, incorporated as a village in 1864, and, in 1873, was annexed to New York City. It embraces the villages of Morrisania, Mott Haven, Port Morris, Wilton, East Morrisania, Old Morrisania, West Morrisania, South Melrose, East Melrose, Woodstock, Claremont and Eltona. The lines of division between these places are, however, being lost in the extension of the streets, and they now scarcely possess a geo-

[1] For the early history of Morrisania, including the manor and the Morris family, see the preceding chapter on the town of Westchester.



THE WHARF.



RESIDENCE FROM THE NORTH.

VIEWS AT THE HUNTINGTON HOMESTEAD.

graphical existence. By the act of the supervisors of the county creating the town of Morrisania, the north line began at Harlem River, near the present Aqueduct High Bridge, and extended east to Union Avenue, which was practically the east bounds of the Morrisania Manor. Its east boundary was Union Avenue, continued to the head of Bungay Creek and thence to Harlem Kills, and its south and west boundaries, the Harlem River and Kills. The division between the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Wards is now extended along the old division between the townships of West Farms and Morrisania, east to the Bronx.

On April 22, 1864, the town was divided into four wards, in each of which three trustees were elected for two years, at the same time as the supervisor. When it was set off from West Farms the assessed valuation of property was $1,788,840.

Gouverneur Morris, elected in 1856, was the first supervisor of the town. William Cauldwell was elected in 1857, and served until 1870, when he was succeeded by Silas D. Gifford. In 1871 Mr. Cauldwell was again elected. In 1872 John H. Hopkins was chosen, but the next year Mr. Cauldwell began another term, during which annexation took place.

It may be mentioned here that, before the selection of the site on the Potomac, a very strong feeling existed in favor of locating the capital of the nation at Morrisania. The files of the New York Historical Society contain the draft of a petition which Lewis Morris forwarded to Congress on that subject. It bears no date, but must have been written shortly prior to 1790, when Congress had the question of a site under consideration. It is as follows:

"*To his Excellency the President and the Honorable the Members of the Congress of the United States of America.*

"The Memorial of Lewis Morris, of Morrisania

"Respectfully Sheweth.

"That your Memorialist has heard that Congress intend, on the first Monday in October next, to fix on some proper place for their future permanent residence, and that propositions are to be given in from different places in order that the most eligible choice be made on that day.

"That your Memorialist therefore is induced to address your Honorable body in behalf of the Manor of Morrisania, in the State of New York, and humbly conceives and hopes that it will fully appear evident to Congress that the said Manor is more advantageously situated for their residence than any other place that has hitherto been proposed to them, and much better accommodated with the necessary requisites of convenience of access, health and security.

"That the convenience of access to Morrisania from most of the parts of the United States is much more easy, safe and expeditious than to any other place as yet proposed for the residence of Congress; that vessels from the four Eastern States may arrive at Morrisania through the Sound, which separates Long Island from the main, in the course of a very few hours, and that ships from the Carolinas and Georgia may perform voyages to Morrisania with much more safety and dispatch than they can to the ports of either Philadelphia or Annapolis, not being incommoded with tedious passages of two hundred miles each up Bays and Rivers which often consume a fortnight or three weeks—passages rendered hazardous by rocks and shoals, and annually obstructed by ice.

"And that Morrisania is so situated that vessels may arrive from or proceed to sea, sometimes in six hours, and at no time can be detained by contrary winds or tide more than 48 hours, and that this passage, from the quantity and saltness of the water, has never been totally impeded by ice.

"That your Memorialist conceives that the health of the place proposed and the salubrity of its air are points highly worthy of attention and consideration, and that your Memorialist is therefore happy to add that Morrisania has always been noted for this particular, that the fever and ague is there unknown, and that persons from other places, emaciated by sickness and disease, there shortly recover and are speedily reinstated in health and vigor.

"That your Memorialist conceives that Morrisania is perfectly secure from any dangers either from foreign invasion and internal insurrection, that no naval force can arrive at Morrisania without passing by New York, and of course possessing that city, or without attempting a passage of 100 miles through the Sound, which separates Long Island from Connecticut, which for a fleet is impracticable, and that Morrisania being distant only twenty miles from the State of Connecticut, and eight from the City of New York that it therefore can be amply protected by the hardy sons of New England on the one side, and the inhabitants of the populous City of New York on the other; that as the chief defence of this country in future must be by its militia, that therefore the number of fighting men which might at a short notice be collected at each place proposed ought in some measure to be ascertained—that by reason of the lands in the neighbourhood of Morrisania being parcelled out into small farms, and the vicinity of several towns, together with the city of New York, there are more fighting men within a sweep of thirty miles around Morrisania than perhaps within the same distance around any other place in America, as there are many populous places which contain large proportions of inhabitants who are principled by religion against bearing arms, and other places which contain many negro inhabitants who not only do not fight themselves, but by keeping their masters at home, prevent them from fighting also." [1]

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—Morrisania was associated with the parish of Westchester until 1840, when Gouverneur Morris founded the present parochial Church of St. Ann's, the first building in the town devoted to worship. It was incorporated July 20, 1841, at which time Robert Morris and Lewis Morris were wardens, and Jacob Buckhout, Daniel Deveau, Benjamin Rogers, Benjamin M. Brown, Edward Leggett, Lewis G. Morris and Harry M. Morris, vestrymen. On the preceding July 17th, Gouverneur Morris conveyed the church and the ground on which it stands to the rector, wardens and vestry, only reserving the two vaults in which repose the remains of his mother and father. The conditions of his gift were that the church edifice "shall be devoted to the service of God according to the rites and ceremonies of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and shall not be used for any other purpose whatsoever; that such of the pews as are marked in the plan annexed to the deed as 'free' shall never be sold or rented, but shall remain free, so that all persons coming to the said church to worship therein may freely use and occupy the same." The land conveyed with the church could only be used for the purposes of a parsonage and a garden and a site for sheds, and the residue as a cemetery or burying-ground. No rector or minister could be called or employed to officiate during the life of the donor, without his previous consent in writing. The donor also prohibited the premises from being mortgaged. The march of improvement has cut up all the surrounding property into streets and avenues, and in a few years St. Ann's will be like old St. Mark's in the Bowery, a rural church in the midst of a city. In vaults be-

[1] The above was kindly communicated by Mr. Kelby, Assistant Librarian of the N. Y. Hist. Soc., to whom for this and many other favors the author is greatly indebted.

neath the church repose the remains of most of the Morrises who owned Morrisania, they having been removed there when Mr. Harry Manigault Morris, executor of the estate of Lewis Morris, sold that portion of Morrisania which lies west of the Mill Brook. These remains were brought from the family vault, which stood not far from the present house, now known as Christ's Hotel. Amongst the remains are those of Lewis Morris, the colonial Governor of New Jersey, and Lewis Morris, the signer of the Declaration of Independence. In another vault repose the remains of Robert Hunter Morris, a son of Robert Morris, of Fordham, thrice mayor of New York City, also its recorder, postmaster of New York, and justice of the Supreme Court. In another are the remains of Brevet Brig.-Gen. Wm. Walton Morris,[1] colonel of the 2nd U. S. Artillery, and an officer who, during the late Rebellion, by his sound judgment and moral bravery, is entitled to much of the credit of saving Baltimore from falling into the hands of the Confederates.[2]

The church is built on rising ground near Old Morrisania, and is a handsome Gothic structure of white marble. The rectory adjoins it on the west. This is a list of pastors,—1841, Rev. Arthur C. Cox; 1842, Rev. Charles Jones; 1843, Rev. Charles Aldis; 1847, Rev. Abraham B. Carter; 1852, Rev. S. Pinkney Hammond; 1861, Rev. William Huckel, resigned.

St. Paul's Episcopal Church, situated on Fordham Avenue, near the former town line, owes its origin to the labors of Rev. A. B. Carter, who, while engaged as rector of St. Ann's, organized the congregation on July 8, 1849. It was at first a connection of St. Ann's, the chapel having been consecrated June 22, 1850. In May, 1853, it was erected into a full parish

[1] As one of General Morris' personal staff, in Baltimore, I wish to add that my commanding officer received the first, or one of the first, brevets as a brigadier general given by the government during the Civil War, and the above correspondence is given, not for the perpetuation of the family name, but as a loyal act, due from a staff officer to his general. I also wish to add that his brevet and assignment to duty as a general was a personal detriment to him, for, a few months afterwards, being given his regular commission as colonel of the Second United States Artillery, he could, as such, have drawn higher pay than a brigadier, as his "old fogy rations" as colonel and his long service in the army entitled him to higher compensation than that of a brigadier-general. But Mr. Lincoln having given him his commission by brevet, and his assignment, he did as he always did, his duty, and took higher rank and less pay. General Morris' services dated back to the Florida War, and in Mexico he was a veteran. [*Author.*]

[2] General Morris was a participant in a very notable incident of the early days of the war. This was his refusal to obey a writ of *habeas corpus* issued by Judge Giles of the United States District Court for Maryland. The subjoined correspondence gives the history of the affair.

"FORT MCHENRY, MD., Monday, 6th August, 1861.

"*Hon. Wm. Fell Giles, Judge of U. S. Dist. Court for the Dist. of Maryland:*

"*Sir*,—My attention has been directed to an article in the Local Column of the *Baltimore Sun* of this date, headed, 'The Habeas Corpus Refusal.' Presuming that that article is authentic, I wish very respectfully to submit for your consideration the following remarks on this unhappy 'Conflict of authority between those owing allegiance to the same government and bound by the same laws:'

"To avoid implicating parties in nowise connected with this case, permit me to observe at the threshold that my action in the premises was taken entirely on my own responsibility, without instructions from or consultation with any person whatever, and now I wish most respectfully to inform your Honor that I regard the writ of Habeas Corpus as the very basis of free government, and that under all ordinary circumstances I am very ready to acknowledge the Supremacy of the Civil authorities. But, as you admit, the Constitution of the United States has provided that this writ of Habeas Corpus may be suspended in case of rebellion if the public safety requires it. You, however, allege that there is 'no such state of affairs existing as would authorize its suspension.' On this point it is with regret that I am compelled to differ from so eminent an authority, and I am further constrained to add that the question is one of fact rather than of opinion.

"At the date of issuing your writ and for two weeks previous, the city in which you live and where your Court has been held was entirely under the control of revolutionary authorities. Within that period United States soldiers, while committing no offence, had been perfidiously attacked and inhumanly murdered in your streets; no punishments had been awarded, and I believe no arrests had been made for these atrocious crimes; supplies of provisions intended for this garrison had been stopped; the intention to capture this fort had been boldly proclaimed; your most public thoroughfares were daily patrolled by large numbers of troops armed and clothed at least in part with articles stolen from the United States; and the Federal flag while waving over the Federal offices was cut down by some person wearing the uniform of a Maryland soldier. To add to the foregoing, an assemblage elected in defiance of law, but claiming to be the legislative body of your State, and so recognized by the Executive of Maryland, was debating the forms of abrogating the Federal compact. If all this be not rebellion, I know not what to call it. I certainly regard it as a sufficient legal cause for suspending the writ of Habeas Corpus.

"Besides, there were certain grounds of expediency on which I declined obeying your mandate.

"First, the writ of Habeas Corpus in the hands of an unfriendly power might depopulate this fortification and place it at the mercy of a 'Baltimore mob' in much less time than it could be done by all the appliances of modern warfare.

"Second. The ferocious spirit exhibited by your community towards the United States Army would render me very averse from appearing publicly and unprotected in the city of Baltimore to defend the interests of the body to which I belong. A few days since a soldier of this command, while outside the walls, was attacked by a fiend or fiends in human shape, almost deprived of life, and left unprotected about half a mile from garrison. He was found in this situation and brought in covered with blood.

"One of your evening prints was quite jocose over this laughable occurrence. And now, sir, permit me to say, in conclusion, that no one can regret more than I this conflict between the civil and military authorities.

"If, in an experience of thirty-three years you have never before known the writ of Habeas Corpus to be disobeyed, it is only because such a contingency in political affairs as the present has not before arisen. I claim to be a loyal citizen, and I hope my former conduct, both official and private, will justify this pretension.

"In any condition of affairs, except that of Civil war, I would cheerfully obey your order, and as soon as the present excitement shall pass away I will hold myself ready not only to produce the soldier, but also to appear in person to answer for my own conduct; but in the existing state of sentiment in the city of Baltimore, I think it your duty to sustain the Federal military and to strengthen their hands, instead of endeavoring to strike them down.

"I have the honor to be very respectfully Your obedient servant,

"W. W. MORRIS, *Major 4th U. S. Artillery Comdg. the Post.*"

"SIR: "BALTIMORE, May 7, 1861.

"As your letter of yesterday just received by me, is addressed to me in my official character, I shall file it in Court as your reasons for not obeying the Writ of Habeas Corpus—you are correct in the supposition that the article to which you refer in the *Sun* is authentic. I reduced to writing what I said in Court on the return of the Marshal because I deemed it important that the daily press, which had on the morning of Friday noticed your action in reference to the writ before I knew of it myself, should not unintentionally misrepresent anything said by the Court. You will excuse me for any revision of the fact and argument of your letter. As I have no personal wish in this matter other than to discharge the duty devolved upon me by my official position and from which I cannot turn aside, I will only repeat again my deep regret that you have deemed it your duty particularly to suspend the 'writ of Habeas Corpus,' a power which, in my opinion, belongs to Congress only.

"I am very Respectfully your obedient Servant,

"WILLIAM F. GILES, *U. S. District Judge for Maryland.*

"*To Major W. W. Morris, 4th U. S. Arty., Fort McHenry.*"

organization, with its present title, and Rev. Benjamin Akerly was called as rector. He was followed in 1858 by Rev. Samuel G. Appleton, during whose incumbency the rectory was built. Rev. F. B. Van Kleeck was called in November, 1868, and resigned May 1, 1870. Rev. Thomas R. Harris then accepted the vacant place. In 1871 the church was redecorated and many repairs were made.

St. Mary's Protestant Episcopal Church, of Morrisania, is situated on the east side of Alexander Avenue, near One Hundred and Forty-second Street. It is a frame building, in the Gothic style, and seventy-five by fifty feet in dimensions. It was originally a chapel of St. Ann's Church, which erected the building on Garden or One Hundred and Forty-third Street, near College Avenue, and then removed it to its present location, as being more central. The corner-stone of the first edifice was laid May 1, 1856. The church was consecrated on September 15, 1856, and the parish incorporated September 29, 1857, when Rev. George C. Pennell was rector and Edward Haight and George Richmond wardens. Mr. Haight then liquidated its debts and the deed of the property was transferred to him. The corner-stone of the second church was laid September 9, 1875, by Bishop Potter. Rev. Christopher S. Stephenson was then rector; George Briggs and John C. Grant, wardens; William R. Beal, Richard Sterling, John T. Almaise, Edmund Pyne, Thomas Lockwood, William T. Hargrave, George W. Thurber and David P. Arnold, vestrymen; William R. Beal, John C. Grant, William T. Hargrave and G. W. Thurber, building committee.

The pastors have been,—

1856–57 . . . . . Rev. Mr. Hammond.
1857–62 . . . . . Rev. George C. Pennell.
1862–63 . . . . . Rev. Eastman Benjamin.
1863— . . . . . Rev. John W. Buckmaster.
1864— . . . . . Rev. Samuel R. Johnson, D.D.
1864–66 . . . . . Rev. J. H. Hobart De Mille.
1866–70 . . . . . Rev. Francis F. Rice.
1870–74 . . . . . Rev. C. S. Knapp.
1874–78 . . . . . Rev. C. S. Stephenson.
1878–83 . . . . . Rev. J. R. Davenport. D.D.
1884— . . . . . Rev. Harry Floyd Auld, present incumbent.

The wardens in 1886 were W. T. Marvin and D. P. Arnold, vestry; J. B. Brown, A. H. Pride, D. H. McCormack, T. Conklin, W. W. L. Voorhis, C. A. Waterbury, E. L. Smith, J. S. McCoy. The carved wood altar was presented by Dr. Davenport, and the vases and cross by Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Davenport.

The Catholic Church.—The parish church of St. Augustine is located at the corner of Jefferson and Franklin Avenues. The church buildings and rectory were erected in 1859. The first parish priest was Rev. Stephen Ward, a native of County Longford, who departed this life June 22d, and is interred beneath the church, an appropriately inscribed tablet marking his place of sepulture. In the church are many articles of ecclesiastical furniture, windows, memorials, etc., presented by Mrs. M. E. Monaghan, James McGarrity, J. and V. Lynch, Mrs. Rose Ferrigan, Henry McGough, Michael Cunningham, Francis McKenna, James McKenna, St. Augustine's Beneficial Society and the parish.

In East Morrisania is the Convent of the Ursuline Nuns, and connected with it an academy, which they conduct for the education of young ladies. It is under the direction of Mother Dominick, the Superioress. Father Stumpfe is the resident pastor, and he has charge of St. Mary's church, at Melrose, of the same denomination, and another church of the same persuasion is under the guidance of Rev. Father Nolan, at Highbridgeville.

The Presbyterian Church.—The First Presbyterian Church of the village of Morrisania was organized at a meeting at the house of Lawrence S. Mott, September 10, 1849. The first trustees were Lawrence S. Mott, Andrew Cauldwell, David Austin, Enoch S. Burstrand and Daniel Ayres.

At Washington Avenue and One Hundred and Sixty-seventh Street is the Potts Memorial Presbyterian Church, a handsome edifice erected to the memory of Rev. Dr. Potts. Rev. Arthur Potts was elected the first pastor April 1, 1866. The present pastor is Rev. James Morton.

Methodist Churches.—February 8, 1850, a meeting was held at the Episcopal Chapel for the purpose of organizing a Methodist Episcopal Church in Morrisania, under the care of the Harlem Station, and the New York District of the New York Conference. The name of the congregation was declared to be the "Methodist Episcopal Church of the village of Morrisania, County of Westchester." Stephen T. Wright, Moses T. Farrington, James Parker, John York and John T. Ferguson were the first trustees.

The German-speaking people of the Methodist faith have their own church at Morrisania. It was organized on April 12, 1853, by a meeting held at the residence of John J. Knoeppel, and the first trustees elected were Mr. Knoeppel, Charles H. Buttner, Jacob Weible, Anton Romnig, Lewis K. Osborn, John L. Haynes and Robert Crawford.

Other Denominations.—At Mott Haven is the Reformed Dutch Church, which was incorporated September 18, 1855, with J. L. Cummings, E. S. Burstrand, Thomas H. Leggett, Hayward A. Harvey, William H. McMasters, M. D. Van Doran, James Smith, William Kidd and William Potter.

The Dutch Reformed Church of the village of Melrose was incorporated September 25, 1857. Rev. Ernst Schoeppel was the first minister, and the deacons were Charles L. Georgi, Frederick Lambart, Peter Herlick and Christopher Mabus; the elders, George Illig, Valentine Kolter, Christian Gumpert, George Hoffman and John Spaeth.

The First Congregational Church was organized October 1, 1851. The congregation elected as the first board of trustees Philo Price, John A. Henry, Charles Speaight, Daniel Desmond, Joseph S. Ives and George Pollock.

At Highbridgeville is the Union Chapel, founded largely by the efforts of the late Mrs. Anderson, of "Woody Crest," and her daughters.

The First Baptist Church dates from a meeting for purposes of organization held September 17, 1850. The trustees chosen were Joseph Wiley, Thomas W. Hyde, Alexander M. Stratton, James Hardwick and George Hull.

Lewis Morris

BIOGRAPHY.

THE MORRIS FAMILY.

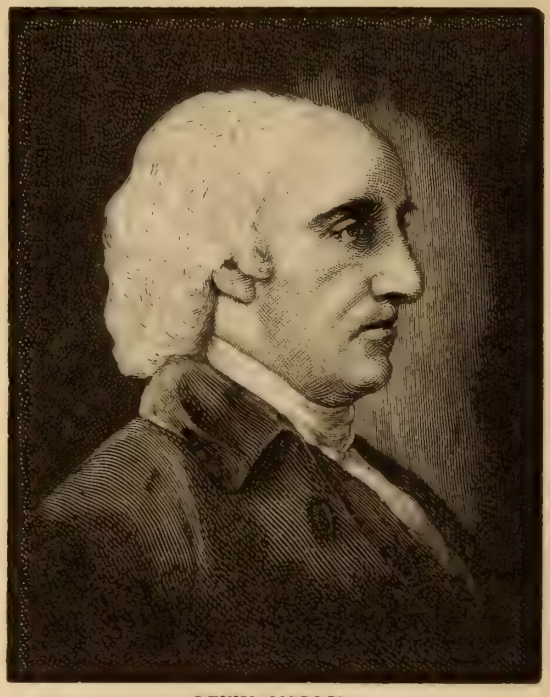
Among the names of ancestral note there are none who are more closely identified with American history than the family which has produced so many distinguished representatives, and whose annals must ever remain a most important part of the chronicles of the country and State. As the purchase and establishment of the Manor of Morrisania is fully narrated in another portion of this work, present attention is confined to the tracing of the line of descent of the family which has just claims to be called illustrious.

William Morris, of Tintern, Monmouthshire, England, was the father of three sons,—Colonel Lewis Morris, who inherited the estate in England, but emigrated to the West Indies in 1662, and settled in Morrisania, Westchester County, in 1674; William, who lived in Wales, and was an officer in the Parliamentary army; and Richard, who was a captain in the regiment of which his brother Lewis was colonel, and was the first of the name who owned the manor so long known as Morrisania. The latter married Sarah Pole, in the Island of Barbadoes, to which he had retired upon the restoration of the monarchy in England, and their only child was Hon. Lewis Morris, born in 1672, and by the untimely death of his parents left an orphan in early infancy. He rose to the highest positions, and was the first Governor of New Jersey, and a man of wealth and the highest distinction, and at an early period was the representative in the Assembly of New York for the county of Westchester. He was among the early benefactors of Trinity Church, of which he was for many years a vestryman, and after a long life of honor, usefulness and influence, he died at Kingsbury, near Trenton, on the 21st of May, 1746, at the advanced age of seventy-three. In accordance with the directions in his will, his mortal remains were deposited in a vault on his estate of Morrisania, and were accompanied to their last resting place by the highest dignitaries of the time.

Hon. Lewis Morris married Isabella, daughter of Sir James Graham, attorney-general of the province of New York. She survived him several years, and died in 1752, and was laid to rest by his side in Morrisania. She was lamented as one who was richly endowed with the graces that ornament, and the virtues that adorn, humanity.

The children of this marriage were Hon. Robert Hunter Morris, chief justice of New Jersey; Hon. Lewis Morris, judge of the High Court of Admiralty, and of the Court of Oyer and Terminer; and six daughters,—Elizabeth wife of —— White; Margaret; Arabella G.; Ann; Mary, wife of —— Pierce; and Euphemia.

Hon. Lewis Morris, who succeeded his illustrious father as the owner of Morrisania, was born September 23, 1698, and died July 3, 1762. The whole of his life was devoted to public affairs, and he was justly considered one of the foremost men of the days that preceded the Revolution, in which his son was destined to gain an imperishable name. His first wife was



LEWIS MORRIS.

Catharine Staats, and the children of this marriage were General Lewis Morris, the illustrious signer of the Declaration of Independence; General Staats Long Morris;[1] and Hon. Richard Morris, judge of the High Court of Admiralty in 1776.

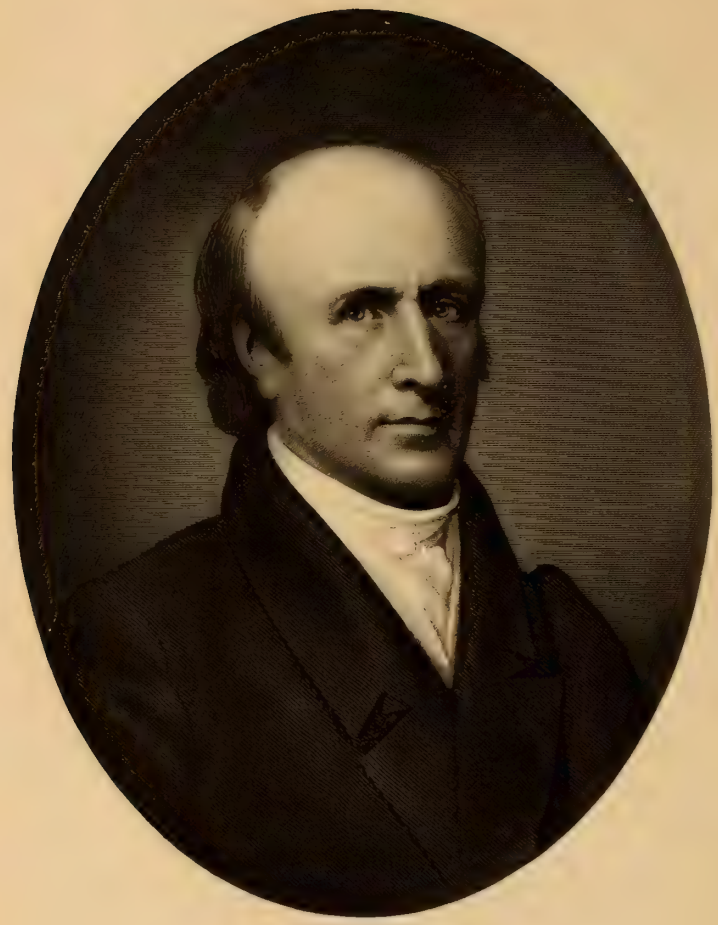
After the death of Mrs. Morris, Mr. Morris married Sarah Gouverneur. Their children were Hon. Gouverneur Morris (a name famous in our country's annals) and three daughters,—Isabella, wife of Rev. Isaac Wilkins, D. D.; Sarah Euphemia, wife of Samuel Ogden; and Catharine, wife of V. P. Ashfield.

[1] He was an officer of high rank in the British army, and married Catharine, the celebrated Duchess of Gordon, whose son, Lord George Gordon, was famous as the leader of the Anti-Popery Riots, 1793. A portrait of General Morris is now in possession of William H. Morris, Morrisania.



RESIDENCE OF WM. H. MORRIS,

MORRISANIA, N. Y.



James Morris.

General Lewis Morris, the eldest son, and the fifth proprietor of the Manor of Morrisania, was born April 8, 1726. He enjoyed the best opportunities for education that the country then afforded, and graduated from Yale College in 1746, and his *alma mater* did honor to herself by conferring upon him the degree of Master of Arts in 1790. After finishing his education he returned to his native manor, where for years he passed the life of a quiet agriculturist. The Revolution found in him a man ready for the hour, and from the time when the struggle for independence began to the day when victory closed the contest there was no man whose heart and soul were more devoted to the cause. In the early part of the war he was a brigadier-general in the Continental army, and was instructed by Congress to take possession of such parts of the province bordering on Long Island Sound and Hudson River as might be most exposed to attack and occupation by the enemy. In 1775 he was elected a member of the Continental Congress, and was one of that noble band who pledged their all to the country's good. In 1777 he issued an address to the citizens of New York urging them to support the Constitution prepared by the convention of the United States for the temporary form of government. His honored life was closed in 1798, and his remains were laid with those of his ancestors in the family vault at Morrisania, but were in after-years removed to a vault under St. Ann's Church.

General Lewis Morris married Mary Walton, who died in 1794. Their children were Colonel Lewis Morris, aid to General Greene; General Jacob Morris, of Otsego County, New York; William; James; Staats; Commodore R. Valentine;[1] Catharine, wife of Thomas Lawrence; Mary, second wife of Thomas Lawrence; Sarah; and Helen, wife of John Rutherford.

James Morris, the fourth child, was born 1764, and his early childhood was passed at his father's seat in Morrisania. He was sent to England, under the care of his uncle, General Staats Long Morris, and was educated at the famous school at Eton, and afterward traveled extensively with his uncle's family. After remaining in England several years he returned to his native land and studied law in the office of Aaron Burr, then in the zenith of his legal fame. At a later date he was appointed high sheriff of New York by Governor John Jay. In 1796 he married Helen, daughter of Augustus Van Cortlandt, of Yonkers, and removing from the city of New York, settled at Morrisania, where the remainder of his life was passed as a country gentleman of ample means and refined tastes. His large estate gave him favorable opportunities as an agriculturist, and he was foremost among the farmers of the State and one of the founders of the Westchester Agricultural Society, one of the first in the country, and throughout his life was a man of success, integrity and honor.

Mr. Morris died September 7, 1827, at the age of sixty-three, leaving a family of twelve children,—

1. James Van Cortlandt, who married Catharine, daughter of Wright Post, M.D., of New York, and had one son, James, who died unmarried.

2. Augustus, who assumed the name of Van Cortlandt, to succeed to the ownership of an estate in Yonkers. He married Harriet, daughter of Peter Jay Munro, Esq., and had two sons,—Augustus, a physician, who died in 1885, without children; and Peter Jay Munro, who married Ann M. Hunter, and is now living at Pelham, without children.

3. Catharine, wife of Dr. Alexander H. Stevens, of New York. They had one child, Alexa, wife of Rev. James Bowdoin, of New York. They have one child, Constance.

4. Mary Walton, who died unmarried.

5. Helen, who married Richard R. Morris, son of Col. Lewis Morris, and grandson of the signer. Their children were Helen and Lewis, both of whom died unmarried; Anna, second wife of the present Gouverneur Morris, of Morrisania; she died in 1884, leaving no children; Mary W., who is now living at Pelham; Sophia, who married Charles B. Burrill, a lawyer of New York, who has children—Drayton, Mary and Percy.

6. Nancy, who died unmarried.

7. Dr. Richard L., who died June, 1880. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel N. Fish, and sister of Governor Hamilton Fish. Their children are James, who married Elizabeth W. Gray, and has no children; Elizabeth, the wife of Elliott Marshall, of Mississippi, both deceased (they left children,—Elliott, Elizabeth M. and Sarah E.); Nicholas Fish, who was lost at sea by the foundering of the man-of-war "Albany," leaving no children; Richard L., who married Lillian Munson, both deceased (they left children,—Munson and Helen, now living in Astoria); Stuyvesant Fish, M.D., who married Ellen J., daughter of Smith Van Buren, son of President Van Buren, and is now living on Lexington Avenue, N. Y. (they have four children,—Elizabeth M., Ellen V. B., Richard L. and Stuyvesant F.); Charlotte Louisa, who married Martin Wilkins, of Morristown, N. J., who have no children; Margaret, wife of Bayard U. Livingston, of Albany (they have one child, Urquhart); Helen V. C., deceased, who married David King, but left no children.

[1] Commodore Morris, United States Navy, died in 1815 on the family estate now occupied in part by his grandson, Henry Lewis Morris. He married Ann Walton, and their issue were Gerard W., Richard V. and Henry. Gerard married Martha Pyne, and their children were Gerard, Isabella, Annie P., Richard B., Captain John P., Henry W. (who attained the highest honors in the Masonic order), Mononah and Mary Pyne. All died unmarried, except the last two named. Mononah married Francis Barretto, Jr., who died in 1866, leaving as sole heir Gerard M. Barretto, of New York City. Mary Pyne married Jonathan Edwards. Their children were Gerard M., Mary Morris and Rev. Arthur Morris, Episcopal missionary at Tokio, Japan. Richard V. Morris died unmarried in 1843. Henry, third son of the commodore, married Mary N., daughter of Hon. J. C. Spencer, Secretary of War and of the Treasury under President Tyler. Their children were Mary Natalie (died unmarried, 1870) and Henry Lewis, who married Anna M. Russell, and resides on Mott Avenue, Morrisania, and whose children are Eleanor R. and Lewis Spencer.

8. Robert Rutherford, who lived at Davenport's Neck, New Rochelle. He married Hannah, daughter of William Edgar. They had children,—Catharine, who married Henry Phelps; Annie, died unmarried; Edgar, died unmarried; Cornelia, unmarried; and Helen, wife of Dr. Magill, United States army, who left no children.

9. Louisa, who married Edward Leroy, of Avon, Genesee County, N. Y. They had one child, Helen, now living in New York. She married Pinckney Stewart (deceased). Their children are Louisa, wife of James Kent, grandson of the illustrious jurist, and who is now a practicing lawyer in New York; Helen, who married —— Kent; and Edward.

10. William H.

11. Charlotte, who married Richard Kemble, who has one child, Mary, now living in New York.

William H. Morris.—William H. Morris, the tenth child and the sole surviver of the above family, was born August 3, 1810. In his childhood he attended school at Harlem, and afterwards at Bloomingdale, under the care of Dr. Davenport, from which he went to the school at Hyde Park, under the charge of Dr. Allen, and was subsequently a student at the Military Academy, Middletown, Conn. He returned home at the time of the death of his father, and under the charge of his guardian, Gerard W. Morris, traveled extensively in Europe in 1831 and 1832. Returning, he married, in 1834, Miss Hannah, daughter of Thomas Newbold, of New York. Their children were James Staats, born 1836, died 1875; Augustus Newbold; and William H., who died unmarried in 1852. Mrs. Morris died in 1842, and Mr. Morris subsequently married Caroline, daughter of Caleb Halsted, of New York, who died in 1848. In 1850 he married Ella, daughter of Hugh Birckhead, of Baltimore. Their children are Augusta McEvers, wife of Frederick J. De Peyster, and Juliet B., who is now living with her father in Morrisania. Mrs. Morris died in 1881.

The greater part of the life of Mr. Morris has been spent upon his family estate at Morrisania, where he was for years extensively engaged in agriculture, which he conducted with great energy and success. During his long life he has seen the rural district of Morrisania become the thickly-settled ward of a great city, and the place where he now lives may be called the last relic of Morrisania, as it was in early days. The mansion, which stands upon an eminence overlooking the country round, was built by his father in 1816, and stands a few feet east of the site of a former house, built in 1795. In the family mansion, surrounded by the relics of the past, Mr. Morris passes the evening of his days in quiet and dignified repose, and commanding the respect and the confidence of the entire community.

Among other relics of days gone by are fine portraits of Hon. Gouverneur Morris, painted while minister to France; Colonel Lewis Morris, son of the signer; and General Staats Long Morris.

Augustus Newbold Morris, the only surviving son of William H. Morris, was born June 3, 1838. He graduated from Columbia College in 1860, and traveled extensively in Europe and the East, including the Holy Land, in 1864–66, and again in 1874–75, and the third time in 1882. He is identified with many benevolent institutions, and is a member of the executive committee and a liberal supporter of the Home for Incurables, one of the noblest institutions in the county. Prominent in the social and business life of New York, he is governor of the Union Club, and as the financial manager of large estates he commands by his integrity the respect and confidence of all who know him. His beautiful country place at Pelham was noted as the seat of elegant hospitality, and famous for the valuable horses and cattle raised under the care of the owner.

Mr. Morris married Eleanor Colford, daughter of General James I. Jones. Their children are Newbold and Eva Van Cortlandt. Mr. Morris and his family are members of the Church of the Holy Spirit, of which he was warden for many years, and is now a member of the vestry.

His country-seat at Pelham has lately been taken as a portion of the New Park, and his present country residence is at Ridgefield, Conn.[1]

LEWIS G. MORRIS.

Lewis Gouverneur Morris, son of Robert Morris, and sixth in the line of descent from Richard Morris, the first settler of the name, whose numerous descendants have acted so prominent a part in the history of the country, was born at Claverack, Columbia County, N. Y., August 19, 1808, while his parents were making a visit there. His father, who had inherited an estate from his ancestors, was engaged in mercantile pursuits in New York, and the rest of the children having been provided for, it naturally devolved upon Lewis G., as the son of their old age, to remain with his parents upon the ancestral heritage. To the care and development of this estate his time and energies were devoted, and under his skillful management the "Mount Fordham" farm became known far and wide, and his name was justly ranked as foremost among the agriculturists of the State. His attention was early called to the necessity and advantage of improving the various breeds of domestic animals. With this end in view, he made repeated visits to Europe, at first in company with Mr. N. J. Becar, forming the acquaintance of the leading agriculturists of Great Britain, and returning to this country, brought with him the finest specimens of live-stock to be purchased in England. The rare value of his imported animals was quickly known, and the public and private sales at Mount Fordham, which began in 1848 and continued for many years, were noted events and brought purchasers from every portion of the country, and cattle from this farm were sent to

[1] The sketch of the Morris family was prepared by a friend.



Wm. E. Morris



A. Newbold Morris.



L. G. Morris

every State in the Union, and also to Canada, Cuba and the Sandwich Islands.

So greatly did these herds improve, on this side of the Atlantic, that the owners of large estates in England sent agents who purchased at fabulous prices, and carried back to the Old World the descendants of animals which Mr. Morris originally selected and which had been so lately exported from their own shores. It is safe to say that the increased value of live-stock in this country, which is directly attributable to the various importations made by Mr. Morris, must be estimated by millions.

One of the most important events in his life was his connection with the improvement of Harlem River and building of the High Bridge. At the time of constructing the Croton Aqueduct, the commissioners had determined to carry the water across Harlem River by inverted syphons over a low bridge, with only one archway, eighty feet in width. This attempt, which would have effectually destroyed the navigation of the river, met with the most determined opposition from the land-owners along its shores, and of this opposition Mr. Morris was the most prominent representative. To his far-seeing mind it was evident that the time must come when water communications made by nature between the Hudson River and Long Island Sound, would, when improved by art, become the channel for a mighty commerce. From time immemorial, it had been a navigable arm of the sea, and Mr. Morris, with his neighbors, resolved to have it restored to its former condition. At that time the navigation of the stream was impeded, if not wholly destroyed, by Macomb's dam, constructed under an act of Legislature passed in 1813. This obstruction to a navigable stream was, in the opinion of Mr. Morris and his associates, a public nuisance, and a plan was forthwith formed for its abatement. Mr. Morris, at the request of his neighbors, hired a small vessel, owned by parties in another State (with a view of having the question brought before the Federal courts), and engaged the master to deliver a cargo of coal at his landing. The attempt of the vessel to proceed on her voyage being prevented by the dam, the company on board proceeded, on the night of September 14, 1838, to abate the nuisance by tearing down and removing a portion of the obstructing work. The suit-at-law which followed, in the case of "William Renwick *vs.* Lewis G. Morris *et al.*," was carried up to the Court of Chancery, and the final decision established the theory that Harlem River was a navigable stream, and any obstruction was a public nuisance liable to be abated by any one interested in the navigation. The constant remonstrance and persistent efforts of Mr. Morris and his associates to prevent the building of a low bridge over the river were at length crowned with success, and an Act of Legislature passed May 3, 1839, prescribed that the Aqueduct Bridge should be constructed with arches and piers of at least eighty feet span and a hundred feet in height; and the magnificent High Bridge is a lasting monument to their perseverance and energy.

Mr. Morris was appointed in 1840 inspector of the Fourth Division of Militia Infantry, with the rank of colonel, a position which he held till 1847.

In 1861 Mr. Morris was a member of the War Committee, was appointed colonel of volunteers August 14, 1862, and was instrumental in raising the One Hundred and Thirty-fifth Regiment, known as the "Anthony Wayne Guards," later as the Sixth New York Heavy Artillery, and which was afterwards commanded by Colonel (afterwards Brigadier-General,) Wm. H. Morris.

Mr. Morris was president of the New York State Agricultural Society, and has been since 1850 a life member of the Royal Agricultural Society of England.

The estate of Mount Fordham is a portion of the old Manor of Fordham, was purchased by Lewis Morris, grandson of Richard, the first settler, and has descended to its present owner from his ancestors.

So much has been written concerning the distinguished family of which Mr. Morris is a representative, that little remains to be said. The line of descent is: first, Richard, who came to this country in 1670; second, Lewis, born at Morrisania, in 1672; third, Lewis, Governor of New Jersey, as was also his father; fourth, Richard, who was judge of Admiralty under the crown, and the successor of John Jay as second chief justice of New York, and whose brother, Lewis Morris, was the illustrious signer of the Declaration of Independence; fifth, Robert, born in 1763, and married Frances, daughter of Isaac Ludlam, of Goshen, Orange Co. Their children were Richard; Julia, wife of William B. Ludlow; Mary, wife of James A. Hamilton, son of the illustrious statesman; James L., who married Lucretia, daughter of Peter Crary; Francis W., wife of Thomas W. Ludlow; Robert H. who was mayor of New York, recorder, and judge of the Supreme Court, and married Ann Eliza Munson; Wm. L., who married Mary E. Babcock; and Lewis G.

Mr. Morris married Emily, daughter of Jacob Lorillard. She died in 1850, leaving two children,—Fordham and Francis.

Fordham Morris, the elder son, is a practicing lawyer in New York. He married Annie Louise Westcot, and had one child,—Emily Lorillard.

Francis Morris, the younger son, was educated in the United States Naval Academy, at Annapolis. He served in the late war and was present at the attack on Fort Fisher, rose to the rank of commander, and shortly before his death, which occurred February 12, 1883, was executive officer of the "Tennessee." He married Harriet H. Bedlow, and left two children, —Alice and Lewis G.

The family mansion at Mount Fordham, was built in—— and greatly enlarged and improved by its present owner. The family portraits here preserved

embrace a fine engraving of Lewis Morris, the owner of Morrisania, and elegant paintings of his son Lewis and his grandson Richard, the Judge of Admiralty, attached to which is the hilt of his official sword; and also of Robert Morris, the father of the present owner of the mansion.

Shunning politics, and declining all offers of official preferment, Mr. Morris has been content to lead a life of quiet usefulness; and to all who have the honor of his acquaintance, he is known as one who is "worthy to bear without reproach, the grand old name of Gentleman."

JORDAN L. MOTT.

The ancestor of the Mott family, which has so many representatives in various portions of the country, was Adam Mott, who was born in England in 1606 and came to Boston in 1636. He was chosen freeman in Hingham, Massachusetts, in 1637, from which place he moved and settled at Newton, L. I., and afterward went to Hempstead. At the time of the English conquest, in 1664, he was one of the commissioners for arranging the transfer of New Amsterdam to the English government. He died at Hempstead, L. I., in 1686, leaving a wife, Sarah, and six children—John, Adam, Joseph, Elizabeth, Nathaniel and Mary.

Of this family, Adam, the second son, was born in England in 1629, and came with his father to America. His first wife was Phebe, whose maiden-name is unknown. After her decease he married Elizabeth, probably daughter of John Richbell, whose name was prominent among the early settlers of Westchester. He died at an advanced age, leaving fourteen children—Adam, James, Charles, John, Joseph, Gershom, Elizabeth (wife of Henry Goder), Henry, Grace, Richbell, Ann, William, Mary and Hannah (wife of John Seaman). The descendants of these are very numerous. Charles, the third son, was one of a company of eighteen who, in 1719, emigrated from Hempstead, L. I., to what is now Rockland County, N. Y. where they purchased a large tract of land, and some of his descendants are still to be found in that region. Among the descendants of William Mott may be mentioned the famous surgeon, Dr. Valentine Mott, late of the city of New York, while James has many descendants in Westchester County.

Joseph, the fifth son, was the father of Jacob Mott, born August 9, 1714, and died October 6, 1805.[1] He married Abigail Jackson, born November 18, 1720, and died in 1781. They were the parents of eleven children—Joseph, born October 18, 1736; Samuel, May 31, 1738 (died young); Jackson, August 16, 1740; Isaac, May 6, 1743 (married Nancy Coles); Miriam, April 30, 1745 (died in childhood); Ruth, June 6, 1747 (she married Jordan Lawrence, and after his decease married Stephen Coles); Samuel I., February 9, 1753; Jacob, June 30, 1756; Miriam, September 7, 1759 (married Benjamin Birdsall); Richard, May 9, 1769 (he married, first, Polly Sutton; second, Freelove Sutton); and Joseph, August 21, 1763 (who removed to South Carolina).

Jacob Mott, the eighth child of this family, married Deborah, daughter of Dr. William Lawrence, whose ancestor, John Lawrence, was one of the commissioners who were appointed to arrange the boundaries of New Amsterdam in 1664, and whose descendants are among the most prominent of Long Island families. Removing from Hempstead, his native village, to New York, he was for many years one of its most prominent citizens, and was elected alderman of the Seventh Ward from 1804 to 1810, and was president of the Board of Aldermen and deputy mayor of New York. Mott Street, in that city, was named in his honor. After a life of usefulness and credit, and vicissitudes as well, Mr. Mott died August 16, 1823, leaving a family of five children—William L., born January 16, 1777 (married Dorothy Scudder); Richard L., born June 6, 1782 (married Elizabeth Deal); Jacob L., born September 13, 1784 (married Hannah Riker and settled at Tarrytown, where he was a prominent preacher of the Society of Friends); Jordan L.; and Mary (wife of Ezekiel G. Smith).

Jordan Lawrence Mott was born at Manhasset, L. I., October 12, 1798, during a temporary residence of his parents at that place, to which they had gone on account of an epidemic of yellow fever in New York. The affluent circumstances of his father rendered his early life one of ease and leisure, and he in youth developed that inventive genius which has since made his name so widely known. At the age of fifteen he invented a machine for weaving tape, which was successfully operated, and from that time till 1853, when he retired from business, was constantly engaged in various inventions, and more than fifty patents are recorded in his name. The business reverses which overtook his father rendered it necessary for him to engage in active labor for himself, and in 1820 he commenced commercial life as a grocer. At that time cooking-stoves were a recent introduction, the fuel being wood, which was then plentiful, and Mr. Mott invented the first cooking-stove in which anthracite was burned as a fuel. The comfort and convenience caused by this invention can hardly be over-estimated and justly entitled him to the gratitude of the community. The stove-castings were at that time made at blast furnaces in Philadelphia and were very rough. Mr. Mott built a cupola furnace and made his castings smooth and beautiful.

The stoves made at his works soon became popular, and the small foundry, which was situated in the rear of

[1] Joseph Mott, "of Charlotte Precinct, Duchess County," who died in 1762, was probably a brother of the Jacob Mott, mentioned above. In his will, dated September 28, 1762, he leaves his farm, "Lot No. 3, in the Patent of Nine Partners," to his sons, Richard and Jacob. He mentions daughters,—Martha, wife of James Valentine; Jane, wife of Timothy Smith; Elizabeth, wife of Samuel Smith; Jemima, wife of John Connon. He also mentions "My loving brother Jacob, of Queens Co., L. I."



"MT. FORDHAM."

RESIDENCE OF L. G. MORRIS.



A VIEW FROM WEST PIAZZA, MT. FORDHAM.





his store on Water Street, in New York, was the beginning of the famous Jordan L. Mott Iron-Works, the productions of which are now sent to every country on the globe.

. The rapid increase of business led Mr. Mott to purchase an extensive tract of land at the northwest corner of the Manor of Morrisania, on the Harlem River, and adjoining the Harlem Bridge at Third Avenue, and upon this spot soon arose the populous village of Mott Haven. The foundry was at first of limited extent; the buildings were of wood and twice destroyed by fire, but were each time rebuilt with greatly enlarged proportions. It is narrated, as an illustration of the energy of Mr. Mott, that at the time of the second fire, while the firemen were endeavoring to subdue the flames at one end of the building, a company of workmen under his direction were laying the new foundations at the other, and in nine days the business was resumed. With a premonition of the rapid growth of the city of New York, Mr. Mott, in company with Colonel Nicholas McGraw and Charles W. Houghton, formed an association to purchase a large tract in Morrisania and establish a new village.

An agreement was made with Gouverneur Morris, owner of the land, to sell a tract of two hundred acres for one hundred and seventy-five dollars per acre, which comprised lots from No. 16 to No. 23, inclusive, "as laid down on a map of Morrisania made by John Randall in 1816." This tract was surveyed and streets and avenues were located, and persons who bought lots received their deeds directly from Mr. Morris, the inheritor of the ancestral domain. The village thus established is now the thickly-settled Twenty-third Ward of the city of New York.

Mr. Mott lived to see the business which he founded on a limited scale gradually increase till it became one of the largest establishments in the country and the creations of his inventive genius have made his name a household word. During the administration of President Buchanan he was offered the position of commissioner of patents, but declined to accept. The Reformed Dutch Church at Morrisania, which he built and presented to the people, will be a lasting monument to his name. After a life of active and untiring usefulness he died May 8, 1866, and was buried in Greenwood Cemetery.

He married Mary W. Smith, who was born September 6, 1801, and died December 24, 1838.

The children of this marriage were Mary J., wife of Matthew Dyckman Van Doran, whose children were Alice H., wife of Guy Fairfax Whiting, of Virginia, and Amelia A., wife of General Edward H. Ripley, of Rutland, Vt., and Jordan L.

Jordan L. Mott, who is the successor to the business established by his honored father, and which, under his care and skill, is continued with greatly increased facilities, was born November 10, 1829. Deprived of a mother's care in early childhood, he knew little of home life, being sent to school in Tarrytown at an an early age and finished his education at the University of the City of New York. The excitement that followed the discovery of gold in California led him to abandon college life, with the intention of seeking his fortune in that land of promise, and he wrote to his father, who was then in Washington, for his permission and assistance. Mr. Mott, with the practical shrewdness which distinguished him, made the following proposition to the young adventurer: "You can have the privations and the profits of a miner's life without going to California. You shall live in a tent in my garden, without seeing any of your friends or relatives, and holding no communications with them except by mail and at long intervals; you shall do your own cooking and washing and mending. You will be deprived of all that now makes your life enjoyable, and in return I will pay you the average wages of a miner—about fifteen dollars a day. Or you can remain at home in possession of the comforts you enjoy, with the prospect of succeeding to the business I have established."

When these two pictures were presented in such vivid contrast the young man was not long in making his decision, and leaving the gold of California to be dug by other hands, he sought for wealth with equal energy, and doubtless far more success, in his native city.

From that time it was the object of his life to establish the works that bear his name on a firmer foundation, and increase their extent and capacity, and in the prosecution of this enterprise he has met with well-merited success. At the works at Mott Haven sixty tons of iron are now melted daily,—a vast increase, indeed, from the time when to melt two tons on alternate days was their full capacity. Taking an active interest in political affairs, Mr. Mott was elected alderman for the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Wards and was president of the board in 1879 and acting mayor of the city during the illness of Mayor Cooper. At the conclusion of his term of office Mr. Mott received an elegant testimonial, signed by the full Board of Aldermen, expressing their high appreciation of the integrity and ability with which he had performed the duties of his official position. He was also one of the trustees of the village of Morrisania. Being appointed a member of the Rapid Transit Commission he was noted by his activity in promoting one of the improvements of the day. Prominent in social circles and widely known in business affairs, he is justly considered a representative of the successful men of the great metropolis.

Mr. Mott married Marianna, daughter of James V. Seamen, of Westchester. Their children are Marie (wife of the late William M. Olliffe, park commissioner of New York), Jordan L., Jr. (who married Katharine Jerome, daughter of Fay Purdy, of Western New York, and has one child—Jordan L., the fourth of this name) and Augustus W.

The old homestead built by his father in the early days of Mott Haven, and standing at the corner of Third Avenue and One Hundred and Thirty-fourth Street, still remains in his possession.

SAMUEL M. BIXBY.

Among the magic titles of the present day, none has become such an universal household word as that of "Bixby," not alone in this country, but in all parts of the world.

As a type of the American self-made business man, Samuel M. Bixby has secured a prominent position. He was born at Haverhill, N. H., May 27, 1833, and for many years past has been a resident of Fordham, Westchester County, N. Y. Those who are familiar with his reputation for energy and force of character can readily see, from a brief history of his origin, which was coupled with an early New England education, how he has been endowed with the elements that have made his success.

From a man so full of information, and so keenly alive to the bent of events transpiring about him, it is not difficult to secure a fund of interesting matter that would be valuable not only to remote members of the Bixby family, but to people generally who have heard of him. Among the interesting mementoes in his possession, of early New England days, is a rare "Book of Poems" (first published in 1650), by Anne Bradstreet, well remembered as the "Tenth Muse," or first American poetess, who is a grandparent of Mr. Bixby through four generations.

The name Bixby is of Danish origin, and the American Bixbys are descendants from Danish, English and Scotch blood. Few families can boast of an ancestry more notable for all the qualities that go to make up the characteristics that rank highest in American character. They are lineal descendants of the lords of Dudley, families prominent in English history, and thence through the families of Governor Thomas Dudley and Governor Simon Bradstreet and many others of the noblest pioneers of New England.

The family, which is large, is widely scattered throughout the United States, devoting themselves with the most remarkable energy to all the avocations of life in a new country and achieving success as lawyers, doctors, ministers, missionaries, manufacturers, merchants and tillers of the soil, and in every line they are remarkable for longevity, probity and intensity of purpose, strong will and determination,—characteristics which come from a hardy, strong and uncompromising ancestry.

The meaning of the name Bixby is "the house or town near the box-trees." "By," means town, village or house; "bix" means the box—*i. e.*, the tree by that name.

Boxford, in Suffolk County, Mass., was planted and reared by the Bixbys. Boxford,—*i. e.*, the ford by the box-trees—was the home of the emigrant, Joseph Bixby, and received its name from him.

The first record of the Bixbys in this country is that of Nathaniel and Joseph Bixby, father and son, in the town of Ipswich, Mass., where Nathaniel is recorded as a householder in 1638.

From this date the father and son are readily traced, the son marrying, in 1647, a lady from Asington, Suffolk County, England, and settling in Rowley village, afterward incorporated, under his leadership, as the town of Boxford. It is recorded that Joseph Bixby died, "being aged," in 1700.

From Nathaniel and his son Joseph, the original immigrants, can be traced all the Bixbys at present known to exist in the United States, and they inhabit nearly every State and Territory. The oldest known to be living to-day is a lady past her ninety-ninth birthday, who is well preserved, mentally and physically, and displays a degree of cheerfulness and great good humor rarely observed in aged people.

In point of health, vigor and other characteristics, Samuel M. Bixby is a true type of his ancestors. His genial disposition, with the faculty of discerning the bright side of life, warrants the prediction of his enjoyment, for many years to come, of the success he has achieved.

COLONEL RICHARD M. HOE.

Among the names of American inventors whose discoveries have increased the welfare of the world, few deserve more honorable mention than the late Colonel Hoe, the inventor of the Lightning Printing-Press. Mr. Hoe was the head of the great firm of R. Hoe & Co., manufacturers of printing-presses. The history of this house, originally established by his father, and carried on from one success to another by his father's sons, is the history of the evolution of the art of printing, not only in America, but throughout the civilized world. Prior to the invention of the presses which bear the name of Hoe, the machinery by which the uses of "the types" are made manifest on paper was indeed slow-running and, in the light of the development of to-day, very crude. It was the Hoes who gave to the world, in 1847, the first rotary press ever known, and later, the wonderful Web Perfecting Printing-Machines with which the press-rooms of the leading newspapers of the United States and Europe are now provided, and which, from an endless roll or web of paper, print, cut and fold twenty-four thousand eight-page papers an hour. The honor of having devised and invented this almost human machine, which has made the cheap newspaper a possibility, and completely revolutionized the world of printing, belongs jointly to Colonel Richard M. Hoe and Mr. S. D. Tucker, one of his partners. Although many years ago the mammoth business which he had inherited from his father had made him a wealthy man, abundantly able, had he seen fit, to retire from its active management, Colonel Hoe to the day of his death was the actual head and manager of the great manufacturing house, giving his time and



S. M. Pixley



Richard M. Hoe

inventive brain abundantly to the development of the business.

Robert Hoe, his father, and founder of the house of R. Hoe & Co., was a native of Lancashire, England, and was born at Hose, in 1784. At an early age he was apprenticed to learn the trade of a carpenter, but being of an ambitious disposition, he "bought his time" and came to New York at the age of nineteen. Arriving in the New World solitary and friendless, he accidentally met with the famous Grant Thorburn, who entertained him with hospitality and nursed him with care when prostrated with yellow fever. Some years after he married Rachel, daughter of Matthew Smith, of North Salem, Westchester County.

His brother-in-law, Peter Smith, invented an improved printing-press, and he was engaged with him in the manufacture. When the news came of the introduction of the flat-bed cylinder press in England, Mr. Hoe sent a skilled workman to examine the new invention, and upon his return he extended his manufacturing operations. Robert Hoe died in 1833, at the age of forty-nine, leaving the business to his son, Richard M. Hoe, whose name is now known world-wide as an inventor. He took his cousin, Matthew Smith, with Sereno Newton, as partners, and the firm-name was made R. Hoe & Co., which is still retained.

Colonel Richard M. Hoe had inherited his father's inventive skill, and he also developed rare executive ability. The business under his management prospered apace. Invention after invention followed rapidly from his fertile mind. One of his first inventions, was a new method of grinding circular saws, a mode which is now in general use. In 1847 he made the great discovery which must ever rank him as one of the foremost inventors of the age, and invented the "Lightning Press," better known as the "Rotary Press," in which the type is fixed upon the circumference of a cylinder. By this means from ten to twenty-five thousand impressions could be made in an hour; the new printing-machine superseded the former styles, and the press of Franklin's days became a thing of the past. His great discovery was still further perfected by the invention of the Web Perfecting Press, which prints on both sides of the paper, cuts it off and folds it, ready for the carrier, at the rate of twenty-four thousand copies an hour. When one sees this piece of mechanism in full running order, the thought that first arises is that in this machine human ingenuity and skill have reached their limit. The business of R. Hoe & Co. is of immense extent. A whole block on Grand Street, New York, is occupied with their manufactory, and the enterprise, which was begun on a very limited scale in 1805, in 1885 employed over one thousand hands, and the whole world acknowledges their superiority in the manufacture of machinery for perfecting the "Art preservative of Arts."

The children of Robert Hoe and Rachel Smith were Mary, wife of Rev. Ebenezer Seymour; Elizabeth, wife of Merlin Mead; Emeline, wife of Giles S. Ely; Rachel, wife of M. W. Dodd; Theodosia, wife of Rev. William S. Leavitt; Richard M., Robert and Peter S.

Colonel Richard M. Hoe was born September 12, 1812, and married Lucy, daughter of Josiah Gilbert. Their children are Emily, wife of Cyrus J. Lawrence; and Adeline, wife of De Witt C. Lawrence, brother of the former. Colonel Hoe was married a second time, to Mary S., daughter of Henry E. Corbin, of Virginia. Their children are Annie C., Mary S., wife of J. Henry Harper, and Fannie B., wife of John Harper.

Colonel Hoe purchased an estate at West Farms, of Christopher Spencer, about thirty years since. Upon this property he had an elegant residence, while the farm produces some of the finest specimens of blooded cattle that can be found in the county.

The attitude of Colonel Hoe toward those in his employ may properly be held up as a model. Nearly thirty years ago he established an evening school for the apprentices in the manufactory, where free instruction was given in those branches of study likely to be of the most practical service in properly developing their minds. For years he gave this school his personal attention, and up to the day of his death was deeply interested in its conduct, firmly believing, as has been well said, that "the diffusion of knowledge among the working classes makes the man a better mechanic and the mechanic a better man."

Personally, Mr. Richard M. Hoe is described by those who knew him intimately as having been a man of exceptionally cheerful temperament and gentle ways. He was devoted to his life-work, but at the same time was essentially domestic. He was a prominent member of St. Anne's Episcopal Church, situated near his residence. His name as an inventor, and the fame of the wonderful presses that he called into being, are known the world over. He died of heart-disease at Florence, Italy, in June, 1886.

WILLIAM REYNOLDS-BEAL.

William Reynolds-Beal, president of the Central Gas-Light Company of New York City, was born in Newark, New Jersey, May 13, 1838. His parents, Joseph R. and Elizabeth (Austen) Beal, were natives of England, and came to this country about 1830. His early life was passed in Newark, where he attended the school connected with Grace Episcopal Church, and graduated with high honor. His father, who was a man of education and intelligence, died at a comparatively early age, and the son, although offered a collegiate education, resolved to enter at once into active business. At the age of fourteen he became assistant in the office of the Newark Gas-Light Company, and afterwards removed to Elizabeth, where he was assistant to the engineer who built the gas-works. In 1855 he went to Yonkers, Westchester County, and took charge of the works of the Yonkers Gas Company, where he remained for eleven years, and left the company in a very flour-

ishing condition. While in Yonkers he was also extensively engaged in business as a general contractor, and employed large numbers of men and horses in local contracts. Mr. Beal took the initiative in organizing St. Paul's Episcopal Church, and assisted largely in building its church edifice, and was also a vestryman of the parish.

In 1866 he removed to Morrisania and became connected with the Westchester County Gas-Light Company, now known as the Central Gas-Light Company of New York City. From that time to the present, when Mr. Beal is the largest stockholder of the company, he has made the advancement and extension of this enterprise the principal business of his life. During the past fifteen years he has been its president, and under his able management its business and prosperity have been very largely increased. He was also the builder of the works of the Northern Gas-Light Company in the Twenty-fourth Ward of New York City, and is the consulting engineer and one of the directors of that company. His thorough knowledge of the details of the business of illumination by gas has enabled Mr. Beal to produce many inventions, whose value and usefulness are widely recognized. Among these may be mentioned "Beal's Hydraulic Main," which is now in use in several of the largest works of the country, while his latest invention is a "Scrubber" for purifying gas, which bids fair to secure recognition as a valuable improvement.

Foreseeing the rapid growth of the Twenty-third Ward of the city of New York, Mr. Beal purchased extensive tracts of real estate, and is the owner of many houses in that district, and is also the president of a recently organized "Land and Improvement Company." He was largely instrumental in the establishment of St. Mary's Episcopal Church, which is built upon land formerly owned by him. He is now a vestryman of St. Anne's Church, and intimately identified with its work.

The cause of popular education has found in him an active and liberal promoter. For six years he was a member of the board of trustees of Rutgers Female College, and is the present chairman of the board of school trustees of Morrisania. His connection with the public schools has been distinguished by the breadth of views which has been his characteristic in all other business affairs, and he has always felt an ardent interest in all that could advance their welfare and increase their usefulness. He has always been a strong advocate of the principles of the Republican party, but has declined repeated offers of nomination for political office. He is a member of the Masonic order, and was one of the charter members of the Gavel Lodge of Morrisania, and is also well known as an enthusiastic member of the Knickerbocker Yacht Club and of other organizations.

Mr. Beal married Miss Eleanor L., daughter of Thaddeus Bell, of Yonkers. Their children are Reynolds, Alice R., Thaddeus R., Mary R., Albert R. and Gifford R.

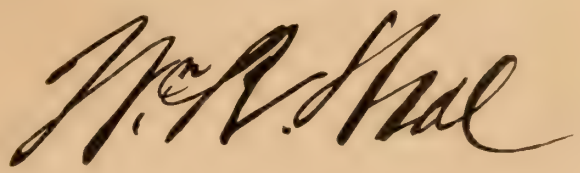
Mr. Beal is a fair representative of the class of business men who, without the advantages of inherited wealth, have established both fortune and high reputation by their own activity, foresight and energy. His is a well-rounded character, and as a manufacturer, inventor and man of business he is well known as among the most active and energetic of the public-spirited citizens of the Twenty-third Ward of the city of New York.

HUGH N. CAMP.

Hugh N. Camp, well known in the financial and social circles of New York, was born in Hanover, N. J., October 14, 1827, but has always resided in the city of New York. He is descended from an English family, which settled in Connecticut at a very early date, and his ancestors removed to New Jersey in 1660, where his grandfather, William, and his father, Isaac B., were born. The latter married Jeanette Ely, of Hanover, and they were the parents of four sons and two daughters. Hugh N., the fourth son, obtained his early education in the public schools in New York. At the age of sixteen he found a position as clerk in the employ of Booth & Edgar, commission merchants, on Front Street. With them he remained eleven years, and in 1854, in company with E. W. Brunsen and Charles Sherry, Jr., established a sugar refinery at Bristol, R. I., upon a capital of forty thousand dollars, which was principally furnished by his former employers and Francis Skiddy. This was conducted very successfully till 1868, when the partners retired on account of ill health, and Mr. Camp, with two clerks as partners, continued the business until 1870, when the firm was compelled to suspend on account of financial reverses. Mr. Camp settled its affairs in a satisfactory manner, and in 1871 established a real estate business in New York, which he continued till 1883, when he relinquished it in order to give his time and attention to matters of more importance. In 1866 he became connected with the St Joseph Lead Company, and was elected treasurer. In 1882 he established the Lehigh Valley Cement Company, of which he is now president, and in 1884 became vice-president of the Title Guarantee and Trust Company of New York.

Mr. Camp has long been prominently connected with many institutions of which New York is so justly proud, having been for twenty-seven years trustee and treasurer of the Five Points House of Industry and for twenty-eight years trustee of St. Luke's Hospital. He was also one of the directors of the Mercantile Library and secretary of Clinton Hall Association from 1862 till the present time. For eight years he was director of the Mechanics' Bank and for seven years director of the Mutual Life Insurance Company. He was also one of the originators and first trustees of Woodlawn Cemetery and has







Yours very truly
Hugh L. Carey

been for several years a member of the Chamber of Commerce.

Prominently connected with the Republican party, he has been a member of the Union League from its commencement. He is also one of the oldest members of the Century Club, so well known in literary and artistic circles.

In 1861 he purchased an estate in Westchester County. This place, which has since been his home, is situated on the north side of the highway leading from Morris' Dock to the old McComb's Dam road, and is a portion of the Morris farm in the old Manor of Fordham. Taking an active interest in the cause of education, he was for six years president of the School Board in the town of West Farms. He is a member and an active and liberal supporter of St. James' Episcopal Church at Fordham and one of the present vestry.

In 1883 he was appointed by Mayor Edson, of New York, a member of the Aqueduct Commission to determine as to the necessity of a new aqueduct and to decide upon the route and manner of building, a position of great importance and responsibility.

Mr. Camp married Elizabeth D., daughter of John McKesson, of New York, in 1854. They are the parents of eight children, seven of whom are still living,—Edward B., Maria L. (wife of P. P. Williams), John McK., Frederick E., Alice, Emily, Hugh N., Jr., and William H.

In the social, financial and political society of New York the name of Mr. Camp is widely known and justly popular. There are few who can boast of a more extensive acquaintance or a more intimate knowledge with the varied phases of life and manners as they are seen in the great city.

COLONEL M. O. DAVIDSON.

Colonel Davidson was born in Plattsburg, Clinton County, N. Y., March 28, 1819, and at the time of his death, September 1, 1872, was nearly fifty-four years of age.

He was a son of Dr. Oliver Davidson and Margaret M. Davidson, and was one of a gifted family, his sisters Margaret and Lucretia having attracted much attention from the literary world of their time by their brilliant poetical efforts.

His professional career and services began in his eighteenth year.

One of his first appointments was on the Croton Aqueduct, where he served some years. He was subsequently employed upon the Erie Railway, and after that upon a road in Canada. Thence he went to Cuba in 1842, remaining there nearly a year on the Coliseo Railroad. Upon his return to this country, in 1843, and for ten years after, he was engaged in the Cumberland coal region of Maryland, which he was principally instrumental in developing. While there he constructed an inclined plane, opened and worked the mines, and made many experiments in machinery and in the combustion of coal that have been of value to the profession.

In the year 1857 Colonel Davidson went to Havana, Cuba, under an appointment as engineer-in-chief of the Havana Railways, an office he filled with great credit to himself and advantage to the company, until he resigned his position in the year 1863.

During the period Colonel Davidson was in Cuba he reconstructed the entire length of the nearly worn-out road, some one hundred and ten miles long, elevating it from a condition of almost complete uselessness to a first-class railway in all respects. The improvements introduced by him covered everything relating to permanent way, bridges, passenger, freight and water stations, as well as a complete revolution in equipment. He also constructed thirty-six miles of new and heavy line, reflecting great credit upon himself, especially for his wisdom and energy in completing in time some heavy rock-cutting and bridging, when a failure as to time would have been equal to loss of franchise to the company.

During his stay in Cuba he was often called upon to arbitrate delicate questions between conflicting interests, and his decisions were always looked upon as perfect and just solutions of the difficulties to be settled.

Shortly after Colonel Davidson's return from Cuba he was appointed chief engineer and superintendent of the Arizona Mining Company. He was in Arizona between two and three years in the exercise of these duties, and was at the same time United States Indian agent for the Territory.

In the years 1865 and 1866 he was much occupied in the question of rapid transit for the city of New York, and was commissioned to proceed to London to observe and report upon the system of constructing and operating the underground railways in use there.

In 1867 he was named chief engineer of the New Haven and Derby Railroad, a short line involving many interesting points in location and construction, which he treated in the most successful manner.

From the year 1867 to the time of his death he was engaged in public works in Westchester County, N. Y., embracing a system of avenues, which he skillfully developed as chief engineer, and which have been of great value to the county.

In 1869 and 1870 a portion of his attention was taken up in the consideration of such questions as the construction of the Shore Line Railway Bridge across the Connecticut River and in the project of the Hudson River Highland Suspension Bridge, submitted to boards of engineers, of which he was a member.

In concluding this sketch much might be said touching the excellent traits of character he possessed in a pre-eminent degree, endearing him to all with whom he came in contact.

In his public life as a civil engineer he was an

ornament to the profession, and in his private life he was the model of a Christian gentleman.

HENRY B. HALL.

Henry B. Hall was born in London March 11, 1808, and at the age of fourteen was articled as a pupil to Benjamin Smith, known by his works for "Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery." After completing his studies with Mr. Smith he was engaged by Henry Myer, the favorite engraver of Sir Thomas Lawrence, from whom he derived much benefit in his profession. He was subsequently engaged for four years with H. T. Ryall, Engraver to the Queen, and during that time engraved all the portraits in the large plates of that engraver, including the very celebrated one entitled "Coronation of Queen Victoria," after Sir George Hayter.

For many years Mr. Hall's thoughts had been attracted towards the United States as a new and great field for art, and in the year 1850 he, with his eldest son, made a visit to New York City, leaving the remainder of his family in England. Soon after his arrival in New York he was met in a most friendly spirit by many artists and publishers of note, and among the latter the late G. P. Putnam, who, in addition to being among the great publishers of that time, was a devoted patron of art, and such offers were made to Mr. Hall as determined him upon making his home here. His family joined him the following fall and he settled in Hoboken until the spring of 1851, when he removed to Morrisania and occupied a house on Union Avenue, near Wall Street, Woodstock. In 1854 he purchased a house on George Street, near Boston Avenue, where he passed the remainder of his life, and died on April 25, 1885.

Among his well-known portraits, for which he was particularly noted, are twelve separate portraits of Washington, after all the celebrated artists and sculptors; and etchings of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, done for private parties and printed exclusively for their use; also an etching of the well-known American composer, George F. Bristow, and one of himself, in 1872, which is the best likeness extant.

His larger works were very numerous, including "Washington and family after hunting," and "Washington at Mount Vernon."

Mr. Hall had eight children—four sons and four daughters: Anne, married Ed. H. Knight, and died in Brooklyn in 1858 and her husband in 1872, leaving a son, Ed. H. (now a resident of Morrisania), and two daughters; Emily, married William Momberger, of Morrisania, a lithographic artist and designer; Henry B., living in Morrisania, married and has three children living; Charles B. (same), has five children; Alfred B. (same), has five children; Ernest (same), has three children; Alice and Eliza, unmarried, all living in Morrisania.

Henry B., Charles B. and Alfred B. are all engravers and have been established in business together for many years, and are now located at 22 Park Place, New York. Ernest is a justice of the City Court of New York and worthily represents the old township.

All the sons and daughters have remained near together in Morrisania and have for many years been identified with its growth.

CHAPTER XXII.

WEST FARMS.[1]

BY FORDHAM MORRIS.

THE town of West Farms was formed from the town of Westchester by the act of Assembly of May 13, 1846. It lies upon the Sound and along Harlem River in the southern part of the county. Bronx River forms its eastern boundary and Mill Brook flows through its centre. The surface is rolling, the ridges extending north and south. Within its boundaries are the villages of West Farms, Fordham, Williams' Bridge, Tremont, Fairmount, Belmont, Claremont, Monterey, Mount Eden, Mount Hope and Woodstock. In 1874 it was annexed to New York City, and the extension of streets and railways is rapidly converting it from a suburban to an urban community. It originally embraced the town of Morrisania, which was set off from it in 1855. Within its boundaries are numerous splendid residences, some fine church edifices and denominational institutions.

Andrew Findlay was the first, and Francis Barretto the second, supervisor elected in West Farms after its creation as a town. In 1847 the number of residents subject to taxation was returned as 270 and the assessed valuation of property as $1,193,920. In 1848 the taxables numbered 341 and the assessment amounted to $1,282,570, producing a tax of $7094. Andrew Findlay was elected supervisor in 1848 and 1849. In the latter year the taxables had increased to 659 and the property valuation to $1,391,150, the tax being $8435. John B. Haskin served as supervisor in 1850 and 1851. West Farms then had 1114 inhabitants and their property was assessed at $1,603,602. Mr. Haskin was succeeded in 1852 by Charles Bathgate. A prison was built in that year and the property valuation rose to $3,535,-162, owned by 2814 persons. In 1853 Wm. N. Lewis was elected supervisor, and his successors were John B. Haskin (1857–60); James Davis (1861–64); Walter Roche, from 1865 to the date of annexation to the city of New York.

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS.

CATHOLIC INSTITUTIONS AND CHURCHES.—One of the most notable educational institutions in the Unit-

[1] The history of West Farms, up to the time of its separation from the town of Westchester, will be found in the chapter devoted to the latter town.



H. B. Hall

ed States is located at Fordham. This is St. John's College, which is under the care of priests of the Society of Jesus. It was incorporated as a university in 1846, but had been established as a college in 1841. The incorporators and first trustees were Revs. Jacob Harvey, Peter A. Hargous, John McKeon, James R. Bayley, John Harley, John McCloskey, William Starrs, Hugh Kelley and David Bacon. It is empowered to confer literary honors, degrees and diplomas, and is subject to visitation by the regents of the university of the State. The grounds, containing nearly two hundred acres, extend from Mill Brook to the Bronx, and on the south side the college is approached by a handsome driveway shaded by magnificent elms and maples. The western portion of the grounds were purchased about 1835–36 by the Catholic Diocesan Theological Seminary. The old Corsa, Watts and Brevoort homestead still stands on the premises and is now used as the infirmary, while Rose Hill, the former residence of, and built by, Mr. Mowatt, of New York, a fine large stone building with brick wings, which have been subsequently added, includes the residences of the professors, the reception parlor, refectory and chapel.

St. John's Hall, originally used as the Theological Seminary, is on the westernmost part of the premises. It is a Gothic building and was erected about 1836–41. It is now devoted to the class-rooms, dormitories and school-room of the students of the Preparatory Department. The entrance porch of this hall is a fine specimen of architecture, the arch resting upon pediments very curiously carved in stone representing the eagle of Saint John, the ox of Saint Matthew, the angel of Saint Luke and lion of Saint Mark.

The ground-floor of this hall is now occupied by the laboratory and chemical lecture-room of the college and the museum, containing mineralogical and conchological specimens, electric, optical and other scientific implements. The collection of corals is as fine as any in this country. The class-rooms and study-room are cheerful and well ventilated, and the dormitories models of neatness and order.

Just east of St. John's Hall stands the Chapel of St. Mary, which is used as the parish church for those in the vicinity of the Catholic faith. It was built about 1841, and is a well-proportioned structure. It is ornamented on the east and west sides with six brilliantly-colored stained-glass windows, imported many years ago from Europe. Saints Peter and Paul flank the altar, and the four evangelists fill up the other well-turned Gothic windows. One of the fathers officiates as parish priest. The infirmary, just west of the chapel, has the extensive garden of the college in its rear, which is kept in most beautiful order under the direction of one of the lay brethren. Another lay brother has the control of the infirmary, Dr. Purroy, of Fordham, being the attending physician. The Rose Hill house has, on the right of the entrance-hall, a large, well-proportioned reception-room. Its walls are hung with pictures representing sacred subjects, by Mexican and South American artists. The president's reception-room, to the left of the hall, has in it several very fine paintings. On the eastern wall is a picture by Louis Lang, representing Mary, Queen of Scots, bidding adieu to her maids of honor just before her execution. On the south wall hang two panel pictures of the Virgin and Child and a fair copy of the Annunciation of the Virgin, the original of which is in the Quirinal at Rome. There is also a fair copy, by Mols, of Rubens' "Descent from the Cross;" and on the west wall, in the old German style, a beautiful Virgin, surrounded by twelve Sisters of the Ursuline Order, a work displaying fine coloring and reverential feeling. A portrait of the founder of the Order of Jesuits (Ignatius Loyola), by a Mexican artist, also hangs in this room, and the motto of the Order is displayed, on an open book before him, in the following order: "*Ad majorem gloriam dei,*" though the usual order is "*Ad majorem dei gloriam.*" The north wing of the Rose Hill house contains the offices and refectory,—a fine room, rather gaudily frescoed and capable of seating from three hundred to four hundred people, without crowding. Here the students of all the departments take their meals, under the supervision of the prefect of discipline. Loyola's portrait is also displayed in this room.

The south wing contains the college chapel. It is a roomy, pleasant place of worship, plainly but tastefully frescoed, not many years since, by lay Brother Rache. The organ was built by Erben. Over the altar is a figure of our Saviour, flanked right and left by the Holy Virgin and St. Joseph. Two small kit-kats, on each side of the altar, represent Saints Aloysius and Stanislaus, the patron saints of youth. The rear wing of Rose Hill contains, on the second floor, the library, which is provided with some twenty thousand volumes of works on history and theology. There is also a circulating library for the students. The great hall of the college, a new building, is devoted exclusively to the students of the upper classes.

In it are the gymnasium, reading-room, billiard-rooms, class-rooms, dormitories and a very fine school or study-room. The dormitories are in the upper stories. The school-room is provided at the east end with a stage and scenery, used for declamations and dramatic representations by the students. The students compose the orchestra, as the college affords instruction on nearly all kinds of musical instruments. A portion of the building is devoted to music-rooms, where the corps of musical instructors can conduct their classes without the sounds of the different instruments interfering with each other.

So soon as funds can be procured the college buildings will be enlarged and the old ones pulled down. The college is attended by students from all parts of the United States, Mexico, Central America, South America, Cuba, Hayti and other West India Islands, and even by a few from Europe. It has a

Preparatory Department, in which boys from ten years upwards are prepared for the higher classes of the collegiate course. By the catalogue of 1884–85, it appears that eighty-three pupils are in attendance on this course. The instruction furnished in the collegiate course is of two kinds—classical and commercial. The curriculum of the classical course takes the student through a course of Latin, Greek, English history, geography, chemistry, mathematics, mechanics and religious instruction, which fits him for the under-graduate classes. The latter, corresponding to the freshman, sophomore, junior and senior classes in other colleges, is divided into classics, belles-lettres, rhetoric and philosophy. A graduate from this course receives the degree of Bachelor of Arts. There is also a post-graduate course. The graduates from this course receive the degree of Master of Arts. The commercial course embraces all the branches necessary for an English education—English grammar, history, geography, book-keeping, penmanship, commercial law, elocution, chemistry, natural history, philosophy, both mental and moral, mechanics, astronomy, geology and religious instruction. There are also optional studies. All students are compelled to speak the English language. German, Spanish and drawing are also taught, and a special scientific course has also been established. The course is for three years, at the end of which, after a successful examination, the degree of Bachelor of Science is awarded. By the catalogue for 1884–85 it appears that there are one hundred and ninety-nine students attending the collegiate course. The present principal of the college is Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, who is assisted by a faculty of seventeen professors. Near the college is the institution for deaf mutes, presided over by Miss Morgan, and in the village of West Farms is also a chapel of the Roman Catholic denomination, an offshoot of St. Augustine's of Morrisania.

Episcopal Churches.—The parish of St. James, Fordham, was formed in 1853, by a meeting called on July 5th of that year, at the residence of William Alexander Smith. Lewis G. Morris and Mr. Smith were elected wardens, and Oswald Cammann, Francis McFarlan, W. W. Waldron, George B. Butler, Samuel R. Trowbridge, Gulian L. Dashwood, William O. Giles and Nathaniel P. Bailey, vestrymen. The church was consecrated November 4, 1865. It is constructed of Westchester granite with red sandstone trimmings. It is adorned with several very fine stained-glass windows. The four evangelists flank the centre window in the chancel, which represents the calling of St. James. Back of one of the reading desks, on the south side of the church, is a window representing the healing of the lame man by Saint Peter and Saint John. This window is a memorial to the late Dr. George Philip Cammann, one of the founders of the church and inventor of the stethoscope which bears his name and which he nobly presented as a free gift to the medical profession. Over the font, which stands in the transept, is a memorial window to Oswald Cammann, Jr., representing the baptism of the Savior, and in the south aisle is a memorial window to Oswald Cammann, Sr., one of the benefactors of the church. The lectern, in the form of an eagle with outstretched wings, from which the Scriptures are read, was also a memorial gift to the parish from the Cammann family, in memory of the wife of Mr. Oswald Cammann, who survived her husband a few years. On the altar is a cross, a memorial of Maria Cammann Mali, the wife of William Weyman Mali, who has also followed her. The organ was the gift of the late Henry W. T. Mali. In the east wall of the transept are memorial windows to Miles Standish Davidson and Kate Miles Davidson, children of the late Colonel M. O. Davidson, and lineal descendants of the famous New England soldier, Miles Standish.

In the west side of the transept is a memorial to Catharine and Eliza Howell, infant children of Richard Stockton Howell and Elizabeth Holsman, and the northwest window is a memorial to the late Charles Drake, M.D., erected by his sister, Mrs. Seaman, of King's Bridge. A wheel window in the south transept was placed there in memory of Mary Bailey Woolsey, the wife of Theodorus Bailey Woolsey, of New York, and daughter of Nathaniel P. Bailey and Eliza Lorillard. The Rev. Dr. Tiffany, a former pastor of the church, presented the bell. The rectory has just been completed and is a substantial, tasteful building. The chapel, built of wood, also stands in the church grounds. The west part of it was originally used as the district school-house for the children of Fordham, but it then stood on the Fordham Landing road, southwest from the church, and was removed to the present site many years since. Following is a list of the rectors of the parish from its foundation.

1854.—Rev. Joshua Wenner, resigned.

1863.—Rev. Thomas Ritchie, D.D., resigned.

1867.—Rev. Charles C. Tiffany, D.D., resigned and now the rector of Zion Church, New York City.

1871.—Rev. Mylton Maury, who resigned.

1875 down to May, 1885.—Rev. Joseph Blanchard, who resigned, having been called to church in Detroit, Mich.

At present there is a vacancy in the rectorship, though the vestry have called a gentleman to fill Mr. Blanchard's place.[1]

September 23, 1844, a meeting was held of the congregation or society commonly called Grace Church, in the town of Westchester, at St. Peter's Church. The object of the meeting was to incorporate the new church at West Farms. Captain William H. Spencer, U. S. N., and Philip M. Lydie were elected wardens, and Peter Lorillard, Richard Crother, Dr. William Bayard, Charles S. Valentine, Benjamin Lee, Jacob N. Van Winkle, William B. Hoffman and Robert J. Turnbull were elected vestry-

[1] Since filled by Rev. Mr. Holt.

men. They assumed the name for the corporation of the "Rector, church wardens and vestrymen of Grace Church, in the town of Westchester."

The edifice was a handsome Gothic structure, of wood, and was consecrated June 28, 1847. The first rector was Rev. Washington Rodman. This building has been abandoned and a new congregation formed under the old name. It is situated on the north side of Locust Avenue, and has just been consecrated.

The "House of Rest for Consumptives," which is under the patronage of the Episcopal Church, is situated at Mount Hope, a short distance from Tremont Station. It stands on about an acre of ground. The house is capable of accommodating about forty patients. It is a hospital purely for the treatment of consumption. In 1884 the house had under treatment one hundred and thirty-two patients. At the end of the year there were thirty-two patients in the hospital. Of the one hundred and thirty-two patients, forty-eight were Protestant Episcopalians, forty-four Roman Catholics, eleven Methodists, seven Baptists, six Lutherans, two Dutch Reformed, twelve Presbyterians, one Congregationalist, one Hebrew. Its policy is to open the door to the poor and as the above figures show, there are no restrictions as to creed.

The "Home for Incurables," also in charge of the Episcopal Church, stands near by. This institution has been in existence for the past eighteen years. Its inmates are those whose diseases are past relief, and the main object of the institution is to make the last days of those who can never hope to be well again as happy and as comfortable as possible. The old Lorillard house, in which it was first located, was found too small for the growing number of patients, and a large and handsome brick structure has been erected, but the present building is found to be inadequate to the demands for admission and the board of managers are about erecting a new pavilion for the accommodation of sixty-six more patients. The total capacity of the institution is forty. It is under the care of a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church, but no distinction as to creed is made with reference to the admission of the inmates. It is under the direction of the following board of managers: President, Benjamin H. Field; Vice-Presidents, Martin E. Greene, William H. Guion; Treasurer, George Sherman; Secretary, H. M. McLaren; Superintendent, Israel C. Jones, M.D.; Physician, Archibald Campbell, M.D.; Chaplain, Rev. Thomas Drumms.

The Dutch Reformed Church.—South of the Jockey Club grounds is the Dutch Reformed Church of the ancient Manor of Fordham. The church was originally organized in 1696 by the ministers, elders and deacons of the Reformed Dutch Church and its first minister was Dominie John Montaign. It was built at the junction of the old McComb's Dam road and the Fordham Landing road, and stood near the present residence of Moses Devoe. (See note at end of chapter as to Devoe family.) In 1801 a new structure was built on the present site and in 1872 the present building was erected. The most conspicuous benefactor of the church in its modern history has been Mr. H. B. Claflin, the New York merchant prince, whose country-seat is not far distant. Mainly at his expense, it has recently been enlarged and beautified. The following is a list of its clergy:

1696.—Rev. John Montaign.
1707.—Rev. Henricus Beyse.
1776.—Rev. Dominie John Peter Tetard, a chaplain with General Montgomery in his ill fated expedition to Quebec.
1802.—Rev. John Jackson.
1840.—Rev. Peter I. Van Pelt, D.D.
1846.—Rev. William Cahoon.
1850.—Rev. Robert Van Amburgh.
1853.—Rev. John H. Bevier.
1855.—Rev. James Beattie.
1864.—Rev. James Bolton.
1866.—Rev. James B. Hardenburgh, D.D.
1869.—Rev. John Truman.
1874.—Rev. William Brush.
1876.—Rev. D. Lawrence Jewett.
1876.—Rev. William Anderson, the present incumbent.

There is also a Dutch Reformed Church in the village of West Farms. It was organized in 1839 and incorporated in 1840, March 16th. The first elders were Thomas Butler, George Wilson and Abijah Rogers and the deacons James P. Fitch, James G. Rowland and Stephen Kelly. The ministers have been,—

1839 . . . . . Rev. George Bourne.
1842 . . . . . Rev. Barnabas V. Collins.
1845 . . . . . Rev. John Simonson.
1852 . . . . . Rev. Philip Burkhardt.
1856 . . . . . Rev. Polhemus Van Wyke.
1867 . . . . . Rev. Evert Van Slyke.
1871 . . . . . Rev. John Simonson.
Present Incumbent . . . . . Rev. James Bolton.

Methodist Churches.—The Methodist Episcopal Church is a neat wooden structure on Marion Avenue, Fordham. It was built in 1858, and is owned by the Church Extension Society. The congregation was incorporated April 14th of that year, Jacob Berrian, (See note at end of this chapter as to Berrian family,) Benjamin Westervelt, Benjamin F. Ferris, Peter Demarest and Richard White being the first trustees. The first pastor was Rev. Thomas Davis, who was supplied by the Local Preachers' Society. In 1870 the then pastor, Rev. Jacob Washburn, succeeded in freeing the church from debt. In 1876 Rev. A. Coons was pastor; 1879, Rev. W. G. Browning; 1880, Rev. T. B. Smith, who in April, 1883, was followed by Rev. Thomas S. Bond, the present incumbent. The congregation in 1885 numbered one hundred members and thirty-five communicants, and was in a flourishing condition. The stewards were John V. Briggs, Charles Y. Campbell and Benjamin Westervelt.

On the west side of Washington Avenue, between One Hundred and Seventy-sixth and One Hundred and Seventy-seventh Streets, on ground donated by Louis K. Osborn, stands the Methodist Episcopal Church of Tremont. It is a wooden building of one story and basement, the latter being the Sunday-

school room. The congregation was formed in 1853, and began worship in the old stone school-house now occupied as a police-station. After Mr. Osborn had given the lot for a church, he and Peter Buckhout and other active Methodists collected money for a building fund. In 1855 the congregation was incorporated, and Jacob Buckhout, Peter Buckhout, Henry L. Jolly, Andrew Foote and William G. Lent were made trustees. Messrs. Jolly, Lent and Peter Buckhout were appointed the building committee and erected the church at a cost of $2000. A parsonage was built at the corner of Marble Street and Washington Avenue. A new church, from the designs of Architect L. B. Valk, is about to be built, the land having been bought and $3000 contributed. The church has a membership of two hundred and fifty-one, over one hundred having united with it since 1885. The Sabbath-school numbers three hundred and forty pupils and thirty-five officers and teachers. The stewards are L. K. Osborn, G. D. W. Clocke, John Greatcap, W. E. Andrews, David Woodall, W. L. Johnson, W. W. Osborn, T. W. Lewis and George Weeks. The trustees are A. T. Buckhout, J. H. Buckbee, T. C. Lewis, R. J. Lomas, Jr., G. Nonemaker, A. P. Shove, W. R. Holder and G. D. W. Clocke.

The following is the list of pastors:

1857–60	Rev. Solomon C. Perry.
1860–61	Rev. John A. Sillick.
1861–63	Rev. Valentine Buck.
1863–64	Rev. A. C. Field.
1865–69	Rev. John W. Ackerley.
1869–71	Rev. N. B. Thompson.
1871–73	Rev. P. R. Brown.
1873–74	Rev. A. N. Osborne.
1874–75	Rev. T. B. Smith.
1875–76	Rev. Thomas La Mont.
1876–79	Rev. D. L. Marks.
1879–82	Rev. F. Bartome.
1882–83	Rev. N. B. Thompson.
1884—	Rev. Philip Germond, present pastor.

THE BAPTIST CHURCH.—On the east side of Washington Avenue, in Tremont, the Baptists have just erected a new church. For several years the Baptists of Tremont worshipped in a building which stood on Mount Hope, to the west of the Harlem Railroad, but that congregation was dissolved and the lot on which the church stood was sold, and out of the avails the present lot on Washington Avenue was purchased. For a year or more the congregation have attended services in the Young Men's Christian Association building at Tremont. The new building stands on a lot fifty four by one hundred. It is semi-cruciform and built of stone in the old English style of architecture. It will be finished in the interior in hard woods and will be ornamented with stained-glass windows. The Rev. Frank Fletcher, A.M., of Madison University, is the enterprising pastor, this being the third church which he has built since he commenced his ministry. Before coming to this parish Mr. Fletcher ministered at Brewster's, in Putnam County, Paterson, N. J., and Brooklyn. The lot on which the church stands is paid for.

ST. JOSEPH'S CATHOLIC CHURCH.—This church and parsonage are situated on the west side of Washington Avenue, Tremont. The congregation was organized about 1873, and the church was built for the purpose of accommodating the German-speaking citizens of Tremont, the priest always preaching in that language. But it was found that the number of attendants was not sufficient to warrant the exclusive use of German, and at this time the preaching is in English. The church is built of stone and brick. Rossi, of New York, was the architect, John Kirby the carpenter, and Francis Druhe the mason, both the latter being residents of Tremont. The church stands on a lot fifty by one hundred, and north of it the pretty parsonage sets back from the street, with an attractive flower-garden in front. The church, which is Gothic in its architecture, is ornamented in the interior with frescoes by Aviati, also a resident of the vicinity. At the back of the high altar is a representation of St. Joseph carrying the Holy Child. St. Patrick flanks him on the right and St. Boniface on the left. Two frescoes of the Resurrection and Ascension also adorn the chancel. The bishop's chair was donated by Mr. William Haskin, for many years one of the deputy county clerks of New York County, and a resident of the old township. Over the windows in the clere-story are frescoes of the Twelve Apostles. The church is lighted by stained-glass windows at the sides, each the gift of some member of the parish or of the neighborhood. With the exception of three of the windows, in which the names of the donors had been effaced by the breaking of the glass, the following is the list of donors: Franz Druhe and family, two windows; J. Ortmann, John Kerby, M. J. Heimburger, Benedeck Bernsseer, Hugh Ferrigan, August Druhe, St. Joseph's Verein of Melrose, August Rickersfeld, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Donohue and Rev. Joseph Stumpe, of St. Mary's, Melrose. A window was presented by three persons who did not wish their names to appear. It is designated "Charity." The organ was built by Jardine & Sons. At the west end of the church, near the confessional, is a representation of the votive grotto and chapel at Lourdes, which was made by Father Tonner, a former pastor of the church. In the basement is a large hall for school-room and festivals, which is provided with a stage for the representations of the Dramatic Society. The parish is growing. Its average attendance on Sundays is four hundred; communicants, two hundred and fifty; baptisms last year (1884-85), forty. The rectors of the parish have been as follows: Father Long, now removed to New York; Father Tonner, who was succeeded by Rev. Peter Farrell, a graduate of the Diocesan Theological Seminary, of Troy, the present incumbent.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.—On August 31, 1814, the Presbyterian congregation was incorporated



Danl. Mapes

as "The First Presbyterian Church in the village of West Farms," and Robert Givan, Caleb Pell, Ebenezer Waterbury, James Bathgate, James Renwick and John B. Gillespie were elected trustees. The church was erected in 1815 and occupies the highest ground in the village. These are the pastors,—

1815 . . . . . Rev. Isaac Lewis.
1819 . . . . . Rev. Truman Osborne.
1821 . . . . . Rev. Samuel Nott.
1823 . . . . . Rev. Joseph B. Felt.
1823 . . . . . Rev. Thomas S. Wickes.
1824 . . . . . Rev. Ithamer Hillsbury.
1824 . . . . . Rev. E. D. Wells.
1825 . . . . . Rev. J. D. Wickham.
1828 . . . . . Rev. George Stebbins.
1835 . . . . . Rev. William Gray.
1836 . . . . . Rev. M. I. Adam.
1841 . . . . . Rev. James B. Ramsey.
1846 . . . . . Rev. Charles Moase.
1847 . . . . . Rev. Isaac Watts Platt.
1858 . . . . . Rev. George Nixon.
1876 . . . . . Rev. C. W. Adams.
1880 . . . . . Rev. Willard Scott, present pastor.

The Union Presbyterian Church of Tremont was incorporated April 7, 1855. The first trustees were John Thain, John B. Fraser and Warren Bonney.

Forth and Morris

BIOGRAPHY.

DANIEL MAPES.

Southold, Long Island, is one of the oldest English towns in the State, and was settled in the fall of 1640. Among the earliest of the settlers was Thomas Mapes, of English descent, the ancestor of the many families of the name found in various portions of the country. Thomas Mapes was not only one of the pioneers in Southold, but was also interested in the settlement of the town of Brookhaven, Long Island, and had a share in the various divisions of land in that town. He married Sarah, daughter of William Purrier, also among the first settlers of Southold. In 1683, Thos. Mapes was made freeman of the colony of Connecticut, of which Southold was a part at that time. He was taxed for £244, which shows him to have been a man of means. He went to Brookhaven in 1655, but returned to Southold in 1657, and died there in 1686. He possessed much land in Southold and one part known as "Mapes' Neck," was owned by his descendants for three generations. He left nine children,—Thomas, William, Jabez, Jonathan, Abigail (wife of John Terrell), Sarah (wife of William Coleman), Mary (wife of Barnabas Wines), Naomi and Rebecca (wife of Thomas Young, son of Rev. John Young, the first minister of Southold.)

These children have a large number of descendants. Jonathan, the fourth son, was born in 1671 and died in 1747. He married Hester Horton in 1696 and had two sons,—Jonathan and Benjamin.

Jonathan was the father of John Mapes, born March 10, 1766, and married Julia Ann Wood, January 24, 1793. Their children were Samuel, born June 19, 1794, who has no living descendants; Anna, born December 7, 1796, who died unmarried; Daniel, the subject of this sketch, born February 23, 1800; John, born September 10, 1802 (he had two daughters, Charlotte and Caroline, who are still living); Leonard, born November 16, 1804; Benjamin, born March 24, 1810, (he left three children,—Cornelia, wife of Theodore Fitch, Emily, wife of Frederick Strang; and Charles, who married Clara Masters); James, born October 7, 1812, married Rachel Archer and had four children,—Leonard, John A., Emily and Anna.

John Mapes, the father of this family, died in 1836 and his wife died in 1840.

After the death of the parents, Daniel Mapes and his sister Anna, owing to their age and great decision of character, became the acknowledged heads of the family, and by their industry, perseverance and integrity exerted a very salutary influence in the community in which they resided. In early life Daniel engaged in mercantile pursuits in the village of West Farms and for half a century was one of the most prominent and successful business men in the southern portion of the county, amassing a large fortune, which he dispensed in the latter years of his life in acts of beneficence and charity, making liberal contributions to the educational institutions of the Reformed Church at New Brunswick, N. J., Cornell University, and the Syrian College at Beirut. From his early youth he was noted for strictly temperate habits, to which he attributed his uninterrupted good health for more than four-score years.

He was for many years a useful and honored member of the Reformed Church at West Farms and manifested his attachment to it by his munificent gift of the Mapes Parsonage, as well as by his liberal contributions to its support. On the 20th of January, 1884, he fell asleep in Christ, full of years, riches and honors, and was buried in Woodlawn Cemetery.

LEONARD MAPES.

Leonard Mapes, the fifth child of John Mapes, was born November 16, 1804, and married Mary, daughter of William Archer. Their children were,—first, Sarah, wife of Hampton Brown, of Ulster County; second, Daniel, a merchant and resident of West Farms, who married Evadna, daughter of Matson Arnow; third, William, a merchant and resident of West Farms, who married Ida Arnow; fourth, Mary A., wife of Edward Myers; fifth, Henry C., who married Susan, daughter of Daniel Tier, and is now living in Westchester; sixth, Harriet, wife of George Shepherd; seventh, John S., who married

Ella, daughter of John Frost, and is now living at the old homestead at Westchester; eighth, Catharine A., unmarried, resides in West Farms.

EDWARD B. FELLOWS.

Among the men who have been prominent in the business circles of New York City there are few who have been longer before the public than Mr. Edward B. Fellows, the president of Rutgers' Fire Insurance Company.

Descended from a long line of New England ancestry, his great-grandfather, John Fellows, was among the early settlers in Salisbury, N. H., and the latter's sons were soldiers in the War of the Revolution. One of these sons (Richard) married Rachel Scribner, and their oldest son (Benjamin) was the father of Edward B., and, in his early years, was one of the pupils of Daniel Webster when he was a school-teacher in Salisbury, his native town.

Benjamin Fellows married his cousin, Hannah, daughter of Daniel Fellows, and Edward B. was born June 20, 1811. In 1817 he removed with his parents to Tunbridge, Vt., where he attended school and was subsequently a student at the academy at Royalton. Upon arriving at manhood, like most Yankee boys, he resolved to seek his fortune abroad, and, in 1831, went to the Wyoming Valley, in Pennsylvania. Here he engaged in teaching school, which he continued for a year or two, and afterwards obtained a position as clerk in a store. In 1834 he came to New York and entered a dry-goods store as clerk, and a few years later established business on his own account. Becoming interested in politics, he was for several years collector of taxes for the Fourth Ward, and, during the administration of James K. Polk, held a position in the New York Custom-House under Collector Cornelius W. Lawrence.

The most important event in the life of Mr. Fellows was his connection with the cause of education and the establishment of the public schools of the city, which, previous to 1842, were under the direction of the Public School Society. In 1841 an act was passed authorizing the election of trustees and commissioners. Mr. Fellows was elected one of the trustees for the Fourth Ward, and was afterwards a member of the Board of Education. In the exciting controversy concerning the reading of the Scriptures in the public schools he took the position which experience has shown to be the wisest, and, by making a complete separation between religious and secular instruction, has removed from the Catholic portion of the community all just cause of complaint.

While he held the office of commissioner he was the first to introduce resolutions for the establishment of evening schools for the benefit of apprentices and others whose vocations prevented their attendance in the day-schools, and this in itself is enough to justly entitle him to the gratitude of thousands of citizens. The schools thus established were eminently successful, and their benefits will be felt for all time to come. It was largely owing to his efforts that evening schools were established for the benefit of females. Six were established during the first year, and this number was doubled in the following year. Mr. Fellows was appointed chairman of the Committee on Evening Schools, and devoted so much time and labor to their advancement that their acknowledged success is largely attributed to his active energy. He was also prominent in the establishment of the New York Free Academy, and introduced resolutions for establishing a free academy for females, a scheme which is now perfected in the Free Normal College. No truthful history of the cause of education in New York can be written which does not give a leading place to the name of Edward B. Fellows.

In June, 1853, he, in connection with John W. Ketcham, conceived the idea of organizing an insurance company, to be located in Chatham Square. At a meeting held June 2d there were twenty persons present who had consented to be directors, and it was resolved that the name of the intended corporation should be the "Rutgers' Fire Insurance Company of New York." Property was purchased at the corner of Chatham and Mott Streets, which is still owned and occupied by the company. Mr. Fellows was the first secretary of the company, and, upon the death of Isaac O. Barker, the first president (which occurred in 1866), he was elected president, has been unanimously re-elected at every annual meeting and now holds the office.

He removed his residence to Westchester in 1861, and purchased a place at West Farms, which has since been his home.

He was married, in 1836, to Henrietta, daughter of Aaron Brown, who was at one time the owner of the Slocum farm, on which a large part of the city of Scranton, Pa., now stands. By this marriage he had four children,—Augusta (wife of Monmouth H. Chambers), Edward, Theodore and Charles. Theodore, the only surviving child, is now living in New Hampshire.

Mrs. Fellows died in 1871, and Mr. Fellows afterwards married Amelia S. Peters, by whom he has one son, George P., now living with his parents at West Farms. The mother of Mr. Fellows is yet living, at the age of ninety-three.

He has always been a Democrat. In early life he was a prominent member of the Odd-Fellows' Association. He is now the oldest member of the Church of the Divine Paternity, and has held many official positions in connections with it. During the lay pastorate of the eminent and eloquent divine, Rev. Dr. Chapin, Mr. Fellows was one of his most devoted friends and supporters. He is one of the founders and supporters of the "Chapin Home," a non-sectarian institution for the aged and infirm, and has been a member of the advisory council from the time of its organization. He is also the treasurer of the Univer-



E. B. Fellows



James L. Wells

salist General Convention, and a trustee of the Universalist Relief Fund of the State of New York.

He was one of the original trustees of the Morrisania Savings Bank, and continued in that position while it had an existence. After a successful course of thirteen years the institution was closed, all the depositors being paid in full.

ANDREW FINDLAY.

Andrew Findlay, the eminent surveyor and civil engineer, was born in the village of Westchester, August 6, 1811. He is the son of Robert Findlay, who was born at Wigton, Gallowayshire, Scotland, in 1766. Hannah Milroy, the wife of Robert, was a native of the same place. They came to the United States in 1801 and soon after settled in Westchester, where Robert Findlay began the business of surveying. He died in 1833, and his son Andrew succeeded him the following year, continuing the business with success until within a few years past. Andrew Findlay was educated in the district school of Westchester village, and early in life was foreman of a branch of the Bronx Bleaching Company's works. He was supervisor of the town of Westchester from 1839 to 1848, except in the year 1844, when Robert R. Morris was elected. West Farms was set off from the town of Westchester in 1846, and Mr. Findlay was elected supervisor in 1847 and 1848. He had been a member of the Legislature in 1843, and was re-elected in 1844. While a member of that body he served on several important committees. As a surveyor, Mr. Findlay has been frequently called upon to settle boundary disputes, and has frequently made partition of some important estates. He has held the office of justice of the peace for sixteen years, was trustee of the town of Westchester, and for many years was inspector of the common schools.

JAMES L. WELLS.

Among the men who have been most actively engaged in devising beneficial legislation for the old towns of Morrisania, West Farms and King's Bridge (now the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Wards of the city of New York), and in securing the enactment of the measures that are so rapidly transforming these former portions of Westchester County into thickly-settled sections of the great metropolis, none have been more prominent than James L. Wells. None have secured for the district more public improvements, and few, if any, are more closely identified than he with the growth and prosperity of these wards.

Mr. Wells was born at West Farms December 16, 1843. His parents are English, but have resided in New York and vicinity since 1817. He received his early education in the public schools of his native town. In 1860 he entered Kenyon College, Ohio, and remained there during the freshman year. He completed his collegiate course at Columbia College, New York, and graduated in the class of 1865. For several years he was engaged in mercantile business at West Farms. At an early day he became interested and took an active part in the various public matters relating to the town. In 1869 he was elected a member of the Board of Education of West Farms, and by subsequent re-elections was continued in that position until the annexation of the town to the city of New York. His course in this board was distinguished by strict attention to the duties of the office, by his interest in educational matters and by the beneficial reforms which he advocated and introduced in the schools of the district.

Attached to the principles of the Republican party, he was, both before and since annexation, frequently chosen a delegate to represent the Assembly District in various State and other conventions of that party. He was for several years president of the Republican Association of the Twenty-fourth Ward, and has been frequently a delegate to the Republican County Committee of the City of New York and a member of the executive committee. His ability and energy being fully recognized by his party associates, he was nominated for member of the Assembly of 1879 to represent the First District of Westchester County, then comprising the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Wards of the city of New York, the city of Yonkers and the town of Westchester. Notwithstanding that the district was overwhelmingly Democratic, so great was his popularity and the confidence reposed in him by the people of both political parties, that he was elected. During his first term in the Legislature he served as chairman of the Committee on Federal Relations, and as a member of the Committees on Commerce and Navigation, Roads and Bridges, and the special committee charged with the investigation of the affairs of the Brooklyn Bridge. His course was marked by such constant and careful attention to the interests of his district that he was renominated for and elected to the Assembly of 1880, as the representative of the new Twenty-fourth District of the city of New York, comprising the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Wards, as provided by the Reapportionment Act of 1879. During his second term he served as chairman of the Committee on Expenditures of the Executive Department, a member of the Committee on Commerce and Navigation, Roads and Bridges, and special committees appointed by the Speaker.

The following are some of the more important measures introduced and advocated by Mr. Wells and enacted by the Legislatures of 1879 and 1880: Acts to facilitate the improvement of the Harlem River, and for the construction of bridges over the same; to extend the water supply in the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Wards; to reduce expenses and correct abuses in street-opening proceedings in the city of New York; for the proper drainage of the Twenty-

third and Twenty-fourth Wards; to reduce the rate of interest on unpaid taxes and assessments in Morrisania, West Farms and King's Bridge; to abolish the office of trustee of the town of Westchester; and also several acts amending the Annexation Act, and measures relating to Yonkers and Westchester. He also actively supported, by voice and vote, the various bills introduced during both these sessions, for the reduction of fare on the Harlem, New Haven and Elevated Railroads; bills reported by the Hepburn Railroad Committee; bills for the revision of the tax laws, for the taxation of corporations, for the reduction of official salaries, and for the more economical government of the city of New York. His course in the Legislature was again so eminently satisfactory to the people of the district that he received the unusual compliment of a third unanimous nomination, every member of the convention arising, as his name was called, and announcing him as his choice for member of the Assembly of 1881. The honor, however, was dcelined on account of his desire to return to business.

But the people were determined that they would retain his services, and the following letter, signed by the most prominent and influential citizens of the district and by hundreds of voters, irrespective of party, was addressed to him:

"NEW YORK, October 23, 1880.

"HON. JAMES L. WELLS:

"*Dear Sir*,—Impressed with the belief that the people of the 23d and 24th Wards require that they should have in the Board of Aldermen a representative whose past experience in and devotedness to public matters affecting this District will afford a guaranty that their interests will be fully protected and cared for, and believing, from our past acquaintance with you and your public course in the Legislature, that you would, when elected as Alderman, faithfully represent the people of the District, we earnestly request that you will permit the use of your name as a candidate for Alderman. We assure you of the hearty co-operation and support of ourselves and the electors of the District."

Mr. Wells was, accordingly, nominated by the Republican Convention for member of the Board of Aldermen of 1881, indorsed by a mass convention of citizens and triumphantly elected in a Presidential campaign over his opponent, the nominee of the united Democratic party, and was the only Republican chosen in the district. A mass convention of the people nominated him for member of the Board of Aldermen for 1882. He was also nominated by the Republicans and elected. Similar action was taken by the people of the district and his party in the fall of that year, and he was elected to the board for 1883. He was nominated for 1884, but declined the honor. Contrary to his wishes, however, his name was presented to the public by his friends and he came within a few votes of being elected to the board for the fourth time. He was a member of the Committee on Public Works during his three terms in the board, and in 1882 was chairman of that committee, an unusual honor for a Republican in a Democratic board. His position on this committee enabled him to be of great service to the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Wards, and the large number of much-needed public improvements which have been made within the past few years is evidence of his industry in personally preparing the necessary measures, and his ability and success in securing their enactment.

Among the important measures introduced and advocated by him and enacted by the boards of 1881, 1882 and 1883 were hundreds of ordinances for monumenting, opening, regulating, grading, repairing, sewering, flagging, curbing, paving and lighting various street, roads and avenues in the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Wards; for extending the Croton water supply and establishing fire and drinking hydrants; for the systematic numbering of the houses and lots; providing for gates at railroad crossings; for building a railroad bridge over the Harlem River, opposite Second Avenue; for the construction of various rapid transit routes, and for the promotion of the innumerable public works incidental to and necessary for the development and growth of a new section of a great city. These public improvements have given the greatest impetus to building operations in these wards, and the beneficial results of his zealous and disinterested labors, both in the State and City Legislatures, will be felt long after the present generation has passed away.

During the Presidential campaigns of 1880 and 1884, Mr. Wells was actively engaged in supporting the nominees of the Republican party, and addressed large meetings in various parts of the district.

In the campaign of 1884 he was unanimously nominated by the Republican Convention for member of the Assembly of 1885, and was urged by men of both parties to accept, but he positively declined the honor on account of business engagements and his disinclination to hold office.

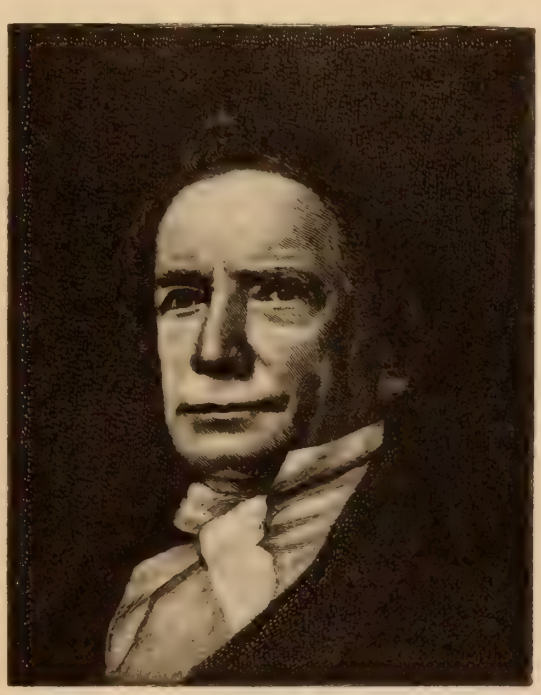
During the past fifteen years he has been actively engaged in the business of a real estate broker and is at present a director of the Real Estate Exchange and Auction-Room (Limited), of the City of New York. In his avocation he has gained a well-merited reputation and success, and there is no one who has had a more extensive experience in sub-dividing and bringing into market real estate in the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Wards and the adjacent parts of Westchester County, or who has a more thorough knowledge of property value in these sections, and he is frequently called upon as an appraiser in apportionment of estates and in the acquisition of lands for public purposes. He is not indebted for his success to inherited wealth, but to his own activity, perseverance and enterprise.

WILLIAM W. FOX.

Mr. Fox, who was prominent as a business man of New York during the past generation, was born September 26, 1783. His grandfather, Jonathan Fox, was descended from a family whose name was prom-

inent in the history of the Society of Friends. With his wife, Deborah, he settled in New Jersey, where his son George was born. The latter married Lydia Woolly, and after her decease married Esther Shotwell. The children of these marriages were William W., George S. and Deborah, wife of Joseph Shotwell.

William W. began business on his own account at a very early age, his first ventures being to meet incoming vessels in a small sail-boat and purchase goods, which he sold in the city before the vessels were unloaded. He next entered into a partnership with John K. Townsend and established a dry-goods store, under the firm-name of Townsend & Fox. After the death of Mr. Townsend he became a partner with his father-in-law, Thomas Leggett, under the name of Leggett, Fox & Co., a firm well known in business circles in New York. The idea of lighting the city with gas was said to have originated with Samuel Leggett, but Mr. Fox had the executive capacity to put it into practical operation, and in 1829 he became the president of the Gas-Light Company, a position which he retained until his death, and was the master-spirit of the undertaking. During the period of his business career there were few public institutions with which he was not prominently connected. He was one of the ten governors of the House of Refuge and one of the founders of that institution. During the building of the Croton Aqueduct he was appointed one of the water commissioners by Governor William L. Marcy and devoted his time and labor unceasingly to the promotion of that important work. It may be mentioned as an illustration of his conscientious care in the enterprise, that when the aqueduct was completed he traveled the entire length on foot, making a careful personal inspection of every portion of the work, and of the names engraved in the lasting granite of the High Bridge there is none that deserves a more prominent place than his own.



WILLIAM W. FOX.

He married Charlotte, daughter of Thomas Leggett, of West Farms, June 9, 1808. Their children were George, who married Maria F., daughter of Benjamin Clark (their only son, William W., died without heirs); Thomas L., who died unmarried, and Mary L., who married Francis A. Tiffany. Their children were George Fox (who died unmarried), Lyman (who married Sarah, daughter of George Stanton, formerly of Albany, and has children—Charlotte Fox, Helen, Margaret and George Stanton), Francis H. (who died unmarried), Henry D. (who married Caroline, daughter of Josiah D. Chase, and has three children —George Fox, Edith and Isabel), Charlotte Fox, (who married Minor Trowbridge, of Brooklyn, whose children are Clarence M., Guion, Vaughan R., Ethel and Constance), Mary P. (wife of George F. Tucker) and Isabel (wife of Charles B. Perry, whose children are Langdon, Francis T., Lyman T. and Egbert B.).

The Fox estate at West Farms, which is now a part of New York City, has descended to its owners in the following manner: Robert Hunt, who was the owner of lot No. 9 of the original division of the West Farms Patent, sold it to his son Robert, in March, 1723, for £9 19*s*. From him it passed to his son, Phineas Hunt, who left it to his three children — Tamar, James and Rachel—who sold it to Ebenezer Leggett in March, 1814, and he, in turn, sold it to Thomas Leggett, from whose heirs it was purchased by William M. Fox, whose heirs are its present owners. To the original lot Thomas Leggett added largely by purchases from Gouverneur Morris, the owner of a portion of the Manor of Morrisania, which bounded the West Farms Patent on the west, and from the owners of the lots on the north and south.

The deed from Ebenezer Leggett to Thomas Leggett thus describes the tract: "The piece of land formerly the farm of Phineas Hunt, deceased, beginning at the North-east corner at a stone standing in the meadow adjoining the salt meadow of Thomas Walker, near the corner of Joseph Tucker's land; thence running South by Thomas Walker's salt meadow to a stone standing at the corner; thence west to the line fence of Thomas Walker and Frederick Courser; thence along as the fence stands crossing the turnpike road to a small ditch; then following the course of said ditch till it reaches Bronx River to a ditch adjoining Samuel Kelly's salt meadow, then west by the upland of Samuel Kelly; then north by an old ditch unto the corner of the line fence of Samuel Kelly; then west by the land of

Samuel Kelly until it comes to the land of Gouverneur Morris, deceased; then north along the land of said Gouverneur Morris as the line fence now stands unto land belonging to Jonathan Tucker; then east by the said Tucker's land to the place of beginning."

In addition to the parcels above mentioned, one portion of the Fox estate descended by inheritance from Elizabeth Leggett to Thomas Leggett, being lot No. 11 of the original sub-division of the Richardson and Hunt patent.

CHAPTER XXIII.

MAMARONECK.

BY EDWARD FLOYD DE LANCEY, ESQ.

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THE Town of Mamaroneck was erected as a Town with its present boundaries by the "Act for dividing the Counties of this State into Towns," passed the 7th of March 1788.[1] The language of the Act is, "And all that part of the said County of Westchester, bounded southerly by New Rochelle, easterly by the Sound, Northerly by Mamaroneck River, and westerly by the Town of Scarsdale, shall be, and hereby is, erected into a Town, by the name of Mamaroneck." Scarsdale, which comes just before Mamaroneck in the Act, was erected into a town with these boundaries: "Westerly by Bronx River, Southerly by the Town of Eastchester and New Rochelle, easterly by the East Bounds of a Tract of Land called the Manor of Scarsdale, and Northerly by the North Bounds of the said Manor of Scarsdale." Both Towns were carved out of the old Manor of Scarsdale, hence the reference to Scarsdale in the boundaries of each. The latter have never been altered since the erection of the Town and are its bounds to-day. It fronts upon Long Island Sound, and extends from it northwestward nearly four miles, with an average width of nearly three miles. It is situated twenty-one miles Northeast of New York City, and is distant South from Albany, the Capital of the State of New York, about one hundred and forty miles, and the village is south from White Plains, the county seat, seven miles. All these distances are those of the roads as they existed prior to the introduction of Rail-Roads.

The town of Mamaroneck has an area of about 4000 acres, or 6¼ square miles. Its population as shown by the State and U. S. census reports at different periods, has been as follows: in 1790, 452; in 1800, 503; in 1810, 496; in 1814, 797; in 1820, 878; in 1825, 1032; in 1830, 838; in 1835, 882; in 1840, 1416; in 1845, 780; in 1850, 928; in 1855, 1068; in 1860, 1351; in 1865, 1392; in 1870, 1484; in 1875, 1425; in 1880, 1863. Owing to a political squabble in 1885, the Legislature being Republican, and the Governor a Democrat, the former would not pass a law to take a census in that year, consequently there are no figures for it, but the population is now believed to be 2000. The average number of voters is about 350.

The name is Indian, and signifies "The Place where the Fresh water falls into the Salt," and describes the unusual natural fact, that the bed of the Mamaroneck River some distance above the place of the present bridge connecting it with the town of Rye, (at which place a bridge did not exist till the year 1800) was originally crossed by a ledge of rocks sufficiently high to prevent the tide rising above it, over which the fresh water fell directly into the salt water, and at low tide with a strong rush and sound.[2] The Indians gave the name to the place of this uncommon occurrence and to the River itself.

In the earliest deeds and documents, the word is spelled "Momoronock," "Mamoronack" and "Mamaranock;" the modern spelling does not seem to have obtained generally till toward the middle of the eighteenth century. Very many ways of spelling this word are met with, but all evidently aiming at expressing its Indian sound. The Indians having no written language, all their names and other words which we now have, are based upon the reproducing of their spoken sounds in our letters. If a Dutchman, Frenchman or an Englishman, undertook to write the same word from an Indian's mouth, very different looking and sounding words would be produced. And as very many of our New York Indian terms and names represent an English spelling of a Dutch or French translation of an Indian sound, we should never be surprised at any variety of spelling.[3]

Though erected a town so late as 1788, Mamaroneck is one of the oldest places in the County and the State, dating back to 1661, when the then Indian owners Wappaquewam and Mahatahan sold and deeded their individual lands to John Richbell, an Englishman, on the 21st of September 1661. Long previous to this time, and in the year 1640 the entire and general Indian title, both to the land and the sovereignty, of all the territory of southeastern Westchester and Connecticut as far east as the Norwalk Islands inclusive, had been obtained for the Dutch West India Company by purchase by Governor Kieft, through Cornelius van Tienhoven, from the Siwanoy Indians.[4] Richbell however was the first white man to purchase the individual right of the local Indian owners to the lands at Mamaroneck.

He was an Englishman of a Hampshire family of

[1] ii. Jones and Vorck's Laws, 319.

[2] Time, blasting, and a succession of dams, have obliterated the original ledge, but the remains of the reef can still be seen.

[3] It has been stated that "Mamaroneck" meant "the place of rolling stones," but for this I can not find any authority. There are not rolling stones anywhere about Mamaroneck either in the river or the town, though both abound with rocks *in situ*, in the language of the geologists.

[4] I. Brod. 296, II. Albany Records 78, 147, II. Hazard 273, I. O'Call. N. N. 215.


MAP OF
MAMARONECK
Drawn from Manuscript Map found in State Records at Albany N.Y. made in 1797.
the NE Corner of Mamaroneck
River
Chains 185.00
Widow Griffens
Mamaroneck
SW Corner of Harrystown
Road from Mamaroneck to the White Plains
Col. Gouv's
East Branch of Sheldrake Creek
N 44 20 E. Along the Southerly bounds of Scarsdell
A Black Oak Swamp
A Meridian Line
Mamaroneck River
Sheldrake Creek
the Bridg Crossing Mamaroneck River
John Guions Wharff
the Bridg crossing Beaver Creek at the County Road
Rocks
Hill
Heathcoat's
New Rochel to Mamaroneck Bridg
Chains 199.00
Mamaroneck Harbour
Buds Neck
N 75 W 66 E
N E Corner
Last Neck
from New Rochel East Line
County Road
Long Branch
the West Neck
Great Neck
Mill
Along the East Neck & Sand Beach
Along the Great Neck & Sand Beach
the S W Corner of Mamaroneck Manor Lane Crosses County Road
N 2 30 W Along New Rochel East Line
20 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80
Scale 1 Mile

Southampton or its neighborhood, who were merchants in London, and who had business transactions with the West Indies and with New England. He was in Charlestown Massachusetts in 1648 according to Savage's Genealogical Dictionary, and he appears in an Inventory of the estate of Robert Gibson of Boston, as owing the estate 36£ on the 8th of August 1656. Prior to 1657 he had been in St. Christopher's Island in the West Indies. In 1657 he entered into a business partnership in Barbadoes, then the centre of the English trade with the West Indies and North America, being at that time, as it is now, an English Island. The severe and oppressive English Navigation laws the scope of which Cromwell had enlarged, and which he strictly enforced, drove many Englishmen at that period to embark in a contraband trade, a trade which increased in the next century to so great an extent in North America, that the severe measures adopted by the English Government to suppress it in the latter part of that century proved to be one of the strongest, if not very strongest of the causes of the American Revolution.[1] At Barbadoes the following curious and striking agreement was entered into by John Richbell with Thomas Modiford of that island, and William Sharpe of Southampton, to establish on the North American coast a plantation for the carrying on a trade not permitted by the Navigation laws.

It is headed,

"*Instructions delivered Mr. John Richbell in order to the intended settlement of a Plantation in the south-west parts of New England, in behalf of himself and of subscribers:*"

"God sending you to arrive safely in New England our advice is that you informe yourselfe fully by sober understanding men of that parte of land which lyeth betwixt Connecticott and the Dutch Collony and of the seacoast belonging to the same and the islands that lye bettwixt Long Island and the Maine, viz.: within what government it is, and of what kinde that government is, whether very strict or remisse, who the Chiefe Magistrates are, on what termes ye Indians stand with them, and what bounds the Dutch pretend to, and being satisfyed in these particulars, (viz.) that you may with security settle there and without offence to any. Then our advise is that you endeavor to buy some small Plantation that is already settled and hath an house and some quantity of ground cleared and which lyeth so as you may enlarge into the woods at pleasure in each, be sure not to fayle of these accommodations.

"I. That it be near some navigable Ryver, or at least some safe port or harbor, and that the way to it be neither longe or difficult.

"II. That it be well watered by some running streame or at least by some fresh ponds and springs near adjoining.

"III. That it be well wooded which I thinke you can hardly misse of. That it be healthy high ground, not bogs or fens for the hopes of all consists in that consideration.

"Being thus fitted with a place look carefully into the title and be sure to have all pretenders satisfied before you purchase, for to fall into an imbroylid disputable title would trouble us more than all other charges whatsoever. Having passed these difficultyes and your family brought in the place direct your whole forces towards the increase of provision which must be according to their seasons, for planting of corne, pease, beanes and other provisions which the country affords, increasing your orchards and gardens, your pastures and inclosures; and for ye familyes employment in the long winter be sure by the first opportunity to put an acre or two of hemp-seed into the ground, of which you may in the winter make a quantity of canvass and cordage for your own use. In the falling and clearing your ground save all your principal timber for pipe stands and clap board and knee timber, &c., and with the rest endeavor to make Pott ash, which will sufficiently recompense the charge of falling the ground. But still mindfull not to put so many hands about the matter of present profitt that you do in the meane tyme neglect planting or sowing the grounds that are fitt for provisions, our further advice is that as you increase in pasture fitt for cattle and sheep you fayle not to stocke them well, but be sure never to over-stock them by taking more than you can well keep, for an hungry cowe will never turne to account. Lastly we desire you to advise us or either of us how affairs stand with you, what your wants are and how they may be most advantageously employed by us: for the life of our business will consist in the nimble, quiet and full correspondence with us; and although in these instructions we have given you clearly indicates, yet we are not satisfied that you must needs bring in the place so many difficultyes and also observe many inconveniencies which we at this distance cannot possibly imagine and therefore we refer all wholly to your discretion, not doubting but that you will doe all things to the best advantage of our designe thereby obliedging

your faithful friends and servants
Thos. Modiford
Will. Sharpe.[2]

Barbadoes, Sept. 18, 1657."

The precise date of Richbell's arrival in the province of New York is not now known. He seems first to have gone to Oyster Bay Long Island, and thence to Mamaroneck. He certainly could not have found a place more in accordance with his "instructions" on the whole coast of North America than the latter.

Directly on the Sound, close to Connecticut, and claimed by its people, but a part of the Dutch prov-

[1] The famous cause of the Writs of Assistance, in which John Adams first distinguished himself, were in defence of Boston Merchants engaged in this contraband trade.

[2] Deed Book iii. 126, Sec. of State's Offᵉ, Alb.

ince of New Netherland and ruled by its authorities, with a running river falling directly into its harbour the latter overlooked by high wooded hills, and its borders skirted by the cleared "planting fields" of the Indians, and within a day's easy sail of the "Manhadoes" it was well adapted to the "nimble" business proposed to be carried on by his Barbadoes friends and himself. Richbell first went to Oyster Bay, where on the 5th of September 1660 he bought the beautiful peninsula, afterwards and still known as "Lloyd's Neck." He had a controversy with the Oyster Bay people about some land at Matinecock, which he also bought, and which was finally settled in his favor. In 1665, after the English conquest he obtained a patent for Lloyd's Neck from Governor Nicolls dated December 18th 1665, and the next year sold it to Nathaniel Sylvester, Thomas Hart, and Latimer Sampon, for 450£, by deed dated October 18, 1666.[1] He then resided at Oyster Bay where in 1662 he was appointed a constable.[1] In the preceding year 1661 his name appears on the Southampton Records as a witness to a mortgage to one Mills on a Virginia plantation.[2] In May 1664 he was one of the Commissioners for the five English Towns in Long Island.[3] In the autumn of that year the English captured New York from the Dutch. Of the expedition to attempt that capture Richbell probably had early knowledge.

It will be recollected that two of the ships the "Martin" and the "William and Nicolas," of the expedition sent to capture New Netherland by the Duke of York, were forced to run into Piscataway, now Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on the 20th of July 1664, on board of which were Carr and Mavericke, two of the Commissioners.[4] One or both of them knew, or had letters to John Richbell who apparently was then in Boston to whom they sent the following communication announcing their arrival, written the third day after it happened,—

"Mr. Richbell

Wee shall desire you to make all convenient haste to your habitation on Long Island, and by the waye as you pass through the Countrey and when you come hither, that you acquaint such as you thinke the Kings Commissionrs will be welcome to, and are affected for his Majestyes Service, that some of us are arrived here, & shall suddenly bee in Long Island where they hope they will be ready as in other places to promote his Majestyes interest, their readiness & affection shall be much taken notice of, and your care and Incouragement bee acknowledged by

Your very lovinge friends
Robert Carr.
Samuel Mavericke.

Pascataway July 23d, 1664.
to Mr. John Richbell, there.

A warrant under the same hands to presse a horse for Mr. Richbell if occasion should bee, hee paying for the hire."[5]

Four years before, Charles II. had constituted a Council in England, to which he committed the care of the Trade with the Plantations in America. It was created by Royal Patent on the seventh of November 1660. This "Council of Trade" consisted of the Lord High Chancellor Hyde, the Lord Treasurer of England, Thomas Earl of Southampton, Monk Duke of Albemarle, eleven other peers and Nobles, twenty-three Baronets and Knights, and twenty five "Merchants," together sixty two persons all mentioned by name in the Patent itself. Among the "Merchants" was included Robert Richbell, the brother of John. As this "Council of Trade" embraced the leading public men in England at that day, with the noble at its head who four years later drew the King's Patent to his brother James for New York, it is almost certain that John Richbell had some prior intimation, from his brother, a member of the same Council, of the expedition intended for the capture of that Province from the Dutch, and the persons who were to be at the head of it. Hence, his presence in Boston before its arrival, and if neither Carr nor Mavericke, the latter of whom had been in America before, knew John Richbell personally, they undoubtedly had been informed beforehand where he was to be addressed and what his sentiments were, or they could not have written him the above letter.

It is apparent that Richbell was a man of a better position than the ordinary class of Englishmen then in America, at the time he made his purchase of lands at Mamaroneck in 1661. His purchase of Lloyd's Neck was in September 1660. A year later on September 23d 1661 he bought his lands at Mamaroneck, and received from its Siwanoy Indian proprietors Wappaquewam and Mahatahan, their "Indian Deed" for them dated on that day.

An attempt by another Englishman, also a merchant of Barbadoes, and resident of Oyster Bay, who seems to have been either a business rival, or a personal opponent of Richbell, to outwit him and the Indians has singularly enough been the means of preserving for us a perfect history of the original purchase of Mamaroneck in all its details. This man was one Thomas Revell "merchant of Oyster Bay." Finding that Richbell had obtained the Mamaroneck lands in September 1661 Revell undertook in October of the same year to buy the same lands or a part of them, from some other Indians, including Wappaquewam however, for an increased price. Richbell after getting his deed of the 23d of September 1661 applied to the Dutch Government at New Amsterdam for a "Ground Brief," and subsequently a "Transport," as the Dutch License to purchase Indian lands, and the Patent for them, were respectively termed. Governor

[1] II. Thompson's "Hist. Long Island."
[2] Vol. II., 15.
[3] II. Thompson's "Long Island."
[4] Ante, page 75.
[5] III. Col. Hist., 66.

Stuyvesant and his Council thereupon had the purchase as well as Revell's claim thoroughly investigated and testimony taken, and after full deliberation decided in Richbell's favor and issued to him both the "Ground Brief" and the "Transport." After the English conquest and the order directing the confirmation of the Dutch grants to their proprietors and before his English Patent of the 16th of October, 1668, was obtained, Richbell recorded these instruments, and he also had recorded the evidence taken before the Dutch Council, his Indian deed of June 6, 1666, confirming that of 1661, and an affidavit of another witness of the original purchase sworn to in 1665.

These documents in full are as follows, and they give us a very lively picture of the men and matters, at Mamaroneck and at Manussing Island both whites and Indians, in the autumn of 1661.[1]

Immediately after these curious papers will be found the Indian Deed to Thomas Revell, and the Indian Power of Attorney by which he tried to defeat Richbell. These papers Revell had recorded in the records of the Town of Southampton upon Long Island December 23d, 1661, probably as a means of strengthening his claim. Thus we have a documentary history of both sides of this contest for the beautiful lands of Mamaroneck in the reign of Charles the Second.

INDIAN DEED TO JOHN RICHBELL.

Recorded Mar: 13th 1666 for Mr Richbell.

(Liber Two of Deeds 192–199, Albany).

1. Mammaranock, y^e^ 23d Sept. 1661.

Know all Men by these pres^ts^. That I Wappaquewam Right owner & Proprietor of part of this Land, doe by order of my brother who is another Proprietor & by consent of the other Indyans doe this day, sell, Lett & make over, from mee my heyres assignes for ever unto John Richbell of oyster bay his heyres & assignes for ever three necks of Land. The Eastermost is called Mammaranock Neck, and the Westermost is bounded with M^r^ Pells purchase: Therefore know all Men whom these presents concerne that I Wappaquewam, doe this day alienate & estrange from mee, my heires & assignes for ever unto John Richbell his heyres & assignes for ever, these three necks of Land with all the Meadowes Rivers & Islands thereunto belonging, also the sd. Richbell or his assignes may freely feed Cattle or cutt timber twenty miles Northward from the marked Trees of the Necks, ffor & in consideracon the sd. Richbell is to give or deliver unto the aforenamed Wappaquewam the goods here under mentioned, the one halfe about a moneth after the date hereof, and the other halfe the next Spring following, As the Interpreters can testify, & for the true performance hereof I Wappaquewam doe acknowledge to have rec^d.^ two shirts & ten shillings in wampum the day & date above written,

Twenty two Coates
one hundred fathom of wampom
Twelve shirts
Ten paire of Stockings
Twenty hands of powder
Twelve barrs of Lead
Two firelockes
ffifteene Hoes
ffifteene Hatchets
Three Kettles"

John Finch's affidavit.

2. The deposition of John Finch & Edward Griffen both of Oyster bay.

These deponents testify & affirme, That they being at Peter Disbroes Island[2] (being to the westward of Greenewich) the 23^d^ day of September last past & being there employed by me John Richbell for to Interpret betwixt the said Mr. Richbell & the Indyans (mentioned in this writing annext) about the purchase of three Necks of Land. The said deponents doe both of them affirme, that this herein written was a true and reall bargaine, made the day above s^d^. betwixt the said Mr. John Richbell & the said Indyans, & the Condicons thereof.

Taken before mee

John Heickes

Hempsteed this 20th of December 1661.

Peter Disbrow's affidavit.

"The Deposicon of Peter Disbroe of Monussing Island ætates suæ 30th.

3. The s^d^ deponent upon oath Testifieth, that Mr. Richbell &c went to Mr. Revell (then on the Island afores^d^) & warned Mr. Revell not to buy the Land beyond Mammaraneck River of the Indyans, for that (hee said) hee had bought it already: At that time Wappaquewam came to my house Mr. Richbell and John ffinch being there also, the said Wappaquewam said hee was the owner of the Land, & did in my hearing owne that hee had sold the land to Mr. Richbell, but the other Indyans over persuaded him to sell it to Mr. Revell, because hee would give a great deale more; The said Wappaquewam did also owne that hee had rec'd part of pay for the Land, of Mr. Richbell & John ffinch: This to my best understanding was y^e^ Indyans speech unto them; Also at the same time the said Indian Wappaquewam did verbally offer unto Mr. Richbell the Pay that hee had rec'd in part for the sd Land. But Mr. Richbell refused, saying hee would not receive it, but according to bargaine hee would have the land & pay him (the sd Indian) his pay: Moreover the said deponent saith that Mr. Revell being at his house (before the former discourse) that hee the said deponent did tell Mr.

[1] The doings of the parties at Manussing Island in this matter are it is believed the earliest actions in which its settlers took part outside of themselves, that are now known.

[2] Peter Disbro or Disbrough, was the leading man of the Greenwich people who first settled Mannussing Island.

Revell that the Land was agreed for by John Finch, & some part of the pay paid. This deposed unto the 12th of $\frac{M}{1}\frac{61}{62}$: Before us

Richard Laws
Francis Bell

Affidavit of William Joanes.

4. The deposicon of William Joanes of Monussing Island about 22 years of age.

The sd Deponent upon oath testifieth, That Thomas Close & himselfe being mates, the said Close having beene at oyster bay upon his returne to Monussing aforesd, did tell him that when hee was at oyster bay, That John ffinch and Henry Disbroe of oyster bay did tell him, that John ffinch & Mr Richbell had agreed to purchase the land at Mammaranock River, & desired him not to discover what hee had told them, for that hee had promised them to keepe silence, & if it should bee knowne that hee had told him (the said Joanes) hee should then bee counted a Traytor, this was about September 1661 : Severall moneths after Mr Richbell & John ffinch & Edward Griffin being at Mamaranocke River & they waiting for the Indyans coming to them to receive that part of the pay for the land as was agreed there to bee paid, & Mr Richbell had then by him ; They wanting bread sent for some to the Island Monussing, wherefore the sd deponent came and carryed them some : when to the land he came Mr Richbell had there sett up a Shedd to shelter from the weather, & took possession there, Staying for ye Indians to receive the pay as was promised. Mr Revell being then at Monussing, & hearing that Mr Revell came to buy the land, did tell Mr Richbell what hee had heard : Wherefore Mr Richbell & John ffinch & myselfe came to Monussing Mr Richbell saying that hee would purposely goe to forewarne Mr Revell not to buy the land, being hee had already agreed for the same: When to Monussing they came, there was some of the Indyans that had sold ye land vizt: Cakoe & Wappaquewam, who would have secretly gone away (as they judged) but that, John ffinch spyeing of them, called them againe, saying to them, are you ashamed of what you are doeing: Then at Peter Disbroe's house the said Cakoe & Wappaquewam did tender to Mr Richbell & John ffinch the pay againe which they had recd in part of payment for the Land, but they refused. John ffinch & Mr Richbell saying to them that they would stand to ye bargaine that they had made: The said Wappaquewam did there fully owne that he had sold the Land to Mr Richbell & John ffinch: Stamford Apr. 5th 1662. given before me

Rich : Lawes.

The originall was Interlin'd
before deposed (unto) in the
28th line, (And Mr Richbell)
In the 13th line (Monussing),

Affidavit of John Finch.

5. The deposition of John ffinch of oyster bay & also Edward Griffin.

The sd deponents upon oath testifye, Mr John Richbell Merchant of Oyster bay did buy of Wappaquewam a Certaine Tract of land lyeing westward of the River called Mammaranock River & bounded by Land purchased by Mr Thomas Pell of the Indians. The said Wappaquewam being entrusted by his brother Mathetuson[1] formerly called Mohey (as the said Wappaquewam & Mathetuson did enforme) to sell all his property in the sd Land, & himselfe with Edwd Griffin accompanied the said John Richbell unto ye sd Indian Wappaquewam to buy the sd Lands, which accordingly hee did, & payd unto the sd Wappaquewam in part of payment for the purchase of the said Lands, Two shirts & ten shillings in wampom, and agreed upon Time for the payment of the residue, according to a writing made at Momoronock River, bearing date 23d of Septr 1661, & on that day the said Richbell tooke possession of the sd Lands.

In & upon the 7th day of March 1661, The sd John Richbell employed them the sd deponents & one Jacob Young a Sweed (which are Indian Interpret.es) to goe with him to the Indyans to talke wth them, Hee the sd Richbell hearing a Report that ye sd Indian Wappaquewam had afterwards sold the sd lands to Mr Revell, & in our voyage to speake wth Wappaquewam we mett with his brother Mathetuson alias Mohey afores^{d}, who did fully manifest unto us that hee (acccording to his brothers Informacon), did employ & give power to his brother Wappaquewam to sell his propriety of Land to Mr Rich bell, whom Wappaquewam enformed him would buy it of him, & withall did relate to us severall of the particulars that the said John Richbell by agreement was to pay for the sd Lands: Moreover the sd Mathetuson seemed to bee much disturbed in his mind That any Contract was made with any other for ye said Lands, hee affirming that hee knew not that any other than John Richbell had made any contract about it, untill hee came down to the Sea Coast. Wherefore Mr John Richbell did tell the sd Mathetuson that he was now come to settle & plant the same,—And the said Mathetuson did give him free liberty to the same, onely desiring Mr Richbell that hee might be payd for it, & not to loose his pay for a neck & halfe of land, which he was yet unpaid for:

To the former part were deposed John ffinch & Edward Griffin the 11th of ye 1st moneth $\frac{61}{62}$
Before mee

Rich: Lawes.

To the latter part the sd John ffinch & Edwd Griffin & also Jacob Young have deposed this 11th $\frac{M}{1}\frac{61}{62}$
Before mee

Richard Lawes.

[1] This affidavit is the only paper where this name is so spelled. In all other instruments it is spelled "Mahatahan."

Affidavit of Jonathan Lockwood.

6. The Testimony of Jonathan Lockwood being aged 30 years or thereabout.

Saith, I being at peter Disbroes, & Mr Thomas Revell being there present, I heard Mr. Revell say hee was buying a parcell of Land of the Indyans of the West side of Mammaranock River to Mr Pells land & I wisht him not to medle with it, for it was already bought by Mr Richbell & I was a wittnesse to it, I saw a part of the moneys payd for it by Mr Richbell— Mr Revell made this answer to mee, that howsoever hee would buy it & Mr Richbell & he would try for it afterwards: ffarther this deponent saith not. Given in upon oath before mee, Stamford Apr. 4th 1665.

Rich Lawes

Taken out of the Records & compared therewith this 23d of August 1665

p. me John Allyn, Recorder

INDIAN DEED OR CERTIFICATE OF CONFIRMATION TO JOHN RICHBELL.

Recorded for Mr. John Richbell, the 6th day of June 1666, this Indyan Deed. I Wappaquewam, together with my Brother Mahatahan, being the right owners of three Necks of Land, lying and being Bounded on ye East side with Mamaranock River, and on ye west side with the Stony River, which parts the said Land, and Mr. Pells Purchase, Now These are to Sertify to all and every one whom it may concerne. That I Wappaquewum, did for myselfe, and in the behalfe of my above said Brother Mahatahan, firmly Bargaine & Sell to Mr John Richbell of Oyster Bay, to him and his Heires forever, the above mentioned three Necks of Land, together with all other Priviledges there unto belonging, Six weeks before I sold it to Mr Tho Revell, And did mark out the Bounds, and give Mr Richbell possession of the said Land, and did receive part of my pay then in hand, as Witness my hand

The mark **0** of Wappaquewum [1]

Wittness
Jacob Yough
Catharine Yough."

The next papers are those Thomas Revell obtained from several Indians, after John Richbell's Purchase, upon which he based his claim.

COCKOO'S DEED TO REVELL.

"Be it known unto all Christian people, Ingians & others whom it may concern that I Cockoo [2] Sagamore do by vertue of a full and absolute power & order unto me given & intrusted by Mahamequeet Sagamore & Meamekett Sagamore & Mamamettchoack & Capt Wappequairan [3] all Ingines living up Hudson River on the Maine land, for me to bargaine & absolutely to sell unto Tho Revell his Hayres Execrs Administrators & Assigns have or any of them have in one tract of land on ye Main being bounded by ye sea on the south west and at the east of Maramack River and at ye west with Mamgapes River, with two necks of land and meadow & planting land, the necks of land called by the Ingins Caywaywest [4] & Mamgapes with all ye lands Meines and mineralls & trees to cut down at ye said Revells pleasure to plant with all rights & priviliges with (two words here illegible) without let or molestation of us any under us quietly & peaceably to Injoy ye sd land reaching one and a half miles above Westchester path and from thence twenty english miles to the Norward into the County for grass for feed for cattell and Timber as he shall have occasion; for ye lands afforesaid I the said Cockoo doe confess to have received now in hand of the said Thomas Revell at the house of John Coe in full payment for the aforesaid tracts of land in severall goods to the just sum of Eighty odd pounds sterling for the said lands with all reall rights. And fardder more I doe promise and ingauge my self in the behalf of the fore named Ingains & ye rest of those Ingains which I now sell this land for and them to bring suddenly after ye date hereof for to give unto Thomas Revels or his order quiet and peaceable possession to him and his Heyres. And peaceably to keep and defend against all Dutch and English that shall molest him, in witness whereof have ingaidged and confess my hand Subscribed this 27th Oct. 1661

the marke + of Cockoo [5]
ye marke +
of Wappequairan

Signed and delivered in the presence of us
John Budd
John Coe
Thomas ilobe? (close)
Simon Cooper
Mark
Tho. + Stedwell

Dec 23d 1661, A true copy per me
H enry Pierson Regist.

Indian Power of Attorney to Cockoo to Convey Lands.

Be it known unto all Christian people Ingains and others whom it may come unto that we whose names are hereunto published Mahameqeat & Meamehet Naskeway all Sagamores with vngoetaken Mamamettchauck, Wachithe Rawnottoy with Capt Wappaquewam all Ingains living up Hudson River & else where in America, Doe acknowledge & confess to have fully & absolutely & by oath of our free & voulantary Acts, given granted full & absolute power unto our friends & one of our Counsell Cockoo by

[1] Recorded in Liber Two of Deeds, at page 128, Sec. of State's off., Albany.

[2] In some papers of that day this name appears as "Cakoe."

[3] Meant for Wappaquewam.

[4] This is as near as this word can be made out.

[5] The same as "Cakoe" above mentioned.

name an Ingaine the which wee do approve of and doe confirm whatsoever the said Cockoo shall doe in bargaining & selling unto Thos Revell of Barbadoes all our real right & interest wee or either of us have, our Hayres Exctrs Adminis[trs] & Assigns have in one tract of land on the Mayne the which hath two necks of land within it called Caquanost and the other Mamgapos. Bounded on the southwest against Long Island & at the east with Marramack River & at the west with Mamgapos River, and at the north one and a half miles if noe more above Westchester path for planting ground & it is to improve at the said Revells pleasure as he or his shall see good with the Meddow grounds & other grounds Trees, Moynes, Minneralls or whats soever as Rivers Springs within said bounds of said tract of land. As allsoe free liberty for feeding for all cattell horses & Mayers without lett to Rang or grase & trees to fall and carry away at his or any of his Heirs pleasure above the marked trees for the bounds Twenty English miles if not more into the Cuntry northward if not more with a plot of the tracts of land hereunto annexed and allsoe the marked trees. Now whereas wee the aforesaid the true and well proprietors and Honnors[1] before named of the tracts of land wee are fully contented & paid and satisfied that our friend Cockoo hath bargained and sould the aforesaid tracts of land with all the bounds as aforesaid unto the s[d] Thomas Revell with all things standing or lying thereon for himself, Heyres, Exct[rs], Administrat[rs] or Assignes freely and forever to possess and peaceably injoy and keep as his proper right without lett or hindrance of us or any from by or under us. And allsoe we the aforesaid true honnors and right proprietors of the said land Mahameqeat Meamehet Naskeway Sagamores with vngoetaken Mamametchouch Wachithe Ronnottoy and Capt Wappaquewam wee and every on of us joyntly & severally doe allow & approve of what our friend Cockoo hath done to bee fearme sold fast and good in selling the said land to Thomas Revell. And of him have received in hand full satisfaction & to our consent for the said land in personal goods to the just sum of ninety pounds sterling to the use of us the aforesaid Ingains. Now for the better Right & tittell of the said land unto the said Revell his Heyres Exct[rs] Administrat[rs] & Assigns with all the Proprietors Rights & privileges Regard or whatsoever else is just, and allsoe wee ye aforesaid Ingains do freely and absolutely assign and make over all our rights tittell and Interest wee had in the fore mentioned tract of land as appeareth by this our Deed and fearme bill of sall that we now give unto the said Revell and his reall right in the said land before Butting and Bounding as aforesaid. And now for the more fearme and absolute assurance of the said tract of land wee do jointly and severally for us and ours as I Mahameqeat Meamehet with Naskeway Sagamores with Vngoetaken Mamamettchouck Wachithe Rownottoy & Capt. Wappaquewam promise and doe ingage ourselves unto the said Revell his Heyres & Exc[trs] to put the saidRevell or his order in quiet and peaceable possession & him so to keep and for ever to injoy as his and to his all right. And Allsoe we do further promise & ingage keepe and defend ye sd Revell and his against all person or persons that shall directly or indirectly annoy Molest or trouble ye sd Revell or his, or lay any claime or former grant of the same by ye Ingains Dutchmen or English or whome soeverfrom the beginning of the world unto the day of Dat; &, forever to mayntaine our right and tittle unto the said Revell & his Heyres Exct[rs] & Assigns as witness our hands this 11 of Novemb[r] 1661.

Whereas it is above mentioned the land for planting land shall run one & a half miles and more above Westchester path. All of us above Ingains doe freely allow & consent unto that Revell shall have his line run as farre above Westchester path for planting ground into the Cuntry the full length as is from Westchester path to the bottom of the Necks to the sea, this being in consideration the land to the north east is not fit for planting ground but full of hills and Rockey Woods above Westchester path. This we consent unto freely. As witness our hands possession given

In the presence of as witnessess Signed and delivered in presence of us Simon Cooper The mark of Tho. + Stedwell Humphry Hughes Thomas ilobs[2] John Coe The mark of Stephen E Champion	The mark of + Cockoo y[e] mark of + Mamamettchouch y[e] mark of + Wappaquaican y[e] mark of + Hayoro Sagamore y[e] mark of + Petowwahen y[e] mark of + Cauronsoro Sarho y[e] mark of + Wappomus Sarho

A true Coppey December the 23d 1661

Pr me Henry Pierson Regist[r].[3]

Of the litigation which grew out of this transaction we have the following account in the nature of a report of the evidence produced, taken from the record at Albany. It bears no date but was probably what took place before the English Patent was issued by Governor Lovelace.

"An account of what part was acknowledged before ye Governor concerning ye Purchase of Mamaronock, by Mr. Richbell, and Mr. Revell, and Jans. Rockett, Wappaqueem, and many other Indians,

PRESENT.

Wappaqueem saith, that Mr. Richbell was ye first that spake to him about ye purchase of said lands.

[1] Owners.

[2] This meant for Thomas Close.

[3] For the copies of this Indian deed and Power of Attorney the writer is indebted to William S. Pelletreau, the able editor of the three volumes of the "Southampton Records." The map referred to is unfortunately such a rough and mixed up scrawl that it was useless to reproduce it.

Jans. Rockett acknowledges ye like.

Wappaqueem saith that Thomas close with Cokoo spake to him to sett his hand to Mr. Revell's deed and he should have a coate, on which he did it.

He saith further that Mr. Richbell, came and viewed and agreed for ye land, but not bringing his goods tyme enough he sold it to Mr. Revell. He confesses that Mr. Richbell gave another Indian a coate and some seawant and a shirt, to marke out ye trees after ye agreement, but that he had nothing.

Another Indian saith that Cockoe and Thomas Close received Mr. Revell's money betweene them and kept it themselves, for ye proprietors had none of it.

Wappaqueem saith that what he received from Mr. Richbell was by way of (unintelligible) but not in parte of payment.

He whose land it was, and Wappaqueem called brother, but were not natural brothers.

11th Nov. 1661, the power entrusting Wappaqueem and Cockoo to sell 8th, 1661, the date of ye deed which is before ye power. [1]

It is evident from this that Thomas Close and Cockoo were very sharp, but the blunder of dating the power after the deed to Revell ruined their case.

Richbell continued in undisturbed possession, and no claim was ever at any time afterward set up under those Indian deeds to Thomas Revell.

On the 16th of October 1668, the English Patent from Governor Francis Lovelace confirming and granting to John Richbell the lands privileges and immunities he possessed under his Dutch grants and Dutch court decisions passed the seals of the Province.

These Instruments, Dutch and English, having been already set forth fully in part number 14 of the chapter on Manors relating to the Manor of Scarsdale in this work are not repeated here. The description of the lands granted in Lovelace's Patent of Confirmation is as follows:—"A certain parcel of land within this government, on the Main, contained in three Necks, of which the eastermost is bounded with a small river called Mamaranock river, being almost the east bounds or limits of this government upon the main, and the westermost with the gravelly or stony brook or river which makes the east limits of the land known by the name of Mr. Pell's purchase. Having to the south the Sound, and running northward from the marked trees upon the said Necks twenty miles into the woods . . . together with all woods, beaches, marshes, pastures, creeks, waters, lakes, fishing, hawking hunting and fowling, and all other profits immunities, and emoluments to the said parcel or tract of land belonging, annexed, or appertaining, with their and every of their appurtenances, and every part and parcel thereof."

These "Three Necks" were called the "East," the "Middle," and the "West" Necks. The Middle Neck was sometimes called the Great Neck, from its longer extent of water front, which at first led to the supposition that its area below Westchester Path was greater than that of the East Neck. "The East Neck" extended from the Mamaroneck river on the east to a small stream called "Pipin's brook" on the west, which divided it from the "Middle" or "Great" Neck, and is the same which now crosses the Boston road through the land, and just east of the house of the late Mr. George Vanderburg.[2] The Middle Neck extended from the latter stream westward to a much larger brook called "Cedar or Gravelly brook" which is the one that now bounds the land belonging to Mr. Meyer[3] on the west.

The "West Neck" extended from the latter to another small brook still further to the westward, termed "Stoney or Gravelly Brook" which was the east line of the Manor of Pelham.

Of the three in their order. The East Neck from Mamaroneck River to Pipin's Brook, upon which Richbell took up his permanent residence about 1665, as near as can now be ascertained, was called by the Indians "Mamaranock Neck." This fact is so stated in the Petition of Richbell of the 24th of December 1661, for a "ground brief" or Dutch license to purchase Indian lands.[4] A misunderstanding by Mr. Robert Bolton of the word "Mammaranock" in the crabbed writing of this ancient Document as recorded led him to state in the first edition of his History of Westchester County, published in 1848, that the "aboriginal name" of the East Neck was "Wanmainuck," [5] and the error has appeared in the second edition, [6] and it has been hence followed by other writers. It was a pure mistake in deciphering the written word. The true "aboriginal name of the East Neck was "Mamaranock" the same as the town and village bears to-day under the later spelling of "Mamaroneck." That portion of it between the Harbour on the east and Pipin's brook and the salt creek into which it runs on the west, bears the name of "De Lancey's Neck" from the fact that it has been possessed as a whole for more than a century and until a few years ago, and in part still is possessed, by the family of Gov. James de Lancey, the son-in-law of Col. Caleb Heathcote, the purchaser of the whole East Neck in 1697. It formed the largest part of the "demesne lands" of Colonel Heathcote's Manor of Scarsdale, and as such was held by his widow until her death in 1736, when an undivided half descended to her daughter Mrs. James de Lancey, who by agreement with her brother-in-law Dr. Lewis Johnston of New Jersey continued in the possession and control of the other undivided half until 1774, when it was divided in the

[1] Deed book III. 97, Sec. of State's office.

[2] Formerly a portion of the western part of the farm of Mr. Peter Jay Munro, and later owned by James T. Roosevelt.

[3] The old "Duncan" or "Danbeny" farm.

[4] Deed-Book iii. 37, Sec. State's office, Albany. *Ante*, p. 145.

[5] Vol. i. p. 282.

[6] Vol. i. p. 463.

Partition of that year of the undivided portions of the Manor of Scarsdale. Subsequently John Peter de Lancey the son of Mrs. De Lancey who had succeeded to some of his mother's lands purchased all the rest of the lands on De Lancey's Neck from his brother, and sister, and cousins, and thus became the owner of the whole Neck, nearly a century ago. There was however a small piece of land of about thirty acres on the left of the entrance to the Neck from the old Westchester Path or old Boston Road, which never belonged to the Manor of Scarsdale nor to the Heathcote or de Lancey families. This piece was given on the 8th of August 1684, by Mrs. Richbell just after her husband's death, to her daughter Mary and her husband Capt. James Mott, and was expressly reserved in her deed to Colonel Heathcote of all the rest of her estate in Mamaroneck. This piece from Mott's heirs passed by sale through various parties and about a century ago became the property of a venerable Quaker long well known in Mamaroneck, Giles Seaman. At his death in the settlement of his estate it was bought by the late Isaac Hall, and by him it was sold to the enterprising gentleman who upon it erected the handsome summer hotel, since called by his own name—the "Rushmore," as well as several handsome private residences, now owned by various parties.

In the chapter on Manors in this work, part 14,[1] will be found at length the history of the East Neck as a part of the manor of Scarsdale. It is only necessary here to give an outline. John Richbell died on the 26th of July 1684[2] leaving his widow Ann, and three daughters him surviving. His wife's mother, Margery Parsons, had advanced him some goods in the island of St. Christopher's in the West Indies long previous to his ever coming to Mamaroneck. As soon as he got his English Patent of the 16th of October 1668, and on the 14th of the next month he deeded the entire "East Neck" to her in consideration of that advance. Mrs. Parsons two days later, on the 16th of November 1668, in consideration of natural love conveyed the East Neck to her daughter —Ann the wife of John Richbell as a token of affection and dutiful behaviour. This made Mrs. Richbell the owner in fee of the entire East Neck. But to make her perfectly secure, Richbell made a settlement of it by way of jointure in her favor, by a deed in Trust to John Ryder of the 23d of April, 1669, in consideration of a marriage long since solemnized between them.[3] He died as above stated on the 26th of July 1684, and Mrs. Ann Richbell thereupon became vested in her own right in fee in the entire East Neck, from Mamaroneck River to Pipin's Brook and twenty miles back from the Sound northward into the woods. She continued in possession until by deed of the 23d of December 1697, she sold her entire estate of every kind and nature in her and her late husband's lands to Colonel Caleb Heathcote for the sum of £600 New York Currency and certain other beneficial provisions recited in the instrument.[4] These lands and some others adjoining which he had acquired Colonel Heathcote had erected into "the Lordship and Manor of Scarsdale" by a Manor-Grant from Lieutenant Governor Nanfan then at the head of the Province on the 21st March, 1701.[5] Upon the eminence at the head of the Harbour, still called Heathcote Hill,[6] he built a large double brick Manor



HEATHCOTE HILL.

House in the style of that day in England, with all the accompanying offices and outbuildings, including the American addition of negro quarters in accordance with the laws, habits, and customs of the period. Here he lived during the remainder of his life, which terminated on the 28th of February 1720–21 in his 56th year. The house stood till some six or seven years before the American Revolution, occupied however, only by tenants after the death of his widow in 1736. Later it was accidentally destroyed by fire. The present double frame dwelling standing on a portion of the old site, of which a cut is given, was built in 1792 by the late John Peter de Lancey, a grandson of Colonel Heathcote who had succeeded to the property, on his return to America with his family, having been a captain in the British Regular Army in which he had been placed in 1771, on leaving Harrow School, after a short period at the Military School of Greenwich. Mr. de Lancey lived in this house till his death in 1828. In it were born all his children except the two elder ones, and amongst

[1] Ante, 147.

[2] West. Co. Records Lib. A, p. 34.

[3] Ancient copies of all these deeds in the writer's possession. All are recorded in West. Co. Records, except that from Mrs. Parsons to Mrs. Richbell.

[4] Rec. Lib. B, 371, West. Co. Records.

[5] Lib. 7, p. 195, Sec. of State's Offᵉ.

[6] And still in the possession of the writer who is his great, great, grandson.

them his son William Heathcote, the late Bishop of Western New York, and Susan Augusta, the wife of the late James Fenimore Cooper, who were also married in it on the 1st of January 1811.

But to return, Colonel Heathcote had succeeded, with the rest of the property, to the Richbell proprietary rights in the two mile bounds of Mamaroneck and he subsequently to his Manor-Grant purchased in addition a twelfth undivided part of the whole tract. This tract had been set apart by John Richbell in his life time about the year 1670 for what he called "allotments or house lots," comparatively small pieces fronting on the Westchester Path or old road to Boston eight in number running northwardly. One he reserved for his own house lot, and he and his wife seem to have sold only two or three others, the first was a gift by deed to one John Basset in 1669, which was No. four, next to his own lot No. 5. Another, No. one, was sold to one Jeremy Kanniffe, and Nos. 2 and 3 to Robert Pennoyer, and another to James Mott. These seem to have been all that were sold up to 1676 when another was sold to Henry Disbrough on the 16th of February in that year. From the language of ancient copies of the first deed to John Basset, and that to Henry Disbrough, in the writer's possession it would seem that these "allotments" were twenty and a half rods wide front on the Westchester Path, and the same in the rear, by eighty rods on each side in depth running northwesterly. Each was subject to a reservation of an annual payment of one bushel of winter wheat or the value thereof on the 1st of March, and one day's work at harvest time, to the Proprietor, and to a covenant that they could not be sold without their consent and approbation. To each lot was appendant an undivided eighth right to commonage and pasture in the two mile bounds. The precise extent of these bounds we know from the Deed to Disbrough, which calls them "Mammaroneck limmits" and describes the tract as "being in length two miles and in Breadth one mile and a half and Twenty eight rods." The length was from the Westchester Path northward, and the breadth was from Mamaroneck River to Dirty Swamp on the west. "Dirty Swamp" being the swampy ground over which the road passed near and east of the intersection of the present Weaver Street. The swamp began some distance north of the Road and extended across it to the salt water, a little stream or ditch running from it under the road in old times through a stone culvert, sometimes dignified by the name of "Dirty Swamp Bridge."

As soon as Colonel Heathcote obtained his Manor-Grant, and about two months thereafter he obtained, on the 11th of June 1701, from the two Indian chiefs of the neighborhood Patthunk and Wapetuck an Indian deed of confirmation for this two mile tract to himself and the seven other persons who in 1701 were the owners of these "allottments or house" or "home" "lotts." There were himself, Caleb Heathcote, Capt. James Mott, William Penoir,[1] John Williams, Henry Disbrough, Alice Hatfield, John Disbrough, and Benjamin Disbrough.[2] This was to satisfy all persons desirous of settling in Mamaroneck, that there would be no difficulty with the natives. About five years later Colonel Heathcote suggested to the owners of the house lots that instead of keeping all the rest of the two mile bounds as undivided property, that they should have it laid out and divided among themselves in severalty. It was talked of, approved, and finally carried into effect by a mutual agreement under seal, made and executed by all the parties on the 19th of February 1706–7. The instrument accompanied by a well executed Map of the lots as laid out, into eight "Long Lotts" is in Colonel Heathcote's handwriting, and bears the autographic signatures of himself and all the other parties above named. It is in these words ;—

Mamoroneck ffeb. y^{e} 14th 1706–7.

The ffree holders of Mamoroneck whose names are hereunder written have mutually and unanimously agreed for dividing the Long or Upper Lotts in said Township as followeth—No. 1 containing 20 chains broad to James Mott, No. 2 containing 21 chains, and No. 3 containing 22 chains to William Penoir, No. 4 containing 21 chains to Henry Disbrow, No. 5 containing 18 chains to John Disbrow, No. 6 containing 20 chains to John Bloodgood, No. 7 containing 20 chains to Peter Hattfield, and No. 8 containing all the remainder of the land to the River to Caleb Heathcote, reserving out of the said Lotts the following Highways for the use and benefit of all the ffreeholders and Inhabitants one highway to be five Rods wide in the ffront of the said Lotts, one highway of four Rods wide through the Sixth Lott into the Woods Leading on the west side of Nelson's ffield into the Woods.

Signed sealed and
delivered in the presence of us

Joseph Purdy
Thomas White

Caleb Heathcote [L.S.]
his
Wm X Penoir [L.S.]
mark
James Mott [L.S.]
Henry Disbrow [L.S.]
John Disbrow [L.S.]
John Bloodgood [L.S.]
Peter Hattfield[3] [L.S.]

This instrument finally closed and determined forever all the common interests in the lands in the "two mile bounds" of Mamaroneck and made them the separate private property in fee of the various owners. To this there is apparent exception. The five rod

[1] So in the deed. He was a son of Robert Penoyer the original grantee

[2] Ancient copy in writer's possession, Rec. Lib. C. West. Co. p. 52.

[3] The original instrument came into the possession of the Griffen Family who purchased No. 6 from John Bloodgood, and now belongs to Mr. Charles Field Griffen to whom I am indebted for its examination. A facsimile cotemporary copy is in my own possession.

Highway they left at the South end of their "Great Lotts" or "Long Lots" was found to be useless, and the owners subsequently divided it up into nine small lots of about 10 acres each among themselves which ended the whole matter. These "Great" or "Long" Lots, as well as the small ones are all shown on the Map of the Manor of Scarsdale in this volume. They never belonged to any body but the grantees of the eight original house lots to which they were appendant and appurtenant, and with their division by the owners of those lots among themselves all their common rights ended, and the "two mile bounds" or "Mammaroneck Limmits" come to an end forever. The Proprietary rights in them of Colonel Heathcote of course were terminated by his agreeing to their division in fee.

Of the owner of the "allottments or house Lotts" as they were in 1701 the descendants of none except of Colonel Heathcote are now in possession of any part of them, although descendants of Hattfield and the



DISBROW HOUSE, ERECTED 1677.

Disbroughs are still well known residents and property holders in other parts of the present Town of Mamaroneck, among whom is Mr. William H. Disbrow as the name is now spelled, the Civil Engineer whose home is scarcely a musket shot from the old ancestral house. But there still stands upon the southern part of the "House Lott" of Henry Disbrough the identical house he built there in 1677 the year after he was deeded the lot by John and Ann Richbell, a memento of the earliest days of Mamaroneck, of the old family who built it, of New York and Westchester in the reign of Charles the Second, and of the Duke of York as its Lord Proprietor. It remained in the Disbrough family till within thirty or thirty-five years, and is now the property of the widow of the late well known Publisher of New York, Mr. Stringer of the firm of Stringer & Townsend. The accompanying cut gives a good idea of it but it is a rear view, the road shown in it and now existing in front of the house not having been opened till the year 1800. It faced the harbour, the side toward the present Union avenue, which at this place is built upon the old Westchester Path, being the original front of the house. It is built of rough hewn timber, and the coarse stone of the country even to the chimney above the roof. The siding has been renewed but always in the old style. It has long been used simply as a storehouse as it was understood when it passed out of the Disbrough family that it should never be pulled down. Its last owners of the name were two maiden ladies who, a few years before their deaths built in the same enclosure the present new and good frame house, which stands almost between the old one and the waters of the harbour. The old house has well borne its 209 years but in the course of things can not last much longer.

The "Middle Neck" or the "Great Neck" or "Munro's Neck" as it was styled after Mr. Peter Jay Munro became the owner of nine-tenths of it about the year 1790, has a curious history. But before it is given it may be better, though a little out of order, to state the facts more fully than they have been mentioned in treating of the Manor of Scarsdale, regarding the Pell-Richbell controversy about the West Neck. Both the Middle and the West Necks together form that part of Richbell's land, now in the town of Mamaroneck, which lay almost wedge shaped between the southern parts of the Manors of Scarsdale and Pelham.

The West Neck extended from the Cedar Tree or Gravelly Brook, (that now running to the west of Mr. Meyer's present house,) westward to another Brook, which was that which crossed the Westchester Path or Road just west of the present residence of Mr. Geo. Stephenson, and upon which for years stood a mill, for a very long time a snuff mill. This brook bore the name of Stony or Gravelly brook. Mr. Pell claimed that his eastern line was the Cedar Tree or Gravelly Brook, that now by the present Mr. Meyer's; Mr. Richbell claimed that the Stony or Gravelly Brook, also called Cedar or Gravelly Brook, that near Mr. Stephenson's, was his western line and Pell's eastern line. The controversy was a very hot one and grew out of the use of similar designations of streams in their respective Patents. After proceedings in the Court of Assizes, and before the Governor and Council the following Agreement was finally entered into by both parties; "Whereas There hath been a Matter or cause of Difference depending between Mr. John Richbell and Mr. John Pell for the which There was an order Issued forth from y^e^ Governor for a tryall by a Special Court of Assizes yet Notwithstanding upon proposal of an amicable agreement between them, and to prevent further trouble to his Honour the Governour and the Country by having a speciall Court, it is this Day mutually consented unto and agreed upon, that the Neck of Land and meadow between Ceeder or Gravelly brooke on the East, and Gravelly or Stony Creeke on y^e^ West shall be layed out by y^e^ Surveyor Generall and devided between them, so that each party shall have Meadow and upland equivalent and proportionable Quantity and

Quality alike. To this agreement both partys do joyntly consent in token of Amity and Friendship buriing in oblivion what unkindness hath formerly past between them and this to be a barr to all future Claymes or pretences that can or may be made on either side or by either of y^r heires Executors or Administrators for ever. As to what expense or charge^s Either party hath been at Each is to bear his own charges, but for the charges of the Surveys and such other Necessary expenses Relating to the Division of y^e Lands according to this agreement it is Equally to be Borne betweene them. In testimony Whereof the partyes to these presents have Later changeably Sett to their hands and Seals y^e 22 Daye of January in the 23^d year of his Maj^t Reigne Annoq^e Dom. 1671

John Pell (L S) [1]

Sealed and Delivered in y^e presence of

Henry Taylor
Allard Anthony

Remains (as all other Lawful Acts) of forces and There Surveyor may proceed accordingly

E. Andros"

Though thus confirmed by the above order of Gov. Andros, no survey was made, why it is now impossible to say, until the 22^d of May 1677, when it was done by Robert Ryder. His description is in these words;—

Whereas there hath been a difference between John Richbell and Mr. John Pell which by virtue of an order from the right Honourable Major Edmund Andross Esq^r. Governor General of New York, I have made a division of the within mentioned Neck of Land by and with the mutual consent of both parties, which is in manner and Form as is hereafter Expressed viz^t. That the said Richbell shall extend from Cedar Tree Brook or Gravelly Brook, south westerly fifty degrees to a certain mark't Tree, lying above the now Common Road, thirty and four chains in length, mark on the east with R. and on the West with P., thence Extending South Sixty three degrees East by certain marked Trees p'fixed Ending by a certain piece of Meadow at the salt creek which Runs up to Cedar Tree Brook or Gravelly Brook Extending from the first marked Trees Nor Nor West to Brunkes River by certain Trees in the said Line marked upon the West with P. and upon the east with R. performed the twenty-second day of May 1677.

p me Robert Ryder Surv.^r

The Preceding Surveyor above mentioned is mutually consented unto by the above mentioned Mr. John Richbell and Mr. John Pell in presence of us

Thomas Gibbs
Walter Webly
John Sharp
Joseph Carpenter"[2]

Thus was settled finally the line, afterwards of much importance, as being the east line of the 6000 acre tract carved out of Pelham Mannor and sold by Pell to Leisler for the Huguenots in 1689. And as also as taken for the line between the later towns of New Rochelle and Mamaroneck when erected in 1788 by the State Township Act of that year.

We now recur to the singular history of the Middle Neck.

It will be remembered that John Richbell purchased his three Necks from the Indians on the 23^d of September 1661, and obtained the Dutch Government's groundbrief and Transport (or 'License to purchase' and 'Patent') for them in May 1662, and his English Patent for them on October 16, 1668; and that the East Neck alone was sold by his widow in 1697 to Colonel Caleb Heathcote, and was included by him in his Manor of Scarsdale in 1701.

Five years after the date of his Patent for the three Necks, on the 20^th of November 1673, Richbell mortgaged the West neck to Cornelius Steenwyck, a rich burgomaster, of New Orange, as New York was called on its reconquest by the Dutch in that year, and a member of Governor Colve's Council, by the following singular instrument—one of the few Dutch Mortgages that have come down to our days;

"Appeared before as subscribed Aldermen of the City of New Orange, the honest Mr. John Richbell, Inhabitant of the place Marraneck, in the Main, within this province, who acknowledged and declared for himself, his heirs and executors, fully and duly to be indebted Mr. Cornelius Steenwyck Chief Council[3] of this Province, a just and neat sum of Two thousand and four hundred Guilders, Wampum,[4] being occasioned by and from delivered Merchandizes, disbursed Moneys, or otherwise, by him the said John Richbell, to his full satisfaction received and enjoyed of Mr. Cornelius Steenwyck, which aforesaid sum of 2400 G. he the said John Richbell by these acceptetly and promiseth to pay, or cause to be paid to Mr. Steenwyck aforesaid, or to him, that should or might obtain his action with good current Wampum, or to deliver the value thereof on or before the first of October next ensueing, without delay. For the better security of the aforesaid Mr. Steenwyck, in the full satisfaction of the sum aforesaid, he the said John Richbell bindeth and engageth for a special Mortgage and a Pledge certain of his the said John Richbell's Neck or piece of Land lying upon the Main, being the most Westerly neck of Land of the three, to him the said John Richbell in lawful Propriety belonging, pursuant to certain Patent of Governor Lovelace, dated 16 October, 1668, limiting the Neck of Land aforesaid, upon the gravelly or Stony Water or River, which are the Easterly Limits of Mr. Pell's Land, having at the South side the Sound, and runing thus

[1] This is from an ancient Copy of the document signed by Pell that was delivered to Richbell, in the writer's possession.

[2] Ancient copy in the writer's possession.

[3] So in the original, it means "of the chief council."

[4] The shell money of the Indians.

from the Marked trees, standing on the side[1] Neck, North Twenty miles into the Woods, and further in General, his Person, and Goods Moveable and immoveable, none excepted or reserved, submitting the same to all Courts, Laws, and Justices.

In witness whereof is this by the said Mr. John Richbell benevolently or willing.[2] The Esquires Aldermen Gelyn ver Plank and Lawrence Spiegel.

In the Record Books of this Town. Signed in New orange 20 9ber.[3] 1673."[4] This mortgage only covered the West Neck as settled in the agreement with Pell above mentioned.

On the 12th May, 1675, two years later, a mortgage was made by John Richbell on the Middle Neck alone, in consideration of "£250 Boston Silver" to Robert Richbell of Southampton, England for the term of 99 years, redeemable at any time in the term upon the payment of the principal and interest.[5]

The very next year, on the 17 July 1676 Richbell made still another mortgage to one Thomas Kelland of Boston, in consideration of £100 New England money, upon the *reversion* of the Middle Neck for the term of 99 years, and also the reversion of the West Neck for 99 years, after payment of the £2500 to Robert Richbell and the 2400 Guilders to Steenwyck.

These Richbell Mortgages on the Great Neck passed by assignments into the hands of Samuel Palmer, of Mamaroneck; the first of a family of that name who have been closely and honourably connected with Mamaroneck from that day to this, and as they are still robust and numerous, will probably so continue indefinitely for the future. A Palmer was elected to a town office at the first recorded election in Mamaroneck in 1797, and a Palmer is a Justice of the Peace in Mamaroneck to-day.[6]

By these assignments Samuel Palmer became legally entitled to the remainder of the term of 99 years in the Middle Neck, and by his will, dated March 18th, 1712–13, he devised all his right, title and interest in and to the Middle Neck to his four sons, Nehemiah, Obadiah, Sylvanus, and Solomon Palmer. They continued in possession, and on the 8th of February 1722, Edward Richbell, who describes himself as "of the Parish of St. James in the County of Middlesex,[7] in Great Britain heir-at-law of John Richbell theretofore of Mamaroneck in the Precincts of Westchester in the Government of New York (who was Eldest son and Heir of Edward Richbell late of the City of Westminister Esq. who was Eldest son and Heir of Robert Richbell of Southampton in Great Britain, deceased, who was the only Brother and Heir of the said John Richbell" released, in consideration of £380 sterling, to the above four Palmers, the Reversion and Equity of Redemption in the Middle Neck, and all his right title and interest therein. The four Palmers then conveyed a right in fee in that Neck to one Josiah Quinby.

But, the Steenwyck Mortgage of 1673, above mentioned, and another also made by John Richbell to him on the 6th of July, 1678, had been assigned to Frederick Philipse, and under his will passed to his daughter Eve, the wife of Jacobus Van Cortlandt of Yonkers, and of course under the law to him. These were both upon the West Neck. Both Van Cortlandt and Adolph Philipse his brother-in-law were Executors of Frederick Philipse's Will. They sent to England to Edward Richbell, and in consideration of the cancelling of John Richbell's mortgages and of £400 sterling in addition, he by Lease and Release of the 12th and 13th of August, 1723, conveyed to them all his right not only in the West Neck, but in all the lands possessed by John Richbell, except what he had released to the four Palmers above mentioned. Philipse and Van Cortlandt claimed that all the land the Palmers were entitled to under their deed from Edward Richbell lay between the Westchester Path and the Sound, and that they by their later conveyance from Edward Richbell were entitled to all between the Westchester Path northward to the Bronx. This claim the Palmers met by filing a bill in Chancery against Philipse and Van Cortlandt and on May 2, 1729, obtained a decree that the Proprietors of the Middle Neck under their mortgages and their Release from Edward Richbell, were entitled to have the Middle or Great Neck extended as far Northward as the East and the West Neck extended, and that Philipse and Van Cortlandt should be perpetually enjoined from making any claim or pretences to that part of the Great neck south and east of the Bronx River.

In 1731 an action between James De Lancey and wife and Mrs. Martha Heathcote against Josiah Quinby was tried at Westchester for a trespass in the Manor of Scarsdale committed by the defendant. The defendant pleaded that the premises were not in the Manor of Scarsdale, but in the Manor of Pelham, and produced Pell's Patent. The agreement between Pell and Richbell, above given, for dividing the land between Cedar Tree brook and Stony or Gravelly brook was then produced by the Plaintiffs, and the jury found a verdict for the plaintiffs with damages and costs.

A great question arose some thirty five years later in relation to the Middle Neck and the Manor of Scarsdale. Many persons had become interested in the former both as purchasers and as mortgagees. The Palmers had early sold undivided twelfth parts to various persons, among others "one twelfth and a half of one twelfth" were sold to Robert Livingston July 20th 1728. The purchasers had many of them died and left numerous heirs and among these was Mr.

[1] So in the original, it means "said."
[2] So in the original.
[3] November.
[4] From an ancient English translation in the writer's possession.
[5] Not recorded, copy in County's possession.
[6] William D. Palmer, Esq.
[7] Now usually called St. James's Piccadilly, though its legal designation is "St. James's, Westminister."

Livingston. There were heirs of many others, who in the same way had become possessed of interests larger or smaller in that Neck. The Palmers under the erroneous idea that the division line between the Middle and the East Neck ran due north and not Northwestward sold some three or four farms upwards of 500 acres altogether to one Cornwall who entered thereon. This land was within the Manor of Scarsdale and a part of the East Neck. Thereupon, the purchaser having in the mean time died, four ejectment suits were begun by Anne de Lancey and Lewis Johnston against his sons Benjamin Cornell (as the name soon began to be spelled and pronounced) Joseph Cornell, Peter Cornell, and John Cornell. This was in 1764. The number of persons who found themselves interested was so great as to greatly delay the proceedings. The question was where was the proper starting point between the Necks and what the true direction the line was to run. Finally it was at last determined by all parties to leave the question to a board of arbitrators. But so delayed was the business by the numbers it affected that the Articles of Agreement to arbitrate were not executed till the 21st of March 1769. The Parties were, "William, Earl of Stirling, Peter van Brugh Livingston, John Stevens, John Reid, Walter Rutherford, Robert R. Livingston, Gentlemen, William Smith Junr., Esq Thomas Smith Esq. Joseph Cornell, John Cornell, Benjamin Cornell, and Sarah Cornell, Executors of Peter Cornell, Edward Burling, Benjamin Palmer, John Palmer, Yeomen, Mary Ashfield Spinster, Sarah Morris as widow and Richard Morris Esqr, William Smith Junr, Esqr, Surviving Executors of Lewis Morris deceased, James Kinsey of New Jersey, and John Thomas junr. of Westchester, of the one part, and Anne De Lancey widow of the Honourable James De Lancey Esq. Deceased, and Lewis Johnston of Perth Amboy New Jersey, Physician of the other part."[1]

The Arbitrators chosen were "Samuel Wyllys of Jericho Long Island, Gentleman, Abraham Clark of Elizabethtown New Jersey, Stephen Crane of the same place, Gentlemen, William Nicoll Jr, of Islip, in Suffolk County Esq." These Parties gave bonds in £5000 each to abide by the award, and it was agreed that each side should bear its own expenses, except as to those for the services of the arbitrators and the running of the line in accordance with the award, of which each side was to pay one half. The point to be decided as stated in the articles of agreement was to fix the true point near and below Westchester Path from which the dividing line was to be run in a North Northwesterly direction.

The hearings were long and much evidence locally interesting was brought forward. The Counsel were, for Anne de Lancey and Lewis Johnston, Thomas Jones, for the other parties, Whitehead Hicks, John Morin Scott, and William Smith Junr, all but Scott subsequently Judges of the Supreme Court of the Province, two, Smith Junr, and Jones, were the two historians of the Province. Hicks was also Mayor of New York, and John Morin Scott was one of the Generals on the Whig side in the Revolution, and a lawyer of eminence. The award was unanimous and the operative part is in these few words, "we do award, order judge, and determine, that the place where the straight line of partition that is to run between the said two Necks or Tracts of Land shall begin in the middle of the creek or run of water leading from Dirty Swamp where the said Creek or Run of Water crosses Westchester old Path." All the original papers in this transaction bearing the autographs of all the distinguished men and other parties mentioned above are in the writer's possession in perfect preservation and from them this sketch has been drawn up. The result was to show the Cornell farms were in the Manor of Scarsdale where Colonel Heathcote had originally laid them out, except in one instance where the line went through one of the houses, which threw a little of the land west of the line and on the Middle Neck.

The Middle Neck continued in the hands of several owners, most of them members of the Palmer family until about 1790 when Mr. Peter J. Munro who a year or two before had bought the original Samuel Palmer House (now pulled down and which stood back and a little to one side of the two enormous elms now standing east of, and near, the Larchmont Railroad crossing at the Boston Road, and about 150 feet south of the road itself) and its farm, acquired all the other lands on the Neck, except the Scott House and the mill pond on the extreme western extremity of the Neck, and became the owner in fee simple of the whole. In his possession and that of his family it remained till the year 1845 when the part south of the Boston road, with the great house he built upon it was sold to the late Mr. Edward K. Collins. From him or his representatives it passed finally into the hands of the late Mr. Flint and his associates who upon it have erected the beautiful summer village called Larchmont.

It is sometimes styled Larchmont "Manor" but as this sketch shows the Neck upon which it is situated never was either a Manor or part of a Manor. The Munro farm was very large and the extent of the part of it below the Boston Road, some 330 acres, and the large Munro House now the chief Hotel, suggested the idea of calling it a "Manor" to the first organizers of the enterprise simply to give it prestige and name. No pleasanter place can be found near New York for a summer home.

The origin of the name Larchmont is a little odd, as neither larches nor hills are indigenous to the Neck. When Mr. Munro built his house, he wished to plant a quick growing grove of trees along the turnpike road west of his entrance. His Scotch gardener, a man of the name of Rae, suggested the

[1] From the original instrument in the writer's possession.

larches of his native land as they grow very rapidly indeed, and offered to send to his relatives in Scotland for seed. Mr. Munro assented, the seed came, the trees were planted, and answered the purpose admirably for about twenty or twenty five years, then they grew scraggy, began to die, and were gradually removed, the last of them during Mr. Collins' ownership, by whom the name was given to the place while it was his. This was the origin of the Scotch Larch in Westchester County, neither a handsome, nor long lived tree and not an acquisition of value. The "Mont" Mr. Collins evolved from his own consciousness, perhaps because the larch grows chiefly upon hills in its native land.

Larchmont possesses one of the largest and most flourishing yacht-clubs in the country. The beauty and accessibility of its situation and the wide approach to its shores by water gives it very great advantages, as well its position at the wide opening of the western end of Long Island Sound. The membership is about 400 and is increasing, and the club house on the water's edge is a fine and convenient building. Long Beach Point the western extremity of De Lancey's Neck extending out parallel to the shores of Larchmont forms a cove or small harbour, of great beauty directly in front of the village itself.

That part of the Munro farm west of the Turnpike was bought about 1840 by the late Judge James I. Roosevelt, who arranged the Cottage now the property of the family of the late Mr. George Vanderburg for his own residence. It has since been laid out in several small village plots, a large part of it is also owned by the Proprietors of Larchmont, through which runs the surface railway to the Larchmont station of the New Haven Railroad, which is upon this property. West of the Railroad but invisible from it on account of the forest, is "Hannah's Peak," the highest point on the Southeastern shores of Long Island Sound and one of the stations of the Coast Survey. In its neighborhood can also be seen a fine specimen of that natural curiosity, the Rocking Stone. It is an immense boulder so accurately poised that it can be moved without being overthrown.

The part of the East Neck which early in the last century acquired the name it has since borne of "de Lancey's Neck," remained continuously in that family without any of it being sold until 1848 when the late Mr. Thomas James de Lancey who had inherited the western part of it, with the assent of his uncle the late Rt. Reverend William H. de Lancey who had inherited the eastern part, sold his portion in large divisions to various parties. Its splendid situation, with its two beaches Long Beach and Scotch Beach, with Mamaroneck Harbour on its east side and De Lancey's Cove on its west side marked it out as a place for the fine seats and marine villas of gentlemen, with which its entire water front is now covered. The roads and drives upon it, and the marine and inland views it commands are very beautiful and extensive. The central portion is dotted also with the handsome residences of gentlemen, and on the high ground at the picturesque entrance to the Neck is a large and handsome Hotel in the midst of large grounds handsomely laid out through the good taste and enterprise of Mr. Thomas L. Rushmore the gentleman who built it and who dwells in the neighbourhood with his children around him, each with his or her family possessing handsome places of their own.

Upon Long Beach Point on the west extremity of the Neck stands the splendid home of Mr. Henry M. Flagler. This point, originally with a splendid beach on each side of it, juts into the Sound from the Body of the Neck. The late Mr. John Greacen bought it of Mr. Thomas J. de Lancey, and built a large double brick house, now a part of Mr. Flagler's magnificent mansion, at the western end of this unique situation, and surrounded the point with a huge wide stone sea wall upon the top of which he laid out a drive, which is without a rival of its kind on the American sea coast. The Neck itself is the "Satanstoe" of Fenimore Cooper's novel of that name and is therein generally described. To this point the late Mr. Greacen gave the name of "Orienta," the origin of which as he himself told the writer was this. After he got his house built he found that in the summer mornings, he could lie in bed and see the Sun rise directly out of the water far up the Sound, and therefore he called his place "Orient," but "subsequently" said he, finding that a little hamlet at Oyster-pond Point, Long Island, had appropriated that name, I just tacked an "a" to the end of it and called my place "Orienta." Being a musical name it is often heard as applied to the Neck itself, a fact Mr. Greacen said, he did not like "for it ought to be kept for the place I made, especially as everybody on the Neck laughed at me when I adopted it." Unfortunately it has been taken of late to designate drinking saloons &c in the village of Mamaroneck.

"Vergemere" the writer's place is at the East end of the Neck. It and Mr. Flagler's are the only places upon it which have a double water front, and where vessels can lie in safety in all winds. It is surrounded by old forest trees, is very handsomely laid out, and commands extensive and striking marine views. Between these two are the seats of Mr. James M. Constable, Mr. J. A. Bostwick, the Hon. David Dudley Field, Mr. Wm. G. Read, Miss Van Schaack, Mr. Ambrose McGregor, as well as those of Mr. Leonard Jacob, Mrs. Eldridge, Mr. Meigham, and that of the late James M. Miller, and Mr. James T. Burnet.

The town records of Mamaroneck consist of two volumes, one a small parchment covered folio, beginning only on the 2d of April, 1697, containing the records of the annual elections down almost to the present time, when it became full. The other is a

large folio about half full of deeds and miscellaneous papers among which are many freeing negro slaves under the state laws gradually abolishing slavery. It was opened in 1756.

The first entry in the records of Mamaroneck is as follows :

"Captain James Mott elected and chosen assessor for the ensuing year 1697, Samuel Palmer chosen supervisor, Henry Disbrow chosen collector and surveyor of the highways, William Palmer elected and chosen constable and recorder. All done by the freeholders and inhabitants of the above said place at a town meeting held at the house of Madam Richbil's on the 2d day of April 1697."

The entries of elections are made irregularly for a few years subsequently to the above date, but afterwards quite regularly. From an examination the following is a list of the supervisors and clerks of the town from the beginning as accurate as it can be made :

SUPERVISORS.

1697. Samuel Palmer.
1698–99, 1702. James Mott.
1707–8. Henry Disbrow.
1710–11. Samuel Palmer.
1712–14. Nehemiah Palmer.
1715–16. Silvanus Palmer.
1717. Josiah Quinby.
1718. John Griffen.
1719–20. Henry Fowler.
1721–22. Silvanus Palmer.
1723. Henry Fowler.
1724. Silvanus Palmer.
1725–26. Henry Fowler.
1727–42. Silvanus Palmer.[1]
1743. Underhill Budd.
1744. Nehemiah Palmer.
1745–47. Underbill Budd.
1748–58. John Stevenson.
Dec. 1758. John Townsend.[2]
1759–60. Reuben Bloomer.
1761–70. John Townsend.
1771–75. William Sutton.
1776. Reuben Bloomer.
1783–93. Gilbert Budd.
1794–97. Benjamin Griffen.
1798–1800. John P. De Lancey.
1801–2. Edward Merritt.
1803–6. Aaron Palmer.
1807–13. John Pinkney.
1814. John Peter De Lancey.[3]
1815. Monmouth Lyon.
1816. Aaron Palmer.
1817–19. John Pinkney.
1820–24. John B. Underhill.
1825–27. Aaron Palmer.
1828. John Morrill.
1829. Edwin Post.
1830. Henry Munro.
1831–32. James H. Guion.
1833–34. Monmouth Lyon.
1835–42. James H. Guion.
1843–45. Benjamin M. Brown.
1846. Stephen C. Griffen.
1847–49. Benjamin M. Brown.
1850. James H. Guion.
1851. Charles W. Hopkins.
1852. Louis Walsh.
1853. Zachariah Voorhees.
1854. Louis Walsh.
1855–58. John Morrell.
1859–60. William L. Barker.
1861. Louis Walsh.
1862–64. Jonas D. Hill.
1865–66. Louis Walsh.
1867. Jacob B. Humphrey.
1868. Schureman Halsted.
1869–70. Thomas L. Rushmore.
1871. James J. Burnet.
1872–76. Charles H. Birney.
1877. Matthias Banta, who has been continually re-elected to the present year, 1886, and for the last few years by a unanimous vote of all parties, although he is a strong Democrat.

TOWN CLERKS.

1697–99. William Palmer.
1702. Obadiah Palmer.
1708–15. Eliezer Gedney.
1718–54. Nehemiah Palmer.
1755–65. William Mott.
1766–70. John Townsend.
1771–1806. Gilbert Budd.
1807–16. Dr. David Rogers, Jr.[4]
1817–24. Monmouth Lyon.
1825–26. Guy C. Bayley.
1827. Coles Tompkins.
1828–30. Monmouth Lyon.
1831. Daniel D. T. Hadden.
1832–34. Walter Marshall.
1835. Horace B. Slaat.
1836. Amos F. Hatfield.
1837–41. Epenetus C. Hadden.
1842–45. Elijah G. Dixon.
1846 47. Edward Seaman.
1848. George Baxter.
1849–53. Edward Seaman.
1854–56. Joseph Hoffman.
1857–58. Edward Seaman.
1859. Joseph Hoffman.
1860–61. Edward Seaman.
1862–64. Joseph Hoffman.
1865–66. Albert Lyon.
1867–69. Jonas D. Hill.
1870. Albert Lyon.
1871. Jacob Buckter.
1872. John N. Boyd.
1873–74. Francis C. Corner.
1875–76. William A. Boyd.
1877. John C. Fairchild.
1878–79. Joseph H. McLoughlin.
1880. William A. Sickles.
1881. Joseph H. McLoughlin.
1882. William H. Lange.
1883. William A. Sickles.
1884–86. William H. Lange.

Space will not permit the introduction of much curious information contained in the town records which it was the intention to give, and which is found mixed up with the routine entries of town meetings, &c. &c.

The following entry however is of much importance showing as it does the burial place of John Richbell the first white man who bought Mamaroneck of the natives—the Father of the Town, his mother in law, and one of his daughters. As Mrs. Richbell his widow continued to live in Mamaroneck and survived till the first years of the eighteenth century, though the precise date of her death can not be found, it is most probable that she too is buried with her husband. There is no date to the entry, which shows beside the intimacy between the Richbell and the Disbrow families. The James Mott who makes this declaration was the husband of Richbell's daughter Mary whose burial is mentioned in it.

The Burial Place of Richbell.

"I James Mott do give and grant to Margaret Disbrow and her three sons Henery John and Benjamin all belonging to Momoronack to them and their famylies forever the Liberty of burying their dead, whether Father or Mother, husband or wife, brother or sister, son or daughter, in a certain peace of Land Laying near the Salt Meadow, where Mr. John Richbell and his wife's Mother, and my wife Mary Mott was buried in my home lot or feild adjoining to my house, written by William palmer Clerk of Momoronack by order of Capt James Mott."

I. Town Records 71.

The spot is on the property of Mr. Thomas L. Rushmore on the little knoll between the Harbour and De Lancey Avenue, marked by a few trees and a few half buried tombstones of a comparatively late date. How many of the Disbrows are buried there nought remains to tell. They have had for sixty or seventy years a cemetery of their own on West St. The last person whom the writer knows to have been buried on the knoll, was the venerable Quaker who once owned the farm and the knoll itself, Seaman Giles —and of whom he has a vivid recollection. It is the

[1] Died 1742. Nehemiah Palmer was elected supervisor in his stead.

[2] Elected in the place of John Stevenson, who had removed from the town.

[3] The candidates for supervisor in 1814 were Henry Merritt and John Pinkney. The result of the election was contested, and in June, 1814, the justice of the peace appointed Mr. De Lancey supervisor.

[4] Dr. Rogers and Gilbert Budd Horton were the candidates for town clerk in 1814. A contest took place between them over the result of the election, which was terminated in June of that year by the justices of the peace electing Dr. Rogers to the office.

oldest burial place of civilized man in the town, and it is hoped that some proper historic monument may yet mark this spot so sacred in the memory of the earliest settler of Mamaroneck and his family and friends.

There is one other entry in the town book of such an odd nature that it must be mentioned, an entry which shows the strength of an agricultural superstition very prevalent in the last century and which may linger still in some old fashioned regions.

"April 5th, 1785. The Freeholders and Inhabitants agree that the overseers of Highways are impowered to call on all the Men in their several Districts for the purpose of Destroying the Barbery bushes, so often as the said overseers shall think proper, until the whole are destroyed, any man refusing to come, if he is legally warned, shall forfeit 4*s*. for every day, to be recovered in the same manner as the fines for neglect of working the roads are, which fines shall be lay'd out as the overseers think proper." It was the popular belief of that day that the smut or blight in wheat and other grains was caused by these unfortunate barberry bushes, hence in Mamaroneck as in many other places, ridiculous as it seems at this day, they were proceeded against as public enemies.

The de Lanceys of New York so closely connected with the Province, and State, and the County of Westchester, are of French origin, the first of them in America having been driven from France by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, being a Huguenot. The annexed account of this family is mainly from Bolton's second edition of his History of Westchester County, which was drawn up from the authorities referred to in it, and later information from the late Bishop de Lancey and the present writer.

The de Lanceys of New York, are a branch of the ancient house of de Lancey in France, springing from Guy de Lancey, Ecuyer, Vicomte de Laval et de Nouvion, who in 1432, held of the Prince-Bishop of the Duchy of Laon, the fiefs of the four banier of Laval, and that of Nouvion.[1] These territories formed one of the fourVicomte-cies of the Laonnois, a division of the old province of the "Isle of France," bordering on Picardy.

The manuscript genealogies of this family are preserved in the Armorial General de la France 2d Register, 2d volume, in the National Library of France[2] at Paris, and in the archives of the department of the Aisne, at the city of Laon. The latter have been given in the Dictionnaire Historique du Department de' l'Aisne of M. Melville.[3] The descent is thus given from the French authorities.[4]

The prefixed Roman numerals are so used in the French genealogies to denote the different individuals bearing the same Christian name.

1432. Guy de Lancy, Ecuyer[5] Vicomte de Laval et de Nouvion. Wife, Anne de Marcilly.

1436. Jean I, (John) de Lancy, 2d Vicomte.

1470. Jean II, (John) de Lancy, 3d Vicomte, Deputy to the States-General at Tours in 1484, present at the battles Fornoue and Ravvenna.

1525. Charles I, de Lancy, 4th Vicomte. Wives, 1. Nicole St. Pere, issue, one daughter, married Antoine Pioche, of Laon. 2. Marie de Villiers, issue two sons, Charles 6th Vicomte, and Christophe, Seigneur de Raray.

1535. Charles II, de Lancy, 5th Vicomte. Wife, Isabel Branche, married 15th April, 1534; issue, Charles 6th Vicomte, Jacques (James) Claude, and a daughter Barbe.

1569. Charles III, de Lancy, 6th Vicomte. Wives, 1. Madeline Le Brun, married 21st of July, 1569; issue, Charles IV., de Lancy, Seigneur de Cocquebine, (who died in 1667, leaving by Francoise Crochart, his first wife; Charles V, de Lancy, Seigneur de Charlemont, who died unmarried. By his second wife Marthe de Resnel, the Seigneur de Cocquebine, who was created a Counsellor to the King, 20th of March, 1652, by whom he had no children.)

Charles III, de Lancy, 6th Vicomte, was pres-
1590. ent at the battle of Ivry in 1590. 2. By his second wife Claude de May, married 15th Janu-
1593. ary, 1593, he had issue, Charles de Lancy, Sieur de Suine et de Niville, Antoine, a Canon of the Cathedral of Laon, and Claude.

1611. Charles de Lancy, Sieur de Suine et de Niville,
1653. born in 1611, married 25th June, 1653, Jeanne Ysore, was created a Counsellor of State to the
1689. King in 1654, and died 23d of November, 1689, leaving issue, one child,—

Charles Ambroise de Lancy, Seigneur de Ni-
1702. ville et du Condray, de Frenoi, et d'Orgemont, who married 9th January, 1702, Marie Madeleine Labbe. He was confirmed in his nobility
1697. by a decree of the King in Council, Nov. 30th, 1697. He had issue, an only son,—

1707. Pierre Charles de Lancy, Seigneur de Niville et de Blarus, born 5th of June, 1707; an officer of
1750. the King's Guards, who died unmarried in 1750.

Christophe de Lancy, Signeur de Raray, above named, the younger of the two sons of Charles de Lancy 4th, Vicomte de Laval et de
1525. Nouvion, created Baron de Raray, having no issue by his first wife, Barbe de Louen, married
1553. Secondly, January 19th, 1553, Francoise Lami, daughter of Pierre Lami, Seigneur de la Morliere.

[1] Sometimes spelled "Nouvian." These lands and villages are situated a few miles from the city of Laon in the present department of the Aisne.

[2] The official MSS. of this work, the great National Register of the French Noblesse, were first printed by order of Louis XV., in 1738.

[3] In two vols. 8vo., published at Paris and at Laon in 1865.

[4] Le Nobiliaire de Picardie, Paris, 1693, title "Lanei," Dictionnaire de la Noblesse de France, by Chenaye Desbois, vol. viii: title "Lancy;" Annuaire de la Noblesse of Borel d'Hauterive for 1855, "Lancy—Raray."

[5] Ecuyer, denotes a gentleman entitled to use coat-armor.

1584. He died in 1584, leaving a son Nicholas de Lancy, second Baron, Treasurer of Gaston, first Duke of Orleans who married Lucrèce de Lancise, a Florentine lady, and had four children. 1. Henry de Lancy, third Baron, who
1654. was created January 17th, 1654, Marquis De Rarai. 2. Francois de Lancy, Seigneur D'Aramont, called the Chevalier de Raray, who was killed at the siege of Conde, 17th August, 1674, unmarried; and 3. Charles de Lancy, Seigneur de Ribecourt, et Pimprè, who married Madeleine d'Aguesseau and died without issue in 1675. 4. Madeleine de Lancy, married 11th November, 1619, Charles de Mornay, Seigneur de Montchevreuil.

Henry de Lancy, above named, 1st Marquis de Raray, married January 30th, 1633, Catharine d'Angennes, daughter of Louis d'Angennes, Seigneur de la Loupe and his wife Francoise, daughter of Odet, Seigneur d'Auberville, Bailly of the city of Caen, in Normandy, by whom he had, 1. Gaston Jean Baptiste de Lancy, 2d Marquis; 2. Charles de Lancy-Raray, killed at the siege of Lille, in 1667, unmarried; and 3. Marie Charlotte, wife of Louis des Acres, Marquis de l'Aigle, who died in Paris, August 27th, 1734, aged 82 years.[1]

1660. Gaston Jean Baptiste de Lancy, second Marquis de Raray, married 4th May, 1660, Marie Luce Aubery, daughter of Robert, Marquis de Vatan, and had two sons, Charles Henry de Lancy, third Marquis, made a page to the King
1679. in 1679, who died shortly after, unmarried, and Gaston Jean Baptiste de Lancy, who succeeded his brother as fourth Marquis and died unmarried not long after. Both these brothers died
1680. in 1680; and with them ended the males of this branch of the family. Their sisters were five, Henriette, wife of the Marquis de Crevecœur; Catharine, wife of the Seigneur de la Billarderie;[2] Francoise, died unmarried; Annette, died unmarried, and Marie Luce, wife of the Comte de Nonant, who died 16th March, 1743, aged eighty.

[1] Le Palais d'LHonneur, Paris, 1664, page 312, family "d'Angennes."

[2] In front of the altar at the Church of Vreberie, (department of Oise, France), there is a tombstone erected to this lady, inscribed:—

D. O. M.
Ict repose
Haute etpuissante Dame
Madame Francoise de Lancl Rari, dame
Des Terres et Seigneuries, d'Haramont, Ribecourt,
Pimpre St. Germain et Ruy, en partie Chatelaine
Hereditaire et engagiste des Domaines de Bothizy
et Verberie, possides par ses peres de puisplus
deux cents ans veuve de Messire Barthelemi de
Flahaut Chevelier seigneur de la Billarderie Maitre
de camp de Cavalerie, exempt des gardes du corps
du Roi tue a la batalle de Mal plaquet. La dite
Dame de la Billarderie est decedee le 25 Juin, 1624.
agree de 61 ans.
Priez pour son âme

The Arms are blazoned in the "Armorial Genéral de la France," thus, "Armes; or, a l'aigle eployee de sable, charge sur l'estomac d'un ecusson d'azur, a trois lances d'or, posees en pal, pointes en haut." In English, Arms: Or, an eagle wings displayed, sable, charged on the breast with a shield azure, three tilting lances or, in pale, points upward.

On becoming a British subject, Etienne (or Stephen) de Lancy modified these arms which had originated before the use of crests in heraldry, to make them more like those of English families, most of which have crests; and though not registered in the English College of Arms, they appear as so modified in most English heraldic works, and have since been so borne in America, notably on the official seal of his son James de Lancey, as Lt. Governor and Captain General of New York. They are thus blazoned:—Arms; Azure, a tilting lance proper, point upward with a pennon argent bearing a cross gules fringed and floating to the right, debruised of a fess, or. Crest; a sinister arm in armor embowed, the hand grasping a tilting lance, pennon floating, both proper. Motto; Certum voto pete finem.

The name of this family, anciently spelled "Lanci," and later "Lancy," in France, was anglicised by Etienne de Lancy on being denizenized a British subject in 1686, after which time he always wrote his name Stephen de Lancey—thus inserting an "*e*" in the final syllable. The "*de*" is the ordinary French prefix, denoting nobility.

The Seigneur Jacques (James) de Lancy, abovenamed, second son of Charles de Lancy, fifth Vicomte de Laval et de Nouvion, was the ancestor of the Huguenot branch, the only existing one, of this family. His son the Seigneur Jacques de Lancy of Caen, married Marguerite Bertrand, daughter of Pierre Bertrand of Caen, by his first wife, the Demoiselle Firel, and had two children, a son Etienne (or Stephen) de Lancey, born at Caen, October 24, 1663, and a daughter, the wife of John Barbarie.[3] On the revocation of the edict of Nantes, Stephen de Lancey was one of those who, stripped of their titles and estates, fled from persecution—leaving his aged mother, then a widow, in concealment at Caen, he escaped to Holland, where, remaining a short time, he proceeded to England, and taking out letters of denization as an English subject at London, on the 20th of March, 1686, he sailed for New York, where he arrived on the 7th of June following. Here with three hundred pounds sterling, the proceeds of the sale of some family jewels, the parting gift of his mother, he embarked in mercantile pursuits. By industry and strict application to business, he became a successful mer-

[3] MSS., "Bertrand" Genealogy:—John Barbarie and his family came to New York in 1668, in which year (on 5th January), he and his sons Peter, and John Peter, were denizened as English subjects in London. He was subsequently a merchant in New York, in partnership with his brother-in-law, Stephen de Lancy, and a member of the Council of the Province.

chant and amassed a large fortune. He was a highly esteemed and influential man, and held, through all his life, honorable appointments in the councils of the city, as well as in the Representative Assembly of the Province. He was elected Alderman of the west ward of the city, five years after his arrival, in 1691. He was representative from the city and county of New York, in the Provincial Assembly, from 1702 to 1715, with the exception of 1709; and in 1725, on the decease of Mr. Provoost, he was elected again to that body. The following year he was re-elected, and continued in office until 1737; a service of twenty-six years in all. In 1716, being a vestryman of Trinity church, he contributed £50, the amount of his salary as Representative to the General Assembly, to buy a city clock for that church, the first ever erected in New York. To him and Mr. John Moore, his partner, the city is also indebted for the introduction of fire engines, in 1731.[1] He was one of the principal benefactors of the French church, Du St. Esprit, established in New York by the refugees who fled upon the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and a warm friend of the French Huguenots at New Rochelle. The following letter addressed by him, 1591, to his friend Alexander Allaire, is still preserved among the public records at New Rochelle.

NIEU YORK, LE 27 JULIET, 1691.

MONS. ALLAIRE:

Monsieur Notre Amy Mons. Bonheller, avant de partir me donnera ordre qu'en cas quil vinse à mourir il soit fair donnation de ses térres à sa filleule votre fille, Sy vous pouvez faire quelque Benefice des dits terres. Soit à Couper des arbres ou a faire des foins sur les prairies vous le pouves a l'exclusion de qui quese soit, Je suis.

Mons. votre trè humble serviteur,

ETIENNE DE LANCEY.

Ceu est la vérétable coppie de l'original.[2]

He was a vestryman of Trinity church, New York at the time of his death, in 1741. He married January 23d, 1700, Anne Van Cortlandt, daughter of Stephanus Van Cortlandt (whose family was then one of the most opulent and extensive in the Province). Stephen de Lancey at his death in 1741 left issue surviving, James, Peter, Stephen, John, Oliver, Susan and Anne. Of these sons Stephen and John died bachelors. Susan married Admiral Sir Peter Warren, and Anne the Hon. John Watts of New York. The eldest son, James de Lancey, a man of great talent, was born in the City of New York, 27th November, 1703, and received his education at the University of Cambridge, England. He was a fellow commoner of Corpus Christi College (where he was styled the "handsome American") and studied law in the Temple. In 1725, he returned to New York, and on the decease of John Barbarie, his uncle by marriage, was appointed by George II. to succeed him in the Provincial Council. He took his seat at the board, January 29, 1729, and held it to April 9, 1733, when he was appointed Chief Justice of New York and continued so the remainder of his life. In 1753, on the accession of Sir Danvers Osborne as Governor, in the place of George Clinton, he received the commission of Lieutenant-Governor, which had been conferred upon him in 1747 by George II. and had been kept back by Clinton until this time. The oath of office was administered October 10, 1753. The tragical death of Sir Danvers Osborn by suicide two days afterwards, occasioned the elevation of Mr. de Lancey to the Gubernatorial chair, which he occupied till the 2d of September, 1755, when the new Governor, Admiral Sir Charles Hardy arrived, who administered the government till the 2d of July, 1757. Preferring a naval command Hardy resigned, and sailed in the expedition to Louisburgh, and Mr. De Lancey again took the reins of Government.

The ministry of England wished to keep the command of New York in the hands of Mr. de Lancey, but it was then, as it is to this day, a rule of the English Government never to appoint a native colonist to the supreme command over his own colony. To effect their object in this case without violating their rule, they decided not to appoint any new Governor as long as Mr. de Lancey lived; he therefore remained the Governor of New York under his commission as Lieutenant-Governor until his death, some three years afterwards, on the 30th of July, 1760.[3]

"On the 19th of June, 1754, Governor de Lancey convened and presided over the celebrated Congress of Albany, the first Congress ever held in America, over which he presided. This was a Congress of delegates from all the colonies, which the home government directed the Governor of New York to hold, for the purpose of conciliating the Indian nations who were invited to attend it; of renewing the covenant chain and attaching them more closely to the British interest, and comprising all the provinces in one general treaty to be made with them in the King's name, and for no other purpose.[4] Speeches and presents were made to the Indians who promised to do all that was asked of them, but no formal treaty whatever was concluded. The Congress voted instead, that the delegation from each colony except New York, should appoint one of their number, who together should be a committee to digest a plan for a general union of all the colonies.

The choice of the New York committee-man was left to Governor de Lancey, who, acting most impartially, appointed his political opponent, William Smith, Esq., the elder.[5] This movement, which was not within the objects of the Congress as defined in

[1] Miscellaneous works, by Gen. de Peyster; De Peyster Gen. Ref. p. 54.

[2] Copied from original MSS. in Rec. of New Rochelle.

[3] For a full biographical sketch of Governor De Lancey, see Documentary History of New York, vol. IV, p. 1037.

[4] Virginia and Carolina did not send delegates, but desired to be considered as present. Doc. Hist. N. Y., II, 567.

[5] See Letter of Lords of Trade, directing the holding of the Congress, and the minutes of its proceedings in full, in Doc. Hist. N. Y., II, 555, and N. Y. Col. Hist., vi. p. 853.

the letter of the Board of Trade above mentioned, resulted in the adopting of a plan of a union to be made by an act of Parliament, which, after the provisions were resolved on, was put into form by Benjamin Franklin, who was a delegate from Pennsylvania, and which was not decided upon, but merely sent to the different provinces for consideration.

Before the motion for the appointment of this committee was made, Governor de Lancey, being in favor of the colonies uniting for their own defence, proposed the building and maintaining, at the joint expense of the colonies, of a chain of forts covering their whole exposed frontier, and some in the Indian country itself. But this plan, like the other, was without effect upon the Congress; for, as he tells us himself, "they seemed so fully persuaded of the backwardness of the several assemblies to come into joint and vigorous measures that they were unwilling to enter upon the consideration of the matters."[1] His idea seems to have been for a practical union of the colonies for their own defense to be made by themselves; whilst that of the committees, who despaired of a voluntary union, was for a consolidation of the colonies to be enforced by act of Parliament. Neither plan, however, met with favor in any quarter, and the Congress effected little but the conciliation of the Indians.[2]

In the autumn of 1754, the Governor suggested to the Assembly the system of settling lands in townships instead of patents, a measure which, being passed by them, rapidly increased the population and prosperity of the colony.[3]

On the 31st of October, 1754, Governor de Lancey signed and passed the charter of King's (now Columbia) college, in spite of the long and bitter opposition of the Presbyterians, led by Mr. William Livingston. So decided were they against the Episcopalians at this time, and so determined were the efforts of Mr. Livingston to break down the college, that, though signed and sealed, the charter was not delivered in consequence of the clamor, till May 7th, 1755, when, after an address, Governor de Lancey presented it to the trustees in form.[4]

"No American had greater influence in the colonies than James de Lancey. Circumstances, it is true, aided in raising him to this elevation—such as education, connections, wealth, and his high conservative principles; but he owed as much to personal qualities, perhaps, as to all other causes united. Gay, witty, easy of access, and frank, he was, personally, the most popular ruler the Province ever possessed, even when drawing tightest the reins of Government."[5]

[1] See his speech to the Assembly of August 20th, 1754. Ass. Jour., II, 386, 387.

[2] See the proceedings of the Congress. Doc. Hist. N. Y., II, 386, 387.

[3] Assembly Journal, II, for September, 1754.

[4] Doc. Hist. N. Y. IV, 1051.

[5] Doc. Hist. N. Y., p 1057.

The death of Governor James de Lancey, which took place on the 30th of July, 1760, was an event which had a great influence in the affairs of the Province. He was found expiring upon that morning, seated in his chair in his library, too late for medical aid. His funeral took place on the evening of the 31st of July, 1760. The body was deposited in his family vault, in the middle aisle of Trinity Church, the funeral service being performed by the Rev. Mr. Barclay, in great magnificence; the building was splendidly illuminated. The accounts of the funeral and the procession from his house in the Bowery to the church, filled columns of the papers of the day.[6]

The following particulars are copied from a memorandum written by the elder John Watts, of New York, in 1787:

"James de Lancey was a man of uncommon abilities in every view, from the law to agriculture, and an elegant, pleasant companion—what rarely unites in one person; it seemed doubtful which excelled, his quick penetration or his sound judgment; the first seemed an instant guide to the last. No man in either office, (Chief Justice or Lieut. Governor,) had more the love and confidence of the people; nor any man, before or since, half the influence. He was unfortunately taken from us in July, 1760, so suddenly that his very family suspected no danger. We had spent, very agreeably, the day before on Staten Island; after ten at night he left my house perfectly well, in the morning he was as usual, but about nine a servant was dispatched to tell me his master was very ill. I mounted instantly and hurried to his house in Bowery Lane, but on the way was alarmed by a call 'that all was over,' and too true I found it; he sat reclined in his chair, one leg drawn in, the other extended, his arms over the elbows, so naturally, that had I not been apprized of it, I certainly should have spoken as I entered the room. Nobody but his youngest daughter, a child, was present at the time, so little did the family apprehend the least danger. Never did these eyes behold such a spectacle, or did my spirits feel such an impression. The idea affects me whenever I think of it; to lose such a companion, such a counsellor, such a friend."

James de Lancey married as above stated, Anne, eldest daughter and co-heiress of the Hon. Caleb Heathcote, Lord of the Manor of Scarsdale. By her, he had four sons; first, James; second, Stephen; third, Heathcote; fourth, John Peter; and four daughters; first, Mary, wife of William Walton, who died in 1767; second, Susannah, born 18th November, 1737, died a spinster in 1815; third, Anne, born 1746, and died in 1817, who married Thomas Jones, Justice of the Supreme Court of New York, author of the History of New York during the Revolutionary War; and Martha who died a spinster, aged 19, in 1769.

James De Lancey, the eldest son of the Lieutenant-Governor, born in 1732, was the head of the political party, called by his name, from his father's death to the Revolution and its leader in the Assembly of the Province. He married, August 17th, 1771, Margaret Allen of Philadelphia, daughter of William Allen, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, whose sister was the wife of Governor John Penn of that Province. The late Mrs. Harry Walter Livingston (born Mary Allen) who died in 1855, was a niece of these two sisters. James de Lancey had two sons, Charles in early life a British naval officer, and James, Lieut-Colonel of

[6] Parker's *Post Boy* and other newspapers.

the First Dragoon Guards; both died bachelors, the former May 6th, 1840, and the latter May 26th, 1857; and three daughters, Margaret, married July 17th, 1794, Sir Jukes Granville Clifton Jukes, Bart. and died June 11th, 1804 without leaving children; Anna and Susan who both died spinsters, the first, August 10th, 1851, and the last April 7th, 1866.

Stephen the second son of Lieutenant-Governor de Lancey was the proprietor of what is now the town of North Salem in this county, which came to his father as part of his share in the Manor of Cortlandt, which town Stephen de Lancey settled. He built a large double dwelling, which he subsequently gave to the town for an Academy which is still in existence.[1] He married Hannah Sackett, daughter of Rev. Joseph Sackett of Crom Pond and died without issue May 6th, 1795. Heathcote, the third son of the Lieutenant-Governor, died young before his father.

John Peter de Lancey, the fourth son of Lt. Governor de Lancey, was born in the city of New York, July 15th, 1753, and died at Mamaroneck, January 30th, 1828. He was educated in Harrow school in England, and at the military school at Greenwich. In 1771, he entered the regular army as Ensign, and served up to the rank of captain in the 18th, or Royal Irish Regiment of Foot. He was, also, for a time by special permission, Major of the Pennsylvania Loyalists, commanded by Col. William Allen.

He received the Heathcote estates of his mother, in the Manor of Scarsdale; and having retired from a military life, in 1789 returned to America and resided at Mamaroneck. He built a new house, still standing on Heathcote Hill, the site of his grandfather Heathcote's great brick manor-house, which was accidentally burnt several years prior to the Revolution. He married 28th September, 1785, Elizabeth Floyd, daughter of Col. Richard Floyd of Mastic, Suffolk County, the head of that old Long Island family, and had three sons and five daughters. The sons were, 1. Thomas James, a lawyer, who died in 1822, at the early age of 32, leaving by his wife Mary, daughter of Thomas Ellison, an only child, a son, also named Thomas James, who married Frances Augusta Bibby, and died in 1859, without having had issue. 2. Edward Floyd, born 18th June, 1795 and died a bachelor, 19th October 1820. 3. William Heathcote, born 8th October, 1797, at Mamaroneck, and died at Geneva, New York, April 5, 1865, the late Bishop of Western New York.

The daughters were five in number. 1. Anne Charlotte, born 17th September, 1786, married 10th December, 1827; John Loudon McAdam, the celebrated originator of McAdamized roads,[2] and died at Hoddesdon, in England, 29th May, 1852, without issue. 2. Susan Augusta, wife of James Fenimore Cooper, the eminent American Author, born 28th January, 1792, married 1st January, 1811,[3] and died 20th of January, 1852. 3. Maria Frances, born August 3d, 1793; died 17th of January, 1806. 4. Elizabeth Caroline, born 4th March, 1801, and died, single, 25th February, 1860. 5. Martha Arabella, born 10th January, 1803, who died in May 1882.

William Heathcote de Lancey, the first Bishop of Western New York, was born at Heathcote Hill, Mamaroneck, October 8th, 1797.

After attending school at Mamaroneck, and then at New Rochelle, where his teacher was Mr. Waite, father of the present Chief Justice Waite of the Supreme Court of the United States, he was sent to the academy of the Rev. Mr. Hart, at Hempstead, L. I., and on the death of that gentleman, was transferred at the suggestion of his father's personal friend, the Hon. Rufus King, to that of the Rev. Dr. Eigenbrodt, at Jamaica. Entering Yale College in 1813, Mr. de Lancey graduated in 1817, and at once commenced the study of theology with the celebrated Bishop Hobart, as a private student. He was ordained a deacon by that prelate on the 28th of December, 1819, and a priest on March 6th, 1822.

Mr. de Lancey married on the 22d of November, 1820, Frances, third daughter of Peter Jay Munro, of New York, and of Mamaroneck, the distinguished lawyer, only child of the Rev. Dr. Harry Munro, the last English Rector of St. Peter's church, Albany, N. Y., by his third wife, Eve Jay, daughter of Peter Jay, the first of that name in Rye, (one of whose younger brothers was Chief Justice John Jay) by his wife Margaret, daughter of the Hon. Henry White, of the Council of the Province of New York, and his wife Eve Van Cortlandt, of Yonkers.

While a divinity student Mr. de Lancey held the first services of the Episcopal Church in Mamaroneck; and with the aid of his father, John Peter de Lancey and Peter Jay Munro, who were its first wardens, founded the Parish of St. Thomas in that village.

After serving for short periods as deacon in Trinity church, and in Grace church, New York, he was invited by the venerable Bishop White of Pennsylvania to be his personal assistant in the "Three United Churches" of Christ church, St. Peter's, and St James in Philadelphia, of which he was also the Rector. Mr. de Lancey accepted this position and removed to Philadelphia, where he continued to reside in the closest and most confidential relations with Bishop White, until the death in 1836, of that great and venerable prelate, the first Bishop of the American Church, consecrated by Anglican Bishops.

During this period, in 1827, in his thirtieth year, Mr. de Lancey was chosen Provost of the University

[1] See Town of North Salem.

[2] She was his second wife. His first wife was Glorianna Nicoll of Suffolk County, Long Island; a first cousin of Mrs. John Peter de Lancey, the mother of his second wife.

[3] This marriage was solemnized in the house of Mr. de Lancey, at Heathcote Hill.



of Pennsylvania, that old "College in Philadelphia" founded by Benjamin Franklin; and also received the degree of D.D., from his Alma Mater, Yale College—being the youngest man upon whom, up to that time, she had conferred that honor. He remained in the Provostship five years, having brought the University up to a very flourishing condition, when he resigned to resume his profession and was elected assistant minister of St. Peter's church, Philadelphia, with the reversion of the Rectorship upon the death of Bishop White.

That event occurring in 1836, Dr. de Lancey then became Rector of St. Peter's and remained such until 1839, when, upon the division of the State of New York into two Dioceses, he was elected Bishop of that part of the State, west of Utica, and consecrated Bishop of Western New York, at Auburn, May 9th, 1839, and took up his residence at Geneva in Ontario County, a town nearly in the centre of the new Diocese the same year.

After a long, distinguished and successful episcopate of twenty-seven years, Bishop de Lancey died in his own house in Geneva, on the 5th of April, 1865, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. "In him," said a writer of the day, "the Church in America loses the further services of one of her oldest and wisest Bishops. Descended from one of the oldest and best families in this country—which dates far back in our colonial history, and was from the first one of the staunchest pillars of the Church—Bishop de Lancey had also the good fortune to be personally connected with the leading minds in our American branch of the Church Catholic. After studying for holy orders under Bishop Hobart, and being ordained by him both Deacon and Priest, he became assistant to the venerable Bishop White, and continued in the closest and most confidential intercourse with him to his death in 1836. * * * During his connection with the Diocese of Pennsylvania, he filled numerous posts of dignity and useful service, among which were the Provostship of the University of Pennsylvania, the Secretaryship of the House of Bishops, and of the Pennsylvania Convention; his activity, high character and living influence, were inferior to those of no other Priest in the Diocese. This early promise was not disappointed, but abundantly fulfilled, in his career as the first Bishop of Western New York. He was one of the men whom nature had marked out for a ruler among his fellows. With sound principles, earnest devotion, personal gravity, and spotless purity of life, he possessed a clearness of head, a keen knowledge of human nature, and a coolness, caution, readiness, and boldness, which all combined in making him a successful Bishop. His skill in debate was remarkable, and was fully equalled by his mastery of all the resources of parliamentary tactics, either for carrying a measure which he favored, or defeating one to which he was opposed. His vigilance and unflinching tenacity were fully on a par with his other qualities; and yet his courtesy and gentlemanly bearing, together with a pleasant touch of humor, so lubricated the friction of every contest, that no undue heat remained on either side when the struggle was over. No higher testimony could be given to the manner in which he discharged his high office, than the fact of great and steady growth in his Diocese, together with a maintenance of an internal harmony, unity and peace, such as no one of our great Dioceses has been able to equal, much less surpass; nor was he ever the subject of systematic attack from outside of his own jurisdiction. But his care was not limited to his own immediate charge. While Hobart College, and De Veaux College, and the Theological Training School, and other flourishing Church schools, manifest his power of organization and maintenance, and his success in rallying aid by means of the confidence which his personal and official character inspired, he never neglected the General Institutions of the Church. Not only in General Convention was he one of the strong men of the Upper House; but in the Board of Missions, in the Church Book Society, in the General Theological Seminary, he has been among the foremost, sometimes the one of all others to lead the way at critical moments, and to sound the call to which others were glad to rally. His clear-sightedness, indeed, sometimes made him a little in advance of his time; and no truer proof of wisdom could be given by a tenacious man than the promptness with which he dropped a subject when satisfied that it was not yet ripe for action. One case of this kind was in regard to the General Theological Seminary, which he foresaw must sooner or later change its form from a general to a local institution; and about twenty years ago he proposed it in the Board. The proposal failed, and was not renewed. The time for that change is much nearer now than it was then, and the shape which it will take, will probably be different in some important respects from Bishop de Lancey's ideas at that time.[1] But his foresight as to the coming change will continue on record. Another and still more important subject was also introduced first by him into General Convention—the adoption of the Provincial System. Bishop White, indeed, had sketched out the plan long before, and he had taken it from the universal system of the Church in all ages and countries; but Bishop de Lancey was the first to propose it, formally, to the Legislature of the Church. The time had not come; and the Bishop wisely let it sleep thereafter; but here, as before, the proof of his foresight as to the approaching and certain needs of the Church is written in the records of her institutions. Bishops of more brilliance in some departments, of more moving eloquence, of more sympathetic temperaments, of more personal popularity, of more rapid visible success, we may behold; but a Bishop more

[1] The change did not come till about fifteen or sixteen years after Bishop de L.'s death, when the Seminary was totally reorganized as it now is.

sagacious, more steady, more true, in laying the foundations of the Church, like a wise master-builder, we never expect to see."

John Peter De Lancey by will (dated 28th of January, 1823) devised his property in this town to Thomas James De Lancey, the only child of his deceased son Thomas James, and to his son William Heathcote De Lancey the Bishop of Western New York (except a portion of the western end of De Lancey's Neck which he had conveyed in his life time to his deceased son Thomas James, who had devised the same to his only child Thomas James the younger). All the property of Thomas James the younger lay upon the western part of de Lancey's Neck. The eastern part of that Neck, the Heathcote Hill tract, and sedge lots, with the other lands of John Peter de Lancey in Mamaroneck passed to the late Bishop de Lancey, who devised the same to his four surviving children, Edward Floyd, John Peter, William Heathcote, Jr., and Margaret, wife of Thomas F. Rochester, M.D. The Heathcote Hill estate was devised to them equally, and subsequently by purchase of the shares of his brothers and sister became the sole property of Edward Floyd de Lancey, the present proprietor. Thomas James de Lancey, the younger, sold his part of de Lancey's Neck in his lifetime, and it is now held by many owners. The eastern part, has now been sold by the children of Bishop de Lancey except the extreme south-eastern part, the country seat of Edward F. de Lancey.

Peter de Lancey, second son of Etienne de Lancey the Huguenot, prominent in the affairs of the Province, Member of Assembly from Westchester for many years, and High Sheriff was born 26 August, 1705, and died 17 October, 1770; he married Elizabeth daughter of Gov. Cadwallader Colden Jan. 7th 1737–8 and had issue twelve children. 1. Stephen a lawyer, Recorder of Albany, and Clerk of Tryon County; 2. John succeeded his father as Member for Westchester and was also High Sheriff of the County, married Miss Wickham and had an only child a daughter who was the wife of the Hon. Christopher Yates, Chief Justice and Governor of the State of New York. 3. Peter a lawyer of Charleston, S. C. 4. Anne wife of John Coxe of Philadelphia. 5. Alice, wife of Ralph Izard of S. C. Delegate to the Continental Congress from South Carolina, 1780 to 1783, U. S. Commissioner to Tuscany in 1777, and U. S. Senator from S. C. 1789 to 1795. 6. Elizabeth died single; 7. James High Sheriff of Westchester at and for several years preceding the outbreak of the American Revolution, Colonel of the Westchester Light Horse, the alert and famous Partisan Chief of the Neutral Ground in the war of the Revolution, Member of the Council of Nova Scotia, died May 2d, 1804 at his residence Willow Park, near Annapolis, Nova Scotia, aged 58 years; 8. Oliver, of Westfarms, Lieutenant in the British Navy, resigned because he would not fight against his native land in the Revolution, died at Westchester 4th Sept. 1820; 9. Susanna wife of Col. Thomas Barclay and mother of Henry, de Lancey, Thomas, George, and Sir Anthony Barclay, and Beverly Barclay, and of Eliza wife of Schuyler Livingston, Maria wife of Simon Fraser, and Susan, first wife of the late Peter G. Stuyvesant of New York, and Ann wife of William H. Parsons of that city; 10. Jane wife of her cousin the Hon. John Watts Jr, for a time first Judge of Westchester County, and afterwards Recorder of New York; 11. Warren, drowned by accident, a child; 12. Warren, made a cornet of Horse for his gallantry at the battle of White-plains at the age of 15, he having run away from his mother's house at West-farms to join the British Army; afterwards of New York, and subsequently of Madison County New York, where he left descendants.

Oliver de Lancey, the youngest of the sons of the Huguenot, and the third of them who left issue, born 16th Sept. 1718, died at Beverly, Yorkshire, England, 27th Nov. 1785, a merchant of New York, but more prominent in Public life, was Colonel of the Forces, and Receiver-General, of the Province of New York for many years; Member of Assembly for the City from 1756 to 1760; Member of the Governor's Council from 1760 to 1783; commander of the Forces of the Province in the French War, and as such present at the Repulse of Ticonderoga; commander of the Department of Long Island during the whole Revolutionary War, for which he raised a brigade of three Regiments called "De Lancey's Battalions" of which he was the Brigadier-General. Married Phila Franks of Philadelphia in 1742, and had issue two sons and four daughters; 1. Stephen, a lawyer born 1748, died 6 Dec. 1798 at Portsmouth N. H., Lt. Col. of one of his Father's Battalions, after the war Chief Justice of the Bahamas, and Governor of Tobago, married Cornelia daughter of Rector Barclay of Trinity church, N. Y., had one son, Sir William Howe de Lancey, K. C. B. Quarter-Master-General of Wellington's Army in 1815, who was killed at Waterloo. The daughters of Gov^r. Stephen, were, 1. Susan, married 1st Col. Wm. Johnson eldest son of Sir John Johnson, Bart., and 2d General Sir Hudson Lowe, K. C. B. Governor of St. Helena during the captivity of Napoleon the Great. Charlotte her only daughter by Col. Johnson married Count Balmain, the Russian Commissioner at St. Helena; 2. Phila died, single, 3. Anne married Wm. Lawson of the Island of Berbice, 4. Charlotte married Col. Child of the British Army.

2. Oliver De Lancey the second son of Brigadier General Oliver, (often confounded in histories and other writings with his Father) entered the British Regular Army, as Cornet in the 17th Light Dragoons, a youth, several years prior to the American Revolution. He succeeded Andre (being then a Major) in 1780 as Adjutant-General of the British Army in America. In 1794 was made Colonel of his Regiment in succession to the Duke of Newcastle, and Barrack

Master General of the Empire a year or two later. Died unmarried, Colonel of his Regiment and a full General in the British Army in 1820.

The Daughters of Brigadier-General Oliver de Lancey were, 1. Susanna wife of General Sir Wm. Draper, the conqueror of Manilla, and the opponent of "Junius." 2. Phila wife of Stephen Payne-Galwey of the Island of Antigua, 3. Anna wife of Col. John Harris Cruger, the gallant defender of Fort Ninety Six in Carolina, Member of the Council of the Province of New York, and as such certified to the correctness and legality of the final Partition of the Heathcote estate in the Manor of Scarsdale in 1774. 4. Charlotte wife of Field Marshall Sir David Dundas K. C. B. who succeeded the Duke of York as commander-in-chief of the British Army.

All the usual stores and markets, and conveniences of living are to be found in Mamaroneck, and of a class and grade not exceeded by any other village in the County. Divided from the village of Rye Neck only by the Mamaroneck river with a free bridge across it, the latter has drawn off a large portion of the population naturally belonging to Mamaroneck which is the post town for both, and has made practically both places one except in voting. Hence too the different societies of all kinds found in an American town, social, charitable, musical, mechanical, and to some extent religious have their headquarters in Rye Neck and will be found described in the Chapter on Rye.

The village of Mamaroneck until within the last few years has suffered, from and Rye Neck has been benefited by, a singular cause as far as growth is concerned. In 1811 under a special act of the Legislature was incorporated "The Westchester County Manufacturing Society."[1] The Act gave this corporation power to purchase, hold, and convey, lands and tenements, goods, wares, and merchandise whatsoever necessary to the objects of this incorporation." Under this sweeping clause it bought two farms on the Mamaroneck side of the river belonging to Gilbert Budd, a most honorable and respected man, one called the "Hadley" farm of about 62 acres, the other the "Homestead" of about 182 acres, or together 244 acres. This was all the land in the immediate neighbourhood of the mouth of the river on its west side and the village upon which the latter could grow. The company built a large dam and factory. But after a moderate success for a few years it ended in failure, and from that time till 1870 it was followed by a long succession of unsuccessful enterprises of a manufacturing character each in turn succumbing to failure, or forced sale. The consequence was that the title to the property became so involved, embarrassed, and confused, that faith was lost in it. The land became unsaleable, and it remained practically dead to the great detriment of the village in every respect. About 1870 began a change, and now it is understood that the clouds are entirely dispersed. As soon as this was found to be really the case, village improvement began at once, and is now going on with increasing rapidity.

[1] Ch. 17 Laws of 1811.

Mamaroneck was without a newspaper until four years ago, its local wants being supplied by the neighbouring Journals of Rye and Portchester. In May 1882, The *Mamaroneck Register* was established by William E. Peters, met with very fair success and is still in existence under him as Editor and Proprietor. It is a four page paper, of six columns to a page, and is issued every Wednesday. It pursues an independent course in politics. Several years prior to 1882 an attempt was made to publish a paper called the *Investigator* by George M. Forbes. But it met with no success, and after a brief existence, was given up.

About 1856 an attempt to run a steamer called the Island City, between Mamaroneck and New York was made, stopping at New Rochelle and City Island, and carrying both passengers and freight. The leading man in the enterprise was the late John Griffin. Her landing place was at the foot of Bleecker now Union Avenue in De Lancey's Neck, Bishop de Lancey who owned the spot having at the request of Mr. Griffin and the other gentlemen obtained a grant permitting the building of a Dock below low water mark at that point, and leased them the privilege at a nominal rent. The enterprise failed, was subsequently renewed by Wm. Taylor with a landing on Harbor Island, but that also failed. The "Mary E. Gordon." freight boat only, was built by Capt. Gedney, the old sloop owner in 1880, and makes trips three times a week. Her owners are Captain Joseph H. Gedney and sons. She is the first boat that has brought freight regularly to the present dock, and is the modern successor of a very long line of "Mamaroneck Sloops." Famous vessels in their day were those Mamaroneck sloops, and their day was a very long one.

Some of them were very fast, and there was a fierce rivalry between the old sloop captains of all the ports on the sound as far as New London. They carried passengers regularly as well as freight, and great was the excitement, and often high the betting, when a new and fast vessel made her first appearance from any of the little ports on the "East River."

The necessity of having a fire department was forced upon the attention of the inhabitants of Mamaroneck by a conflagration which took place in the business part of the village on January 1st, 1884. Soon after a Hook and Ladder Company was formed, known as Union Hook and Ladder Company, No. 1, of Mamaroneck and Rye Neck. Joseph H. McLoughlin, a very active man and the leading plumber of the town, was elected foreman of the company, Andrew Coles, assistant foreman, Lewis R. Bramm, Treasurer, and Charles F. Seaman, Secretary. The apparatus was purchased by public subscription, and

is lodged in the basement of the town hall. The number of members in 1886 was 25.

On January 4, 1884, application was made to the authorities of the town of Mamaroneck by Henry M. Flagler, Jabez A. Bostwick, Ambrose M. McGregor, James M. Constable, Thomas L. Rushmore, William G. Read, David Dudley Field, David F. Britt, Joseph Hoffman, M.D., Samuel W. Johnson, Edward F. De Lancey, Charles J. Osborne, William T. Cornell and Leonard Jacob for authority to form and organize the Mamaroneck Water Company and lay pipes through the town streets. The application was granted, the company was formed and soon after began the construction of a water works, and in the spring of 1885 water was introduced through their pipes into houses in the village. The company has a capital of $25,000. The source from which the water supply is taken is the Mamaroneck River. The site of the old saw mill originally erected by Colonel Heathcote before referred to, was bought, the dam rebuilt in an enlarged form forming a large pond, the waters of which are pumped up into a reservoir on adjacent high ground, about 117 feet above high water mark of the sound. This head is sufficient for all general purposes. The officers of the company are, President, James M. Constable; Treasurer, J. A. Bostwick; Secretary, William T. Cornell.

There are two School Districts in Mamaroneck, Nos. One and Two, well attended and in a good state of efficiency. But they suffer as does the whole school system of the State of New York, from being one of the foot balls of politics, and like all others throughout the State are therefore liable to evil influences. An instance of how oppressive and unjust the School system as now administered is, upon the owners of the real estate of the Commonwealth, is furnished now by our County of Westchester. The writer is informed that the amount apportioned to this County this year, 1886, from the Common School Fund is $56,000 while the amount assessed upon and collected from its real estate last year for that fund was $75,000. No remarks are necessary, the fact speaks for itself.

The Town possesses a Town Hall, a large frame edifice on High Street near Mount Pleasant Street, which was bought and altered for its present purpose, from the former Methodist Society of Mamaroneck a few years ago, when that society removed to Rye Neck. It contains a large Public Hall on the main floor, with public offices, a lock-up, and a house fire apparatus beneath it. There is also in it the Library of the Athenæum Society, and the Safes and Cases of the Town Records in charge of the Town Clerk.

Mamaroneck is a post town and one of the oldest in the State, dating as such from the last century. The present postmaster is William A. Boyd, who has held the office and administered for very many years past to the general satisfaction of the entire community. The salary now is $1100 per annum.

The New Haven Rail Road runs through the town, but so far north of the village, the harbor and the Necks on each side of it and the Sound, that neither can be seen from the station. The daily trains are numerous and convenient. It is now understood that a new Rail Road will be built in a very short time, which will run near the water and across the upper edge of the harbor, and enter the City of New York over the new Bridge across the Harlem river at Second avenue.

The churches of Mamaroneck are two only, the Episcopal church of St. Thomas, and the Society of Friends. The meeting house of the latter, however, is a few feet across the line of Mamaroneck in the adjoining town of Scarsdale, having been thrown into that town by the town line as fixed by the Act of 1788. The Society itself is it is believed the second oldest meeting in the County of Westchester, the first being that at the town of Westchester which was organized in 1685. The Friends came to Westchester, both the town and the County, from Long Island, those who came to the neighborhood of Mamaroneck, chiefly from Flushing and the country immediately about it. The meeting at Mamaroneck was organized in 1686 and was held at a private house.[1] This house the writer believes was that of Samuel Palmer, afterwards the "Old House" of Peter Jay Munro, before referred to and its position described. They increased so much, that in 1704 an application was made to the Court of General Sessions, Colonel Caleb Heathcote presiding, that Samuel Palmer's house at Mamaroneck be recorded as an authorized place for Quaker worship under the Act of William and Mary. The order was granted and a copy signed by Colonel Heathcote delivered to Samuel Palmer. In 1728 the meeting was made a "Preparative Meeting for Business," that is, for the administration of discipline, &c. On the opposite side of the Westchester Path, and west of Samuel Palmer's house, and at the top of the rising ground ascended by the Path or road was laid out, and still is, the old burying ground of the Palmers, and adjoining it was another plot larger, and still existing and still called the Quaker Burying-Ground. The Boston Road to-day at that point is still the old Westchester Path. Both plots were directly opposite the entrance to Mr. Peter Jay Munro's grounds within which, in 1819, he erected his splendid Country House, now the Hotel at Larchmont, termed the "Manor House." In the centre of the last mentioned plot, some little distance back from the road, was built, probably the first Quaker Meeting House in Mamaroneck. The exact year is uncertain but was probably 1739,[2] in which year Mr.

[1] MS. letter of James Wood, the present President of the Westchester Historical Society, who has made exhaustive researches into the history of the Friends in Westchester County.

[2] Letter of James Wood.

Wood says a meeting house was built there, but he does not know whether it was the first. Mr. William H. Carpenter of the present meeting who at the writer's request made investigations of this point says it was "in 1735 or thereabout." [1] On that spot stood the house, and there the Meeting was held, till 1768. On the 6th of the 2d month,—February—in that year the quarterly meeting at the Purchase directed five Friends to "review" "the place near the centre of said meeting" to which it was proposed to move the Meeting House at Mamaroneck, there being some dissatisfaction.

At the quarterly meeting held at the "oblong" on the 30th of the succeeding 4th month, April, 1768, the committee made the following interesting report:

"The friends that were appointed a Committee to take a review of the place to set the meeting house on made report that they had met the friends belonging to Mamaroneck weekly meeting and taken a review of the places proposed to set the meeting house on for Mamaroneck weekly meeting & are of opinion that a piece of land of Benjamin Palmers near & adjoining Cornells land is the most suitable place for that purpose as being near the centre of said weekly meeting & as Benjamin Palmer offered to give half an acre of land to our Society for that use & purpose & John Cornel half an acre adjoining to it for the same use & also each of them to sell half an acre for three pounds ten shillings apiece therefore this meeting approves of having a meeting house set up & erected on said land of Benjamin Palmer, & appoints Edward Burling & Joseph Griffen to take deeds of Benjamin Palmer & John Cornel for said land, & John Cornel Edward Burling and Joseph Griffen & Benjamin Cornel, or the majority of them are appointed a Committee to sell the meeting house at Mamaroneck with the ground it stands on & the land to the westward of the house adjoining the road the width of the house & give a deed for the same or remove the house to & on the land of Benjamin Palmer aforesaid—if that house should be sold the new house to be near the dimensions of the old meeting house, & to be one story high with a chimney to it, & report to be made by said Committee to next Quarterly Meeting, & said Committee or some of them are to get a subscription made by the weekly meeting of Mamaroneck & bring to next Quarterly Meeting."

The old meeting house was not sold but was taken down and apart and removed to the new location, on the beautiful and commanding hill where it stands to-day. The old plot was not sold but kept as a burying ground. Another plot beside it on the west was sold and is now within the place of Mr. Meyers. This was the lot long known as the Locust lot from its being covered for many years with those trees. At the succeeding meeting in October, Edward Burling reported for the Committee "that the Meeting House was removed from Mamaroneck and set on said land of Benjamin Palmer, and that the expense of removing the house and setting it up, and completing it will amount to about eighty pounds, including the seven pounds for one acre of land bought of Benjamin Palmer and John Cornell, and that a subscription was made by friends belonging to the weekly meeting of Mamaroneck amounting to Twenty-eight Pounds towards the expense of the said house beside the land given; and requested the quarterly meeting to ask for and from each monthly meeting towards paying the debt. At the succeeding November meeting at Purchase, six pounds, 13 shillings were reported from the Weekly meeting at Westchester "and paid in," and there was also "paid in" a subscription "from Oswego particular meeting" of seventeen shillings and sixpence, and delivered to Edward Burling jr. It is most surprising that in 1768, a gift from Oswego then a mere frontier Indian trading station should have been sent down to the Friends at Mamaroneck! By the 6th of 5th month, June 1769, Benedict Carpenter reported that the debt had been reduced to £18, 10, 05. In due time that was paid off, and the new Meeting house—if it may be called so—was entirely paid for. From that time to the present the meeting has continued. It felt the change growing out of the movement of Elias Hicks upwards of sixty years since. The two parties quietly separated and another meeting was formed which erected another small Meeting House in the same grounds with the old one, where worship is also maintained.

"In 1883 the meeting house being in an almost hopelessly dilapidated condition a movement was successfully inaugurated to restore it, retaining however the frame of the venerated structure, which resulted in the present exceedingly comfortable and neat house of worship. During the greater portion of its existence the meeting has been large and influential, many of its members have been noted for their prominence in business and social circles and always for their integrity and stability. During very many years latterly there has been no acknowledged minister in connection with the meeting, yet it has continued without it, and from present appearances although its members are not numerous yet it bids fair to hold its own for many years to come a continuing testimony to spiritual worship without priest or choir. It may be of interest to name a few of its adherents now living, viz. Jonathan Carpenter, William Burling, David F. Britt, Samuel J. Barnes, Thos. K. Morrell, Noah Tompkins, John D. Schureman, James Griffen, George Millets and William H. Carpenter who with their families are earnest in the support of the ancient society they are proud to be connected with." [2]

From 1693 to 1784 Mamaroneck was one of the Pre-

[1] Letter of Mr. Carpenter.

[2] Letter of William H. Carpenter to whom and Mr. Berling I am indebted for copies of the Documents used and cited in the above sketch.

cincts of the Parish of Rye, one of the two territorial parishes erected in Westchester County in the former year under the Act establishing parishes of the Church of England within the Counties of New York and Westchester passed March 24, 1693,[1] an act which with several amendments made in later years continued in force till repealed by the Legislature of the State in the year 1784, just about a hundred years. The Establishment of the Church of England within the Province of New York and its Parochial organization in Westchester County will be found fully described in Parts 10, and 11, of the chapter on Manors in this volume.[2] The Inhabitants of the Parish of Rye elected Church wardens and Vestrymen, and paid the charges authorized by law during this whole period. Their duties besides those of seeing to the proper religious Services in the parish churches, were also those in relation to assessments taking care of the poor, and other duties now performed by town officials. During his residence here Colonel Heathcote was usually chosen a vestryman and often a Warden. The first election under the act of 1693 we know was held pursuant to the summons of Justice Theall under the law at Rye on the 28th February 1694–5. John Lane and John Brondig (Brundige) were elected church Wardens, and Jonathan Hart Joseph Horton, Joseph Purdy, Timothy Knapp, Hachaliah Brown, Thomas Merritt, Deliverance Brown, and Isaac Denham, vestrymen.[3] In 1702 is the record of another election, when on the 12th of January at a lawful town meeting in the Precinct of Rye Colonel Caleb Heathcote and the Justice Theall (who summoned the meeting of the Inhabitants for the election of 1695) were elected Church Wardens, and Justice Purdy, Justice Mott, Capt. Horton, Deliverance Brown, Hachaliah Brown, George Lane, Sen., Thomas Purdy, Thomas Disbrow, Isaac Denham, and Samuel Lane, were elected vestrymen for the ensuing year.[4]

These elections will be found mentioned in Baird's History of Rye, chapter 24th, from which I have taken the particulars not having had the time to examine the Rye Records personally as was intended.[5] The very able and Reverend Author of that very valuable work was evidently unaware of the legal nature of the origin of the establishment of the church of England in Westchester County, and has given an eroneous view of it in that chapter, as will be seen by comparing it with that which will be found in the chapter on Manors in this work. A view based on the mistaken idea that it was the Act of 1693 which established the church of England within New York, whereas it was established by the royal authority many years before, New York being a conquered Province. And being the only British American province so conquered from another nation by the English Crown, it was therefore the only one in America in which that Crown, by the law of England, had the power and right to establish the church of England. In 1725 Mamaroneck paid towards the tax to support the Rector of Rye under the act of 1693, £18. Later, in 1767, the amount then, was £19, 2, 6. These sums were the annual ones for those years. The amounts were annually fixed by board of Justices under the law.

So strong was the connection of Mamaroneck with Rye as a part of that Parish, in fact and in feeling, that it continued practically down to the founding of St. Thomas' Church, Mamaroneck. All Mamaroneck people of the Episcopal Church attended at Rye church, and were married and buried, and their children baptized, by the Rectors of Rye. A very few went to the New Rochelle church but the large majority went to Rye. It was simply an example of the power of faith and habit which descended to them from their ancestors.

While a youth in Yale College the late Rt. Rev. William Heathcote de Lancey first began holding Episcopal services in Mamaroneck while on his visits to his home at Heathcote Hill. He entered college in 1813 and graduated in 1817, and these services began in 1814. He met with better success than he anticipated. His Father John Peter De Lancey took great interest in the matter, as did his friend and neighbor Mr. Peter J. Munro, and Mr. and Mrs. Peter Jay, the blind Mr. Jay, of Rye. Finally young Mr. de Lancey was so successful that on April 12th, 1814, under the auspices of his Father and Mr. Peter J. Munro a parish was organized under the old act of 17th March, 1795, to which was given the name of St. Thomas. Mr. John Peter de Lancey and Mr. Peter Jay Munro Church Wardens, and Capt. William Gray, Benjamin Hadden, Henry Gedney, Samuel Deal, Abraham Guion, and Matthias G. Valentine Vestrymen[6] at the first election held on Tuesday in Easter week of that year. The Rev. Mr. Haskell Rector of Rye and several of the clergy of the neighbouring parishes took charge of the services, which were held in the present Town Hall, then a Methodist Church just built, by the courtesy of that Society which had just previously been organized. They were continued with much though not perfect regularity. In 1813 the Legislature passed a new "Act relating to Religious Societies" which changed and made more favorable the method of organizing Episcopal Churches. The parish continued however under the original organization of 1814, till 1817, when by the advice of Mr. Munro, a new organization

[1] II. Bradford's Laws, 19.

[2] Ante pp. 98 to 108 inclusive.

[3] Town Records of Rye.

[4] Town Records of Rye.

[5] In 1704, Madame Knight, in her Journal before referred to, says in speaking of the towns of Mamaroneck, Rye, and Horseneck (Greenwich) "that one church of England parson officiated in all these three towns once every Sunday throughout the year."

[6] Certificate recorded in Lib. A. of Religious Societies in West. Co. Reg'r. office p. 59.

was effected under the later law, in order that some of its benefits might be availed of.

The first meeting with this object was held 5 April 1817 and the new incorporation was effected June 9th 1817. The Parish was admitted to union with the Convention on the 1st of October 1817, Dr. Guy Carleton Bayley being its first delegate. The next year 1818 Mr. William H. de Lancey then pursuing his studies in Theology with Bishop Hobart was the lay delegate. The Church Wardens were the same, John Peter de Lancey and Peter Jay Munro. The vestrymen under the new organization were Henry Gedney, Benjamin Hadden, Jacob Mott, Thomas J. de Lancey, Benjamin Crooker, Guy C. Bayley, Monmouth Lyon, Edward F. de Lancey. The Rev. Mr. Haskell, who was Mr. John P. de Lancey's Rector at Rye, and under his influence long afforded a nursing hand to the infant parish, often giving it services both on Sundays and week days. Mr. de Lancey kept up his connection with, and pew in Rye Church to the time of his death in 1828, and



ST. THOMAS' CHURCH, (OLD).

he also had a pew in the church at New Rochelle by way of aiding that parish then needing all the help it could get.

No clergyman was regularly called at first. After Mr. William H. de Lancey was ordained Deacon in 1820 he served temporarily for a few months in Grace church, New York, and subsequently in Trinity church, N. Y. In the spring of 1821, when the latter temporary engagement ended he returned to his father's House at Mamaroneck, until Bishop Hobart could give him a permanent parish. While at Mamaroneck he was called to St. Thomas's, accepted, and served gratuitously, till 1822 when through Bishop Hobart's recommendation he was invited by Bishop White of Pennsylvania, to become his personal assistant in the "three United churches" of Christ church, St. Peter's, and St James's in Philadelphia of which he was also Rector. This invitation Mr. de Lancey accepted, and in April 1822 took up his residence in that city. He thus became from June 1821 to April 1822, about ten months, the first clergyman regularly in charge of St. Thomas's, Mamaroneck.

In 1823 a frame church with pointed windows and a low tower was erected, and consecrated on the 17th of June in that year by the Rt. Rev. John Henry Hobart, then the Bishop of New York. The expense was mainly borne by Mr. John Peter de Lancey, Mr. Peter Jay Munro, and Mr. Purdy the father of the present Mr. Samuel G. Purdy, of Harrison. The clergy present were the Rev. Lewis P. Bayard and the Rev. Lawson Carter, both warm friends, and the former a relative of Mr. de Lancey and the wife of Mr. Munro. A cut of it is given which shows the edifice as it was originally. It was enlarged some years later, in 1835 by a chancel, and again in 1857—at the chancel end by an addition containing another window on each side, and so remained until removed, and subsequently torn down, on the erection of the present striking and exceedingly handsome stone church, built at their sole expense and presented to the church corporation, by Mr. James M. Constable and his children as a memorial of his wife and their mother the late Mrs. Henrietta Constable, who departed this life February 11th, 1884. The Cornerstone was laid December 4th, 1884, by the Rt. Rev. Henry C. Potter, Assistant Bishop of New York, and the church was consecrated by the same Prelate June 10th, 1886, the Rev. Dr. Swope of Trinity Parish, New York, preaching the sermon. The new church, of which an engraving is given from a drawing expressly made for the purpose by Mr. Bassett Jones its masterly Architect, is a beautiful building, chaste, simple, dignified, and very effective. It is a perfect specimen of an old English Parish Church. The style is the Early English Gothic, with the massiveness often found in the churches of that period. It is built of Belleville brown stone, rusticated, and consists of chancel, nave, tower, and two porches. The entire length is 127 feet, that of the nave alone 70 feet, the chancel, a square one, is 25 deep by 19 feet wide, and the height of the tower is 87 feet. It has a high open timbered roof in the rich yellow pine of the Southern states. The altar and reredos are of Caen stone richly sculptured, the latter showing an exquisitely executed bas-relief of the Last Supper of Leonardo da Vinci. The pulpit is also of Caen stone carved, surmounted by a wide polished brass panelled rail of antique design. The windows are of English stained glass all showing figure subjects finely executed. The font, after a special and beautiful design of the architect, is of the deeply rich tinted Derbyshire Spar, recently discovered in larger masses than ever before known, not far from the City of Chesterfield in Derbyshire in England, all highly polished inside and outside. The pews in number 80 afford 350 sittings and are of oak. The Tower contains a very musical sweet toned chime of 10 bells, and a clock which strikes the quarters and half hours, as well as the hours.

In the same enclosure with the church, and a short distance from it stand the Rectory and parish buildings in the same style of architecture but built of brick with brown stone casings, and slate roofs. They are happily of irregular shape and combined so under a series of varying angles and roofs, that they present to the eye but a single very picturesque edifice. The whole together, though the general effect is impaired by being in the business and not very attractive part of the village, an evil that has been partially remedied by the liberal purchase and removal of adjoining buildings, and throwing their area into fair gardens, form one of the most thorough, complete, beautiful and churchly group of Parish edifices, with appropriate surroundings in this county, and are a noble monument to the Wife and Mother in whose memory they have been erected.



ST. THOMAS' CHURCH, (NEW).

At Larchmont a handsome frame chapel was erected four years ago by the Trustees of the Larchmont Land Company for general services. Afterward it was organized as a chapel of ease of St. Thomas's Church Mamaroneck under the ministration and direction as to its services of the Rector of that church for the time being. It and the Sunday school attached to it is only open during the summer season. Usually an arrangement is made with the assent of the Rector of St. Thomas with some clergyman temporarily for the services at the chapel during the season. The Trustees in 1886 are Marcus P. Woodruff and David Jardine.

A Methodist Society was organized and a frame church built in Mamaroneck, on High Street in 1813. It there continued with a small congregation till about the year 1850, when it was removed to Rye Neck and a large and handsome frame church edifice was there erected about a third of a mile from the Mamaroneck River Bridge and nearly at the junction of the old Westchester Path with the road running east from that Bridge, an account of which falls appropriately in the chapter on Rye. The late Mr. James M. Fuller organized a Methodist Sunday-school and erected a building for its use in 1878 on Weaver street mainly at his own expense, which he superintended himself until his lamented death in June 1885, when Mr. William H. Stiles succeeded him assisted by Mr. Bradford Rhodes. The object is to afford Sunday-school instruction to children in the neighbourhood, which is distant from the villages of Mamaroneck and Rye Neck. All the gentlemen connected with it are Methodists but it is understood that it is not conducted under the auspices of any denomination in particular.

The Incidents of the Revolution which occurred in Mamaroneck are not many. Its inhabitants as well as the great majority of the People of the County were a perfectly satisfied, quiet, community, satisfied with their surrounding, and their lot. They had a market within a day's journey or a day's sail for all that they could raise beyond their own wants. Their taxes were light and they managed their local concerns for themselves under the easy laws of the Province. They felt no pressure of any kind or from any quarter. Even in the politics of the day there was no high party feeling, still less any undue excitements. They were a happy, contented people perfectly satisfied to be let alone.

When the movements of politicians of New York and other places against the English Ministry began, which resulted, contrary to the wishes of those who first started these movements, in the Declaration of Independence, the people of Westchester as a mass were not in favor of them. Neither were some of those who gave a final assent to them. Hence it was that notwithstanding that Westchester eventually became the Neutral Ground, the people who dwelt in it were more in favor of the old state of things than in the proposed new one. It was natural. It is so in all countries under all systems. Those who excite revolutionary movements to overthrow old governments, are always a minority, and usually a very great minority, of the inhabitants of the Country the institutions of which are changed by violence or war. Hence it was that in 1774 the people of Mamaroneck opposed the action of the Committee of Correspondence, set forth in their circular of 29 July 1774 as also did those of Rye.[1]

When it was known that Gage's Army in Boston was getting short of provisions late in 1775, a sort of killing bee was held at William Sutton's house at de Lancey's Neck, the neighboring farmers drove cattle there and a certain day killed and dressed, and afterward salted down and barrelled as soon as it could be done, beeves enough to load a sloop as a contribution to the besieged troops at Boston. She was loaded at Indian point, near the present home of Mr. James J. Burnet, and sent off on her voyage. But she never got

[1] See Proceedings of Mamaroneck, &c., in I. Force's Archives.

to Boston. Through some carelessness in running out with a smart breeze, she ran a little too near the end of a reef in rounding the Scotch Caps, struck a pointed rock, and sank beyond it with all on board. The crew was saved but the beef in the hold was all lost. It is not related that any second attempt was ever made.

The most important Revolutionary incident, was the night battle on Heathcote Hill and the high ridge above it, between the Delaware Regiment, and parts of First and Third Virginia Regiments of Washington's army, under Colonel Haslet and Major Green, and Roberts's Rangers of Howe's Army under Major Rogers, resulting in the repulse of the former with severe loss to the latter who retained their position. On October 21st, 1776, Rogers's Corps of about 400 or 450 men which formed the extreme end of the right wing of Howe's Army, then moving up from Pelham Neck, reached Mamaroneck and encamped upon the high flat of Heathcote Hill, under the lee of the ridge above it for protection from the Northwest winds, which at that season had grown cold. No enemy was beyond them and this position was therefore chosen. Rogers himself made his headquarters in a small house which then stood directly on the north side of the old Westchester Path or road, right opposite the gate of the lane which ran down de Lancey's Neck to Sutton's House, which stood within the present Miller premises now owned by Mr. J. A. Bostwick. On the 22d of October Washington rode up to White Plains in advance of his army, who had then reached Valentine's Hill. Learning there of Rogers's advance and position, he at once sent orders to Colonel Haslet to take his Delaware regiment of 600 strong, and 150 men of the First and Third Virginia under Major Green, and surprise and cut him off.[1] The Virginians were to lead the attack and the Delaware troops to support them. Rogers had been a scout of Sir William Johnson's with Israel Putnam, in the French War, was a man of fair education, not much principle, but extremely bold, courageous, and wary. Knowing the American Army was below his position and to the southwest of it, he extended his pickets more than a third of a mile the second night beyond where they were on the first night and doubled their numbers, and then went to his own headquarters. Haslett marched all night and reached the neighborhood before day. His guides not aware of the change in Rogers's pickets led the Virginians directly upon them in the dark, which threw them into confusion. At once all hopes of a surprise vanished. The uproar roused Rogers's camp, the men rushed to the top of the ridge overlooking it and before they could form, their own pickets and the Virginians mixed together came rushing in upon them. It was pitch dark, and the fighting went on in the utmost confusion, the Delawareans, Virginians and Rangers being all mixed together each man fighting for himself. Right in the midst of it rushed Rogers. Roused by the noise, he flew up to the fight not knowing how it was going, but roaring out with presence of mind, in stentorian tones, "They are running," "they are running," "give it to 'em boys, damn 'em, give it to 'em." Reassured by his voice and words the Rangers, actually on the point of fleeing, rallied, redoubled their efforts, and the American forces fell back taking many prisoners with them, and the Rangers remained in possession of the ground. The surprise was a failure, the action really a drawn one though the Rangers retained the field, Rogers's wariness and presence of mind being all that saved them from defeat and capture. Such is the account that has come down from men living in Mamaroneck at the time. Col. Tench Tilghman, Washington's aid, writing the afternoon after the fight to Wm. Duer says "They attacked Rogers at daybreak, put the party to flight, brought in thirty-six prisoners, sixty arms, and a good many blankets; and had not the guides undertook to alter the first disposition, Major Rogers, and his party of about 400, would in all probability have fallen into our hands. We don't know how many we killed, but an officer says he counted twenty-five in one orchard. We had twelve wounded, among them Major Green and Captain Pope."[2] The fact is the number killed on each side is not certainly known. All of both sides were buried just over the top of the ridge almost directly north of the Heathcote Hill house, in the angle formed by the present farm lane and the east fence of the field next to the ridge. There their graves lie together friend and foe but all Americans.[3] The late Stephen Hall, (father of the late Abram, Isaac, and Thomas, Hall) a boy of 17 or 18 at the time, said that they were buried the morning after the fight and that he saw nine laid in one large grave.[4] Such was the skirmish on Heathcote Hill, the only "engagement" about Mamaroneck during the Revolutionary War. There was another on the back part of the Manor of Scarsdale at the Fox Meadows, immediately before the battle of White plains, but that does not fairly belong to this chapter.

The writer, knowing that Mamaroneck did her full duty in the late civil war, tried some years ago to get at Albany the returns of enlistments and names of the men, but failed, the supervisor never having filed them.

The following is an account of the descendants of John Richbell, who left only daughters, and of the Mott family of whom one of them was the ancestress. The writer is indebted for it to Mrs. Thomas C. Cornell, of Yonkers:

John Richbell, the first patentee of Mamaroneck

[1] III. Force, Fifth Series, 576.

[2] III. Force, Fifth Series 57, 6.

My father told me when he was a boy their green graves were distinctly visible.

[4] Abraham Hall told the writer this fact many years ago.

leaving no sons, his name has not been perpetuated in his children, but some of the descendants of his daughter have been well known in Mamaroneck, and in Westchester County, and in the State and Nation, and should be mentioned here. John and Ann Richbell left three daughters. 1st. Elizabeth, the eldest who became the second wife of Adam Mott of Hempstead, about the time that her father removed from Oysterbay,—where he had been Adam Mott's neighbour,—to make his final settlement at Mamaroneck. —2d. Mary, who in 1670 married Captain James Mott, second son of Adam Mott of Hempstead by his first wife Jane Hulett. Captain James Mott was long prominent in Mamaroneck, was Justice of the Peace and Supervisor, and left two children James and Mary. —3d. The youngest daughter of John Richbell, named Anne after her mother, married John Emerson of White River, Talbot County, Maryland.

Elizabeth (Richbell) Mott, gave to her eldest son her father's name and called him Richbell Mott and his grandmother Ann Richbell made him one of her executors and three of the grandsons of this Richbell Mott bore the same name. Richbell Mott was a man of Character and Substance, and in 1696 married Elizabeth Thorne. He possessed considerable land in Hempstead and made his home on Mad Nan's Neck (Little Neck). His grandson Richbell Mott son of his eldest son Edmond,—born in Hempstead in 1728 married in 1749 Deborah Doughty, and died in 1758 leaving two daughters Margaret and Phebe. This Margaret Mott married in 1772 the Hon. Melancthon Smith of New York one of the most prominent men of the State during and after the Revolution in the policy opposed to that of Alexander Hamilton. Richbell Mott Smith, one of the sons of Hon. Melancthon and Margaret (Mott) Smith died on the coast of Japan in 1800. Another son was Colonel Melancthon Smith, the father of Admiral Melancthon Smith U. S. N. on the retired list who distinguished himself so highly during the late Civil war especially at the capture of New Orleans, and who is now living in an honored old age, at South Oysterbay L. I.

Dr. Valentine Mott, the celebrated Surgeon of New York was descended from Elizabeth (Richbell) Mott's younger son William Mott of Great Neck,—L. I.

James Mott of Premium Point, long a well known resident of the Mamaroneck of a hundred years ago, was the only child of the first Richbell Mott's youngest son Richard, and Sarah (Pearsall) Mott, and was born in Hempstead at "the Head of the Harbor"—now Roslyn in 1742. He married in 1765 his second cousin Mary Underhill, daughter of Samuel and Ann (Carpenter) Underhill of Oysterbay. Samuel Underhill a cousin of the Underhills of Westchester County, was a great grandson of the celebrated Capt. John Underhill who died in Oysterbay in 1671, and Ann Carpenter's mother Mary Willet, wife of Joseph Carpenter of Glencove was a grand daughter on her father's side of Capt. Thomas Willet the first English Mayor of New York, and on her mother's side of Wm. Coddington the first Governor of Rhode Island. The Underhills and the Coddingtons and the Willets and the Motts had become Quakers. James Mott, after a few years as a successful merchant in New York retired just before the Revolution, with a moderate competence, at the early age of thirty-three and settled in Mamaroneck, on the "West Neck" of his Grandfather's grandfather, John Richbell, on the peninsula nearly in front of the Village of New Rochelle. His wife was then in failing health and he sought a quiet home, remote from the threatenings of war which pervaded the City. But the war soon came, and in place of quiet, he found himself with wife and children between the lines of hostile armies and exposed to depredations from outlaws on both sides. His wife died early in the Revolution.

The ancient handsome two story farm house, occupied by James Mott, with its double-pitched roof, still stands in good repair, fronting to the South, on its own private lane, half a mile east of the Boston road, surrounded by trees and with its own farm buildings and cultivated fields, and in recent years has been occupied by the Pryor family. But the ancient tide Mill which stood near the house on the land locked bay which made the Mill Pond, and which James Mott continued to operate after the Revolution, was replaced about the end of the last century by a large new Mill, and a new dam about half a mile lower down the bay near its mouth.—James Mott's three sons Richard Robert and Samuel had grown to manhood, and they fitted up the new Mill with twelve runs of Mill Stones, and all the improvements then known and gave it the name of the Premium Mill, and it was operated with much success and exported flour to Europe while England and France were at war, with large profit. Soon after the Premium Mill was built Richard Mott, the eldest son withdrew from the milling business, and commenced cotton spinning in a small Mill still standing dismantled, near his pleasant dwelling house, to which he gave the name of Hickory Grove, a little west of where the N. Y. and N. H. Rail Road now runs near Mamaroneck,—and "Mott's Spool Cotton," had a good reputation for many years. Richard Mott became a Quaker Minister of considerable reputation. He was a man of fine presence and a graceful and pleasing speaker. He died in Mamaroneck in 1857, in his 90th year.

James and Mary (Underhill) Mott had four children, born in New York but brought up in Mamaroneck. Their eldest son Richard just mentioned was born in 1767. Their only daughter Anne born 1768 married at Mamaroneck in 1785, while still wanting three months of her seventeenth birthday, her father's cousin Adam Mott of Hempstead, in whose veins ran the blood of the best Quaker families of that first settlement of the Quakers in America. The young Adam Mott, the third in descent of the first Adam Mott

of Hempstead, and the fourth from John Richbell,—brought his young bride to the old Mott homestead, on the shore of the Sound near Hempstead Harbor, on land which had been granted to his great Uncle Richbell Mott in 1708 and which Richbell Mott sold to his brother Adam Mott in 1715. The young Adam between 1785 and 1790 built a new Mill at Cow bay—(now Port Washington,) and prospered there for more than fifteen years, and when his wife's brother Richard retired from the Premium Mill, the remaining brothers Robert and Samuel induced their brother-in-law Adam Mott of Hempstead to leave his prosperous Mill at Cow bay and join them in the Premium Mill, and he removed to Mamaroneck in 1803 and settled in a house afterwards the property of Peter Jay Monroe, and called the "Mott House," on a pleasant farm adjoining what is now known as Larchmont. The oldest son of Adam and Anne Mott, born in the ancient Mott homestead near the mouth of Hempstead Harbour in 1788 and named after his grandfather James Mott, went to Philadelphia and there married in 1811 Lucretia Coffin, who afterwards as Lucretia Mott of Philadelphia became eminent as a Quaker preacher and eloquent advocate of many reforms. In 1814 James and Lucretia Mott spent some months at Mamaroneck on the invitation of their Uncle Richard Mott to join him in Cotton Spinning, and if the project had been carried out as first proposed, the eloquent Quaker Preacher would have been known as Lucretia Mott of Mamaroneck, instead of Lucretia Mott of Philadelphia. But she was then only 21 years old, and did not so much as imagine that she could speak in public, and the spinning project not coming to satisfactory terms they returned to Philadelphia. Adam and Anne Mott's youngest son Richard, born at Premium Point in 1804, now for many years the Hon. Richard Mott of Toledo Ohio still survives in a vigorous old age of 82, one of the best known men in Northern Ohio.

When the laws of the first Napoleon dragged the United States into controversies with France and England which culminated in the war of 1812, American Commerce was crippled or ruined and the Premium Mill at length went under a cloud. One entire Ship's cargo from the Mill was confiscated in France on a charge of violating a paper blockade, and no restitution ever made.

James Mott made Premium Point his home until 1816 and died in New York in 1823 in his eighty-first year. He was a man of culture and high character, unusually handsome in person, tall, erect, and of much grace and dignity of manner and stood high in general esteem. In dress and habits he was always a strict Quaker of the old days, and active in the interests of his religious society travelling much in their service in the States of New York, Pennsylvania and New England. He gave freely for many years, in time and means, and in the use of his pen in the advancement of Education, and the suppression of intemperance, and would allow nothing produced by Slave labor to be used in his house, and as far as possible limited his household to American Manufactures. Robert Mott, the second son of James Mott of Premium Point died in New York in 1805 and his youngest son Samuel died there in 1843.

The Premium Mill continued to be operated with varying success for many years and after James Mott and his sons, passed through other hands and in 1843 was purchased by Henry Partridge Kellogg then of Poughkeepsie in whose family it remained for nearly forty years. The Mill itself venerable with age was finally removed within the last three or four years, and near its site now stand several handsome modern Cottages or Villas.

The Three Great Patents of Central Westchester.

Very closely connected with Mamaroneck and Scarsdale as parts of the Manor of Scarsdale, was that part of the County lying between that Manor and Harrison's Purchase on the south, the Manor of Cortlandt on the north, the Colony of Connecticut on the east, and the Manor of Philipseburgh on the west. This immense area containing 70,000 acres of land, was bought from the natives by Colonel Heathcote for himself and associates and granted to him and them in three extremely large Patents, called from their relative situations the West, the Middle, and the East Patents.

In the purchase of the Indian title to these lands, and in the Patents for them express provision was made that the rights of Heathcote under the Richbell patents and deeds, should not be interfered with. Hence their long connexion with his lands now comprised in the towns of Scarsdale and Mamaroneck. These "Great Patents," as they were styled were bounded in part by Scarsdale Manor and are so intimately connected with its history, that some mention must be briefly made of them and their origin. By its terms the Manor-Grant of Scarsdale embraced White Plains, a part of Northcastle, part of Bedford, and part of Harrisons Purchase, but it expressly provided as to White Plains that it should give its Lord no other title than that he already possessed by virtue of his purchase of the right title and estate of Mrs. Ann Richbell in the Estate of her husband John Richbell the original grantee from the Indians and from both the Dutch Government and the English Government. These Great Patents were not Manors, though two of them were larger than either of the Manors of Pelham, Morrisania or Fordham. They were simply Patents for great tracts of land issued according to law to three bodies of grantees as individuals, who each possessed an undivided share, bodies which in modern parlance would be called "syndicates." They were based upon a license to Colonel Heathcote to purchase vacant and unappropriated land in Westchester county and extinguish the title of the Natives

granted by Governor Fletcher on the 12th of October, 1696.

He was the most prominent of the gentlemen who formed the bodies above mentioned and who became the Owners and Patentees of these three Patents. The first purchase made by Colonel Heathcote in the region mentioned, was from Pathunck, Wampus, Cohawney, and five other Indians, who on the 19th of October, 1696, executed to him a deed conveying "for and in consideration £100 good and lawful money of New York," "all that tract of land situate lying and being in the County of Westchester in the Province of New York in America, bounded north by Scroton's[1] River, easterly by Byram River and Bedford line, southerly by the land of John Harrison and his associates, and the line stretching to Byram river aforesaid, and westerly to the land of Frederick Philipse."[2]

This covered all the present town of New castle and most of North castle as it now exists, and other lands south and east of the latter. It is hence sometimes called "North castle Indian Deed," or from one of the Indians "Wampus's Land Deed." Colonel Heathcote made most of the purchases of the Indians of Northern and Central Westchester then inhabiting it, in accordance with the customary rule in such matters which has been before explained. That for the lands between the Mehanas[3] and Byram Rivers, he delegated his powers to others to obtain, by this license dated at Mamaroneck the 4th of July 1701, "I underwritten do give free liberty, so far as it lyes in my power (by virtue of a grant to me from Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, late Governor of New York) unto Robert Lockhard, Richard Scofield, Nathaniel Selleck, and Gershom Lockwood, to purchase of the Indian proprietors the lands hereafter mentioned from Mehanas river to Byram River, and so run northward three miles into ye woods upon Byram River, and one mile into ye Woods on the Mehanas River, provided it does not injure the right of Bedford or Greenwich, nor is within my patent right from Mrs. Ann Richbell. Witness my hand.

Caleb Heathcote.

Mamaroneck, July 4th, 1701.

The same day the following Indians "in consideration of a certaine sume of good & lawful money" executed a deed for the land to the above named four persons and Coll. Heathcote, Capt. James Mott, Jonathan Lockhard, Gershom Lockhard's son, and Henry Disbrow, the same persons mentioned in Heathcote's license, thus describing it, "to begin at Byram river at ye Collony Line & so to run to Mehanas river as said line goes running northerly on Mehanas river as ye river goes a mile into ye woods, & from the Collony Line on Byram river three miles northerly as the river runs into the Woods, & from the head of said line to ye head of the other line afore mentioned.[4]

The witnesses were	Seringo +
Benjamin Disbrow	Raresquash +
Benjamin Collier, with	Washpakin +
Uraticus and	Ranchomo +
six other Indians	Packanaim +

On the same fourth of July, 1701, when there seems to have been a meeting of all the parties in interest, Indians and whites, at Mamaroneck, to consummate several Indian purchases, Seringo, and three other Indians executed the following deed to Joseph Horton for a very large tract indeed. It is printed verbatim from the original in John Horton's hand writing in the writer's possession:

"The: 4: of July—1701

"Biet[5] known to all home it may consarn That I Saringo hafe This day Sold unto Joseph Horton saner (senior) A sarten Track or parsal of Land Setuaten and Lyen within the profence (province) of Nu Yorcke which land beginen at the purch[ase] lastly purch[ed] by Cornal Hacoc[t][6] John Horton Cap[tt] Thall Joseph[7] Purdy and all the Land from biram reuer[8] wassward unpurch[ed] and so to run upward to brunkess reuer,[9] and I Saringo do oblidge myself my ars[10] or assins to marcket[11] oute by Mark Treese as may aper her agan[12] and This To be marcked oute The Sext: or Saventh Day of This entant[13] munth and for the Tru Burformance I haf Sat my hand and Sale Sineded Saled and Dleaved In prants of us This been in order To a furder confmashon.

John Horton	Saringo +
(illegible) Hatfield	and three other
Hannah park	Indians (names
his	illegible).
John + Cake	
mark	
his	
Robard + Smeth	
mark	

Endorsed upon the deed is this statement of the consideration by Horton,

I Joseph Horton oblige mysalf To pay one Sarengo

[1] New Croton River.

[2] Lib. I. 52, of Deeds, Sec. of State's off[e], Albany.

[3] Now spelled "Mianus."

[4] Ancient copy of the original deed with Heathcote's license appended, in the writer's possession. Also recorded in West. Co. Records Lib. C, 96.

[5] Be it.

[6] Colonel Heathcote.

[7] Capt. Theall.

[8] Byram River westward unpurchased.

[9] Bronx River.

[10] Heirs.

[11] Mark it.

[12] Appear here again.

[13] Instant.

he performen his part accorded to bagen[1] as may apen connsarnend Land which he Is or (illegible) to performe

The a buv named horton Is obliged To Pay Sringo and the ras[2] of his (illegible) as folas[3]

1 barel of Sidar
6 Shurts
5 galans of rum
1 Cot
1 shepe

And this to be payd at or before The furst day of Jnery[4] nex in (three small words illegible) The day manshshened[5] July: 4: 17001[6]

1 hors: 1 Sadal: 1 bridal
2 cots
1 caf
2 shurds[7]
1 ancher of rum "[8]

This deed included all the land that had not before been purchased, from Byram River northwestward to the Bronx River. In the month of June preceding, on the eleventh, twenty-three days prior to the execution of the above deed, Seringo and two other Indians "in consideratione of a certain sum of money" deeded to Colonel Heathcote, Capt. Joseph Theal, Lieut. John Horton,[9] and Mr Joseph Purdy of Mamaroneck a tract "bounded as followeth,—Southerly by Byram River, Northerly to the Northwest corner of a great swamp commonly called the Round Swamp, thence a southwesterly line to Rye, great Pond, and bounded by the said pond westerly, and so runs to Harrisons great marked tree."

On the 5th of July 1701, the same Seringo and the other Indians deeded to Heathcote, Theal, Joseph Horton, and Purdy a tract bounded "southerly by the Colony Line, easterly by Mehanas River, northerly by Bedford line and marked trees to Mehanas River, and southerly as said river goes against the stream to the head thereof."[10]

On the 27th of March 1702 a deed for lands north of Cross River above Bedford village was executed to Colonel Heathcote by Katonah the Sagamore of all that region, which as it is not recorded is here given from the original in the hand writing of the noted Zachariah Roberts[11] of Bedford, in the writer's possession:

Katonah's Deed to Col. Caleb Heathcote.

"This Bill of Seall bearing date in the year one thousand seven hundred and two: testifyeth that we Katonah, Wackamane and Wewanapeag proprietors of the sd land afternamed lying above Bedford and bounded Southward by Cross Riuer, eastward by Marked trees, westward by Cortlandt's land & Northwards petticus Small Riuer, which sd track of land is estimasion is five miles long and three miles wide: this above sd. upland & medow land we Katonah Wackamane and Wewanapeag, we for ourselves and from our ayrs and all other indians whatsumeuer do sell, alienate, asigne, & set over this abousd land lying in the County of Westchester & in ye provence of New Yorck unto Cornall Caleb Hethcut of Mamaranuck and Captain petter[12] Mathews of new Yorck, Joseph purdy of Ry and Richard Scoffeld of Stanford, or any other conserned in the aboue said purches. We the aboue sd indiens trew proprietars of ye aboue sd land as the bounds are named we have sold & doe set over from us our ayrs executors administrators, or asignes for euer unto the aboue named Caleb Hethcut, petter Mathews, Joseph Purdy, Richard Scoffeld to them their ayrs executors administrators and asignes for euer with all the rights titles privileges & apurtenances thereunto belonging promising to them & theyrs that they shall enioye the same peesably without let or molestation from us or ours or any other indians laying any claime thereunto for euer, and we doe acknowledg that we have reciued full satisfacktion for the aboue said track of land as witness our hands and sealls this 27 day of March 1702.

Signed Sealled and delivered in Bedford in the presance of us
Zechariah Roberts
John Dibell
John Miller
Chickheag +
Caconico +
Arottom +
Mangockem +

Katonah +
Wackamane +
Wewanapeag +

Acount of good

to one 6 guns	to 12 par sockins
to anker of rum	to 12 citels[13]
to 20 bars of lead	to 6 iron citels
to 12 drain[14] knifs	to cotun cloth

[1] According to bargain.
[2] Rest.
[3] Follows.
[4] January.
[5] Mentioned.
[6] So in the original.
[7] Shirts.
[8] This extraordinary deed is written on the reverse side of a private letter to Joseph Horton from one Samuel Ufford, dated "Stratford the 14th day of May," but no year; it is not recorded.
[9] The draughtsman of the last Indian deed.
[10] Rec. in "Albany Records," i. p. 94.
[11] Roberts was the leading man of Bedford, noted for his bitter hostility to the Church of England, and his intense desire to profit by all the public employments he could obtain.
[12] Peter.
[13] Sickles.
[14] Drawing-knives.

to 20 knifs	to dufils[1]
to 12 hos[2]	to blankits
to 12 swords	to 10 barils of sider[3]
to 12 axis "	

One of the persons prominently engaged with Colonel Heathcote in obtaining the several Indian deeds above set forth for the lands between Harrison and the Croton River was Joseph Horton of Rye the grantee in the above deed of the 4th of July 1701 for all the unpurchased land between Byram river and the Bronx. The following instrument shows the nature of the agreement between them and incidentally Heathcote's precise view of his own bounds and what belonged to him under his Richbell conveyances in the territory covered by the foregoing Indian deeds and the three great patents subsequently based upon them.

Agreement of Joseph Horton with Colonel Heathcote.

Whereas by virtue of a License from Coll. Benj[n] ffletcher late Governor of this Province unto Coll. Caleb Heathcote impowering him to buy any lands from the Indian Proprietors betwixt Scroton's River[4] and the north end of Harrisson's Pattent, the said Heathcote and Joseph Horton have [bought] & are about to buy of the Indian Proprietors considerable tracts & parcells of Land; Now know all men by these presents that It is mutually agreed & concluded betwixt the said Caleb Heathcote & Joseph Horton that such parts of any tract or parcells of land bought by them of the indian Proprietors as falls within said Heathcote's lines by virtue of his deeds from Mrs. Ann Richbell late deceased, the bounds whereof run with Mamaronock River to the head thereof thence in a north line twenty miles into the woods from Westchester Path, now all such lands as fall within the lines of those deeds as before mentioned shall be and remain to the said Caleb Heathcote his Heirs & assigns forever notwithstanding any deed or bill of sale in Partnership betwixt said Heathcote & Horton to them from the indians, the said Heathcote paying and bearing the full charge of the purchase of all such land as falls within his lines afforesaid, & the said Heathcote not claiming a greater breadth through said purchase that is, or shall hereafter be made by him & said Horton, than he has at Westchester Path, which is from Mamoronock River to Pipin's brook adjoyneing the great Neck. In witness whereof the said Joseph Horton hath here unto sett his hand & seal this ffourteenth of July in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & one.

Signed Sealed & Delivered in presence of
Benjamin Collier
Anne Millington

Joseph Horton (L. S.)[5]

Out of the lands the Indian title to which was extinguished by the various Indian deeds above set forth were formed the three Great Patents that have been mentioned, the West Patent dated 14th February 1701 to ten Patentees, the Middle Patent dated 17th February 1701 to 13 Patentees, and the East Patent dated 2d March 1701 to 11 Patentees. Ten of these Patentees were the same in all three Patents. They were the ten persons to whom the West Patent, the earliest of the three, was issued, and their names were Robert Walters, Leigh Attwood, Cornelius De Peyster, Caleb Heathcote, Matthew Clarkson, John Chollwell, Richard Slater, Robert Lurting, Barne Cosens, Lancaster Symes, all well known as prominent men of the City and Province of New York. In the Middle Patent in addition to the above ten, Joseph Theale, John Horton, and Joseph Purdy, all of Rye, appear as Patentees. In the East Patent besides the above ten Peter Mathews of Bedford appears as a Patentee. Several of these Patentees held their shares not for themselves but in trust for friends and some of them sold their shares to other persons.

Immediately after the Patents were issued, all the different Patentees named in each executed joint covenants under seal, that no survivorship should take place among them, and that each should be divided into as many distinct parts as there were Patentees. The covenant for the West Patent was dated February 18th 1702, those for the Middle and East Patents were both dated the same day, the 25th of June 1702.[6]

The following statement showing in the three Patents, the changes of the Patentees names, the Quit-rents payable for each, the number of acres of improvable land in each, and their respective boundaries, is from the original in the writer's possession. It is undated, but was evidently made out in Colonel Heathcote's lifetime, and probably about 1715 or 1716.

The West Patent.

" Patent: 14 Feb: 1701
5000 Acres Improvable Land
£6, 5, 0, Quit-Rent
10 Shares.

Patentees Names	In trust for or sold to,
R. Walter	Schellenx & Lyon
L. Atwood	Clarksons
C. Depeyster	
C. Heathcote	
M. Clarkson	
Jno. Chollwell	—— Quinby
R. Slater	T. Weaver
R. Lurting	C. Heathcote
Barne Cosens	Peter Fanconnier

[1] A coarse and thick, but soft woolen cloth made in Holland.
[2] Hoes.
[3] This was a very good price for that day.
[4] Now Croton River.
[5] Original deed in Colo. Heathcote's handwriting in possession of the writer. It is not recorded.
[6] From ancient copies of these covenants in the writer's possession.

Bounded

Northerly,

By Croton River and the Mannor of Cortlandt, or one of them.

Easterly,

With Bedford Line of Three Miles Square, the White Fields, and Byram Point.

Southerly,

By the land of John Harrison &c, Rye Line stretching to Biram River and the White Plains,

Westerly,

By Brunk's River and the Mannor of Philipsburgh, Excepting out of y^e^ Bounds aforesaid all y^e^ Lands within Richbell's Patent, now in y^e^ Tenour & occupation of Coll. Caleb Heathcote.

The Middle Patent.

" Patent: 17 February, 1701
1500 Acres Improvable Land
£1, 17, 6 Quit Rent
13 Shares

Patentees Names	In Trust for or Sold to
C. Heathcote	
Jo. Theale	
J. Horton	
J. Purdy	
R. Walter	Schellinx & Lyon
Leigh Atwood	Clarksons
M. Clarkson	
Lan. Symes	
C. De Peyster	Y^e^ Heirs Coll. Depeyster
R. Slater	Tho. Weaver
John Chollwell	—— Quinby
Barne Cosens	P. Fanconnier
Robert Lurting	C. Heathcote

Bounded

Southerly,

by the Division Line betweene y^e^ Colony of Connecticut and the Province of New York parallell to the Sound.

Easterly,

By Mahanas River.

Northerly,

by Bedford Line and Mark^t^ Trees runing westerly to Mahanas River.

Westerly,

again and as the said River goes against the stream to the head thereof, then along the Easterly branch of Biram River to the said Colony Line again where the same began.

The East Patent

" Patent: 2 March 1701
6200 Acres Improvable Land
£7, 16, 0, Quit-Rent
11 Shares.

Patentees Names	In Trust for or sold to
Ro. Walter	Schellinx & Lyon
Jno. Chollwell	—— Quinby
L. Atwood	Clarksons
C. De Peyster	
R. Slater	T. Weaver
Barne Cosens	P. Fanconnier
M. Clarkson	
Lan. Symes	
Rob. Lurting	C. Heathcote
Peter Mathews	
Caleb Heathcote	

Bounded

South

by the Division Line between N. Y. and said Colony of Connecticut, and so along said Line until it meets with the Patent of Adolph Philipse, and so along his southern bounds till it meets with the Mannor of Cortlandt and from thence by a Line that shall run upon a direct course until it meets with the first easterly Line of 20 of the said Mannor of Cortlandt, and from thence along the said line Westerly till it meets with the Patent granted to R. Walter & others, thence southerly along the said Patent untill it meets with the bounds of the Township of Bedford & thence round along said bounds untill it meets with the patent granted to Coll. Heathcote and others, and along the bounds of said Patent unto the Colony Line where it first began.—

Also a small Tract of Land beginning westerly at a great Rock on the Westmost side at the Southmost end of a Ridge Known by the Name of Richbell or Horse Ridge and from thence Northwest and by North to Brunk's River, Easterly beginning at a mark'd Tree at the Eastmost side on the Southmost end of the said Ridge and thence north to Brunk's River."

This West Patent by its bounds excluded Whiteplains, which Colonel Heathcote claimed under his Richbell deeds and Patents. This led to a controversy between him and some "Rye Men" who claimed Whiteplains as a part of their town. This claim however remained passive, and nothing but a claim during Colonel Heathcote's life as the result of the Richbell verdict against Rye in 1696 (set forth above in full) the year before Colonel Heathcote bought the Richbell estate of Ann Richbell. The land was then worth very little, and the Rye claimants were very few. Colonel Heathcote died February 28, 1720–21, and his entire estate passed under his will to his two daughters, Ann, the elder, subsequently the wife of James de Lancey chief justice of the Province of New York who died its Governor in 1760, and Martha, the younger, subsequently the wife of Lewis Johnston, M.D., of Perth Amboy, New Jersey, who died in 1774. His widow, Mrs. Martha Heathcote, was the sole executrix. By her and the two gentlemen just named, in the course of time, settlements were effected of Colonel Heathcote's interests in Whiteplains, the three patents above mentioned and in Harrisson's purchase.

In relation to White plains it has been stated erroneously that Colonel Heathcote died, "about four years later" than 1702, in which year a committee of Rye people were appointed to agree with him on a line between his Patent and White plains, and that the question remained "still unsettled."[1] This is an entire mistake, Colonel Heathcote lived nearly twenty years instead of four, after 1702, and maintained his right to White plains, but was always ready to agree with the Rye people about the matter, but they, though occasionally talking about it, practically remained passive, in consequence of the Richbell verdict against them of December 3, 1696, above set forth. Not till after Colonel Heathcote's death, which occurred on February 28, 1720–21, was the matter closed, though negotiations were pending in his lifetime, and Governor Burnet's Patent for White plains was issued to Joseph Budd, Humphrey Underhill and others, bearing date the 13th of March 1721. The Patentees named therein, with four or five exceptions, were entirely different men from the "proprietors of the White plaines purchase"[2] whose names appear in a list taken from the Rye Town Records under date of 1720, in Bolton's History, (1st ed. vol. ii. p. 341) and copied in Baird's Rye and Bolton's second edition. This list was probably one of the proprietors of some part of the grants embracing the present township of Rye.

The terms of the settlement with Rye of adjoining lands with Colonel Heathcote's representatives, about which there was dispute are thus set forth, in "Notes of agreement between Rye and Devisees of Heathcote," in the writer's possession:—"Rye is to give us their title to all lands which we claim in Harrison's purchase, as also to all the lands lying between the old Collony Line and Mamaroneck River and the White plains. We are to give them the benefit of the covenants in Jamison's deed to Coll. Heathcote for the purchase lands." This was carried out by a deed from Robert Bloomer, John Budd, Samuel Purdy, John Horton, Nathan Kniffen, John Disbrow, Samuel Brown, Roger Park, Joseph Galpin, Abraham Brundige, and nineteen other inhabitants of Rye and White plains, to Mrs. Ann de Lancey and Mrs. Martha Johnston dated September 5th 1739 for all the lands referred to in the above agreement.[3] In connection with these matters it must be borne in mind that when the first claim of the Rye people was defeated by the verdict against them in favor of Mrs. Richbell of December 3, 1696, they were already greatly angered by the grant of the Patent to John Harrison and his associates for what has ever since been known as "Harrison's Purchase" by the Governor of New York, on the 25th of June 1696, about six months before the verdict was rendered. They claimed that territory under an Indian deed to Peter Disbrow and three others of 2d June 1662, for "a certain tract of land above Westchester Path to the marked trees bounded with the above said Blind Brook," (this is the whole description) and as being in Connecticut of which they insisted Rye was a part, but they never would take out a patent for it. Hence when the Quaker Harrison, and his four or five associates, applied to the New York government for a grant of it as "unappropriated and vacant land" it was, after due deliberation, granted them by Patent. In order to quiet the border disputes of that day they had previously tried to get the people of Rye to take out a patent for this land, but they always refused to do so. This grant for Harrison's Purchase, and the Richbell verdict coming only about six months after it, was more than the Rye people thought they could bear, and therefore, early in 1697, they revolted, seceded from New York, and again set themselves up as a part of Connecticut. The New York government by peaceful means tried to bring them back, but in vain, and this secession continued for about three years, until King William by a sharp "Order in Council," made on the 28th of March, 1700, ordered them back to the old jurisdiction, in the words of the order "forever thereafter to remain under the Government of the Province of New York."[4] That government in the beginning had even tendered them a Patent, and Colonel Heathcote, who was one of the Governor's Council, at the request of the latter, in 1697 went to Rye, and personally endeavored to settle the controversy. His letter to the Governor and Council describing his visit and its failure, gives the facts of the case very clearly, and they prove that their own folly lost the Harrison lands to the people of Rye. "I asked them" he says, "why they did not take out a patent when it was tendered them. They said they never heard that they could have one. I told them that their argument might pass with such as knew nothing of the matter, but that I knew better; for that to my certain knowledge they might have had a patent had they not rejected it; and that it was so far from being done in haste or in the dark, that not a boy in the whole Town, nor almost in the County, but must have heard of it; and that I must always be a witness against them, not only of the many messages they have had from the Government about it, but likewise from myself." * * * *

"I told them as to the last purchase wherein I was concerned, if that gave them any dissatisfaction, that I would not only quit my claim, but use my interest in getting them any part of it they should desire. Their answer was, they valued not that; it was Harrison's Patent that was their ruin."[5]

[1] Baird's History of Rye, p. 156. The same erroneous statement was copied from Baird into the second edition of Bolton's Westchester, vol. ii. p. 558.

[2] So styled in Baird, Hist. Rye, p. 156.

[3] From an ancient copy of the deed in the writer's possession.

[4] iv. Col. Hist. 627.

[5] Vol. xii. p. 36 of the Col. Mss. in Sec. of State's office, Albany. It is printed in Baird's Hist. of Rye, p. 100.

Some five years after the granting of the West Patent to Robert Walter and his associates in 1701, the southern part of it on the Byram River was, in derogation of their rights, granted to Anne Bridges and four others of the town of Rye. The West Patentees remained quietly in possession however of all their territory. About twenty-three years after the issuing of the West Patent, and about two after Colonel Heathcote's death, a suit in ejectment was brought, by the persons named in the Bridges grant of 1705–6 against Robert Walter and other owners of the West Patent. The reasons for it are now unknown as the latter had never been disturbed in the possession of their lands by any-body. It was unsuccessful however. The following curious and interesting paper entitled "A true state of the case," gives all the facts, and also shows how thoroughly Colonel Heathcote was even then considered "authority" in Westchester County matters. Its author, evidently a lawyer, is unknown, but it is in the small, clear, beautiful, handwriting of Peter Fauconnier an owner, by trust or by purchase, in all three of the great Patents above mentioned, and one of the best surveyors of that day. It is printed from the original in the writer's possession.

"A true state of the case,

Between the ejector John Horton &c., and Robert Walter &c., in behalf of the ejected, for lands in Westchester County.

"Coll. Caleb Heathcote well acquainted with the North bounds of the Tract of land called Well's and Coxe's purchases, being the lands long before claimed by, and since patented to, the Town of Rye the 11th day of August 1720;

"With the East and North bounds of the lands granted the 25th day of June, 1696, to William Nicoll Esq., Ebenezer Willson, David Jamison, John Harrison, and Samuel Haight, called Harrison's purchase;

"With the North bounds of the lands claimed by the Inhabitants of White Plains;

"With the Eastmost bounds of the several contiguous tracts of land granted the 23rd day of December, 1684, to Frederick Phillipse, and the course of Brunks river;

"With the South bounds of those granted the 17th of June, 1697, to Coll. Stephen Cortlandt;

"With the North and West bounds of the lands belonging to the Town of Bedford;

"And well knowing how, and where, the three several lines which have to divide this Province from the Colony of Connecticut, are to fall and to run, and consequently the location, extent, and limits, of the then still vacant lands adjoining thereunto; he did acquaint there with the Persons hereinafter named jointly with, and for the use of, whom, with and by the assistance of Joseph Theale, John Horton, Joseph Purdy, Nathaniel Seleick, Richard Scofeild, James Mott, and Henry Disbrow, he did wholly and lawfully purchase the same.

"Being all that certain tract of land in the County of Westchester, bounded Northerly by the Manor of Cortlandt, Easterly with Bedford line of three miles square, the Whitefeilds, and Byram River, Southerly by the Colony second line, Rye line stretching to Byram River, the land of John Harrison, and the White Plains, and Westerly by Brunk's river and the Mannor of Philipsburgh. On the return of which purchase the said Coll. Heathcote and his associates applyed for, and on the 14th day of February 1701–2, obtained the Crown's Grant for the same, To Robert Walter, Leigh Atwood, Cornelius Depyster, Caleb Heathcote, Mathew Clarkson, John Cholwell, Richard Slater, Lancaster Symes, Robert Lurting [in Quest for the said Coll. Heathcote again] and Barné Cosens, under £6, 5.—Quitrent.

"Notwithstanding all w^{ch} yet, and the said lands being vacant and unappropriated, the purchass thereof was so lawfully made, and the grant obtained: On the 12th day of January, 1706, being near five years after, Anne Bridges, John Clap, Augustin Graham, John Horton, and Thomas Height, on a wrong notion of an insufficiency of power and authority in the then Lieutenant-Governour to grant the above mentioned tract to the above named purchasers thereof, and on such other groundless surmises, did sue for and then obtained, an other posterior grant for the Southern part of the same individual tract of Land:

"It being for A certain tract of land in the county of Westchester within the Province of New York, beginning at a Beach tree standing by Byram river near a great rock, markt with the letters I. H. I. P. I. C., thence running up the said river North North West to a certain Ash Tree, on the upper end of a place commonly called Pondpound's Neck, marked with the letters aforesaid &c to the Colony line, Westerly to the eight miles stake standing between three white oak trees markt [viz.] one of the said trees is marked with the letters C C R on the north side and Y D on the south side, and from the said trees on a direct line, runs to the Northernmost corner of Rye pond, and thence south ten degrees Westerly to a white oak sapling marked by the Pond side with the letters T. I. P. thence by a range of marked trees south sixty four degrees East to an Ash Tree standing by Blind Brook on the East side thereof, and thence by another range of marked trees to a certain Chestnut tree markt with the letters J. P. on the North side, on the West side, with the letters I. P. on the south side with the letters I. H. and thence by a range of marked trees to the place where it begun.

"That this last-mentioned grant is all included in, and that the east, south, and most of the west bounds thereof are, the very same with the southmost ones specified in the aforementioned grant of the 14th February, 1701–2 to Robert Walter &c., will unquestionably appear by comparing the southern bounds of the one with those of the other, and both with the northern bounds of the Patent granted the 11th day

of August, 1720, to Samuel Purdy and others for the Township of Rye, and with the eastern and northern bounds of that granted to William Nicoll &c., the 25th day of June, 1696, called Harrison's Lands, or Harrison's Purchase.

"Matters relating to that affair being in reality as hath been related, the several questions which do naturally arise therefrom, are, first, what could induce these last Patentees to sue for a Grant of that land in 1705–6, which they well knew had been already patented in 1701–2. Secondly, Why, having been at the trouble and charges thereof, they not only left the said first Patentees so long quietly owne, but also survey the same, and not only be present thereat without the least objection, but also shew them the East and North lines of Well's and Harrison's purchases; to let them dispose of several pieces part of it, and the buyers thereof without interruption enjoy the same about 23 years after that first grant was obtained; and lastly what could induce them, so late then to serve a Lease of Ejectment on it."

The answers to these questions we are left to conjecture, as except the boundaries of the patents it refers to, which accompany it. Nothing else appears on the paper. It is apparently part of a lawyer's statement of facts, upon which to base an opinion. It would seem from the statement itself that the Bridges Patent was granted on the idea that Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan for some reason not stated, had not the power to issue the West Patent when he did, and that it was therefore of no effect. An utterly false idea, for his power as Commander-in-chief was exactly that of all Governors-in-chief, as set forth in the royal "Instructions" to each of them. The West Patent remained, undisturbed, and is the foundation of the present title to the region covered by it (now New Castle and a large part of North Castle and a part of Bedford). The suit was probably a scheme of some lawyer, or some person, who was a personal or political opponent of some one or more of the proprietors of the West Patent, for the value of the land then was entirely too little to induce a speculative action. The following is the text of the West Patent from a certified copy of 1734, in the writer's possession.

THE WEST PATENT.

Recorded at the request of Robt. Walters & others.

William the third by the grace of God of England Scotland ffrance & Ireland King Defender of the ffaith &c, To all to whom these presents shall come or may consern Greeting Whereas—our Loving Subjects Robert Walters Leigh Attwood Cornelius Depeyster Caleb Heathcote Matthew Clarkson John Chollwell Richard Slater Lancater Simes Robert Lurting & Barne Copens have by their petitions presented unto our trusty & wellbeloved John Nanfan Esq^{r}, our Leiut^{t}, Gov^{r}, & Commander in Cheif of our Province of New York and the territories depending thereon in America &c, prayed our Grant & confirmation of a Certain tract of Land in our County of West Chester Bounded Northerly by the Mannor of Courtlandt Easterly with Bedford Line of three Miles Square the white feilds & Byram River Southerly by the Land of John Harrison Rye line Stretching to Byram River afores^{d}, & the White plains & Westerly by Bronckx river & the Mannor of phillipsburgh excepting out of the bounds aforesaid all theLand within Richbells patent now in the tenure & Occupation of Coll Caleb Heathcote which first above named tract of Land was purchased by Caleb Heathcote & others with whom he has agreed excepting James Mott & Henry Disbrow whom he hath undertaken to Satisfy within which bounds there are by Estimation about five thousand Acres of profitable Land besides Waste & Woodland which reasonable request we being willing to grant *Know Ye* that of our Special Grace certain knowledge & meer motion we have given granted ratified & confirmed and by these presents do for us our heirs & Successors give grant ratify & confirm unto our Said Loving Subjects Robert Walters Leigh Attwood Cornelius Depeyster Caleb Heathcote M. Clarkson Jn^{o} Chollwell Rich^{d} Slater Lancaster Symes Robert Lurting & Barne Cosens all the aforesaid tract of Land within our County of Westchester & within the limitts & bounds afores^{d} together with all and Singular the woods underwoods trees timber feedings pastures meadows marshes swamps ponds poolles waters water Courses rivers rivulets runs brooks Streams fishing ffowling hunting & hawking mines Mineralls (silver and Gold mines Excepted) and all other profitts benefitts priviledges Libertys advantages Hereditaments & Appurtenances whatsoever to the afores^{d} tract of Land within the limitts & bounds afores^{d} belonging or innywise appertaining *To have and to hold* all the aforesaid tract of Land together with all & Singular the woods underwoods trees timbers feedings pastures Meadows Marshes Swamps ponds pools waters water Courses Rivers Rivuletts runs brooks Streams fishing fowling Hunting and Hawking Mines Mineralls Silver and Gold mines Excepted & all other profits benefits priviledges Libertys Advantages Hereditaments & appurtenances whatsoever to the afores^{d} tract of Land in this the Limitts & bounds afores^{d} belonging or in any way appertaining unto them the said Robert Walters Leigh Atwood Cornelius Depeyster Caleb Heathcote Matthew Clarkson John Chollwell Richard Slater Lancaster Symes Rob^{t} Lurting and Barne Cosens their heirs and assigns to the only proper use benefit & behoof of them the S^{d} Robert Leigh Attwood Cornelius Depeyster Caleb Heathcote M Clarkson, Jn^{o}, Chollwell Lancaster Symes Richard Slater Robert Lurting & Barne Cosens their heirs & Assigns for ever *To be Holden* of us our heirs & Successors in free & *Common* Socage as of our Mannour of East Greenwich in our County of Kent within our Realm of England *Yeilding* rendering & paying therefore Yearly & every Year for ever at our City of New

York unto us our heirs and Successors or to Such Officer Or Officers as shall from time to time be impowered to receive the same the Annual & Yearly rent of Six pounds five Shillings Current money of New York in Leiu & stead of all other rents dues duties Services demands w^tsoever *In Testimony* whereof we have caused the great Seal of our said Province to be hereunto affixed *Witness* John Nanfan Esq^r our Leiu^t: Governour and Commander in Cheif of our province of New York & the territories depending thereon in America & Vice Admiral of the same &c at our ffort in New York the fourteenth day of ffeb^y A° 1701, & in the thirteenth Year of our Reign John Nanfan, By his Hon^rs Command M. Clarkson Secry.

Secry^s Office N York Mar 22d 173¾
A true Copy from the Record
FFRED^k MORRIS, D Secry
Compared with the Record
A L D

It will be noticed how carefully this patent by express words excepted and preserved to Colonel Heathcote his lands under the Richbell Patent, which in part were covered by its boundaries. The portion of this Patent in Bedford under the deed from Katonah above given, became the subject of controversy—and remained unsettled till 1771, when the dispute was finally terminated by the following mutual Agreement, the original of which is in the writer's possession.

Agreement between the Proprietors of the West Patent and Bedford.

"It is this day agreed between the proprietors of that part of the West Patent in Westchester County which was released to the said proprietors by Caleb Fowler Benjamin Smith, & Joseph Sutton & the persons settled upon the same Lands and claiming a title thereto under the Township of Bedford, that the whole matters in Dispute between the said parties, shall be submitted to the arbitration of Richard Willis & William Seaman of Jerico, George Townsend of Norwich, Thomas Hicks, & Hendrick Onderdonk of the Township of Hempstead, & all of Queens County, Gent^n. That the whole matters Differences in Dispute between the said parties shall be submitted to the determination of the said refferees or any three or more of them without any Exception whatever. That Bonds shall be executed mutually each in the penall sum of £5000 New York Money[1] to stand to the award of the said Refferees or any three or more of them. That the award shall be made and ready to be delivered to the parties or some of them on or before the first day of September next. That if the Arbitrators or any three or more of them shall award the Lands in Dispute to be the property of the proprietors claiming under the West Patent, then the said Refferees or any three or more of them are to award what sum the persons claiming under Bedford are to pay by the acre for the said Lands and the West Patent proprietors are, upon payment thereof, to release all their right in the Lands to the persons claiming under Bedford, & shall warrant & Defend them agt. all persons claiming under the West Patent. The Improvements are not to be valued, and if the Refferees or any three or more of them award that the proprietors of the West Patent are not entitled to the Lands in Dispute but that the same are the property of the claimants under Bedford, then that the former shall release all their right to the latter of, in, and to, the Lands in Dispute. Dated this 27th day of March 1771,

John Bard
David Clarkson } in Behalf of the West
Thomas Jones[2] } Patent Proprietors.
James Wright } in Behalf of the claim-
John Lawrence } ants under Bedford.

Under this agreement the settlement was made, the Bedford people paying about eight shillings per acre, it is believed, for the land to the proprietors of the West Patent.

A somewhat similar settlement had been made six years before, in 1765, by the Proprietors of the Middle Patent, or "the Whitefields Patent" as it was often called, which adjoined the West Patent on the East, by a like arbitration with Samuel Banks and some twenty four others, who having bought the rights of two or three of the Patentees entered upon, and took possession of the whole of that Patent, the grant for which is as follows:

THE MIDDLE PATENT.

(*The Whitefields*).

"William the Third, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c., to all to whom these presents shall come or may concern, sendeth greeting: Whereas our loving subjects Col. Caleb Heathcote, Joseph Theal, John Horton, Joseph Purdy, Robert Walters, Leigh Atwood, Matthew Clarkson, Lancaster Sims, Cornelius Depeyster, Richard Slater, John Chollwell, Robert Lurting, and Barne Cosens, have by their petition, presented unto our trusty and well beloved John Nanfan, Esq., our Lieut. Governor and Commander-in-chief of our Province of New York and territories depending thereon in America, &c., and prayed our grant and confirmation of a certain tract of land in the county of Westchester, bounded southerly by the colony line of Connecticut, easterly by Mahanas river, northerly by Bedford line and marked trees to Mahanas river again, and southerly as the said river

[1] 12,500 dollars.

[2] Then recorder of New York, and later Judge of the Supreme Court, the Author of the History of New York during the Revolutionary War. He represented the Heathcote estate, his wife, Anne De Lancey, being a granddaughter of Colonel Heathcote.

goes against the stream to ye head of the said river, and so to the said colony line, which said tract of land on the 5th day of July last past, was by our said Caleb Heathcote, Joseph Theal, John Horton and Joseph Purdy, &c., purchased of the native proprietors, and containing within the limits aforesaid, by estimation, about 1500 acres of profitable land, besides wastes and wood lands, which reasonable request, we being willing to grant, *know ye*, that of our especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, we have given, granted, ratified and confirmed, and by these presents doe for us, our heirs and successors, give, grant, ratify and confirm unto our said loving subjects, Col. Caleb Heathcote, Joseph Theal, John Horton, Joseph Purdy, Robert Walters, Leigh Atwood, Matthew Clarkson, Lancaster Sims, Cornelius Depeyster, Richard Slater, John Chollwell, Robert Lurting and Barne Cosens, all the afore recited tract of land within the county of Westchester, and within the limits and bounds aforesaid, together with all and singular the woods, underwoods, trees, timber, feedings, pastures, meadows, marshes, swamps, ponds, pools, waters, water-courses, rivers, rivulets, runs, brooks, streams, fishing, fowling, hunting, hawking, &c., mines, minerals, &c., (silver and gold mines excepted,) and all other profits, benefits, privileges, liberties, advantages, hereditaments and appurtenances whatsoever to the aforesaid tract of land, within the limits and bounds aforesaid, belonging or in any way or ways appertaining, unto them the said Colonel Caleb Heathcote, &c., &c., their heirs and assigns to the only proper use, benefit and behoof of him the said Colonel Caleb Heathcote, &c., &c., their heirs and assigns for ever, to be holden of us, our heirs and successors, in free and common soccage as of our manor of East Greenwich in our county of Kent, within our realm of England, yielding, rendering, and paying therefor yearly and every year, on the first day of the Nativity of our Blessed Saviour, the annual yearly rent of one pound, seven shillings and sixpence, current money of New York, in lieu and stead of all other rents, dues, duties, services and demands whatsoever. In testimony whereof, we have caused the great seal of our said Province to be hereunto affixed. Witness John Nanfan, Esq., our Lieutenant Governor and Commander-in-chief of our Province of New York and territories depending thereon in America, and Vice-Admiral of the same, at our Fort in New York, this 17th day of February, 1701–2, and in the fourteenth year of our reign."[1]

"JOHN NANFAN."

This, the smallest of the three Great Patents, was held by its Patentees without a division of their interests till 1733, when the following appointment of Samuel Purdy to lay it out was made:

"New York Aug. y^e^. 20^th^: 1733.

"We the Undersigned owners and Proprietors of a certain Tract of Land, Called Whitefeild[2] in the County of Westchester, Do authorize and appoint Samuel Purdy, Esq^e^. to Lay out and Divide the said Lands in Order To our coming to an Entire Division of the Same, to Each Respective Pattentee or his assigns.

Witness our Hands

James De Lancey
D. Clarkson
C. D'Peyster
P. Fauconnier
John Symes
Josiah Quimby.

Memorand^m^. for Justice Purdy to take Notice where the Division Line between Greenwich and Stamford falls upon the Colony Line.

A true copy From y^e^ Originall by

Sam^l^. Purdy."[3]

Mr. Purdy accepted the appointment and acted. He divided the Patent into two parts which he called the "East" and "West" Ranges, containing thirteen "Lotts" each. The number of acres in each is not now known, but the value of each lot is shown by the original list and valuation by Purdy, in the writer's possession, which is as follows:—

An Estimate of the Lotts in Whitefield Pattent.

East Range.		West Range.	
No.	£	No.	£
1.	93 00	1.	73 00
2.	93 00	2.	78 00
3.	85 00	3.	85 00
4.	85 00	4.	95 00
5.	80 00	5.	95 00
6.	54 00	6.	92 00
7.	44 00	7.	77 00
8.	44 00	8.	77 00
9.	44 00	9.	84 00
10.	44 00	10.	88 00
11.	50 00	11.	95 00
12.	62 00	12.	100 00
13.	72 00	13.	100 00
	£850 00		£1139 00
			850 00
Totall			£1989 00

Pr me

Sam^ll^ Purdy.

The names of the persons living on this Patent six years after Purdy's appointment above given were collected by Benjamin Fox of King Street and sent to Mr. Murray of New York, who was the lawyer and agent of some of the patentees. Under date of "King St. 8^br^ y^e^ 7^th^, 1739," Fox writes Murray, "Inclosed have sent you the names of the People Possessed on the Whitefeild, or Middle Patent, which have Indevour^d^ to colect as well as I could." The list which is on a separate paper, is as follows:

[1] Book of Patents, No. vii. 224, Sec. of State's Office, Albany.

[2] This name, singularly enough is so spelled in all the old deeds and documents. It should, of course, have been "Whitefields."

[3] From an ancient copy in the writer's possession, in Samuel Purdy's handwriting.

Thos. Hutchins	—— Owens
Thos. Meritt	John Finch
John Runells, Sen[r]	John Brush
John Runells Jun[r]	Benj Brush
Benj. Platt	Sam[ll] Peters
Jacob Finch	Ebius Brock
Sam[ll] Banks	Francis Purdy
	John Purdy[1]

When, twenty-five years later, the final settlement of 1765, between the patentees and the settlers above referred to, was made, the parties then in possession, whose names are recited in the award, were;—Sam[ll] Banks, John Banks, Benoy Platt, Jonathan Platt, John Runnels, Jonathan Owens, John Rundle, John Armstrong, Roger Sutherland, Smith Sutherland, Charles Green, Charles Green, Jun[r], David Brundige, Walter Morris, Aaron Furman, Jun[r], Shubel Brush, James Brundige, Stephen Edegett, Nehemiah Brundige, Abraham Knapp, Joshua Lounsbery, Daniel Brown, Jun[r], Phinehas Knapp, Jeremiah Numan, Rober Murfee, Jeremiah Green.

Some of these names appear in Fox's list of 1739, but only a few.

The arbitrators in 1765 were: "Daniel Kissam, Samuel Townsend, George Weekes, Benjamin Treadwell and David Batty, all of Queens County" and their award dated October 6, 1765, recites that they, "having sat as arbitrators and heard the said disputes, and having deliberately heard, examined, and considered all the proofs and allegations of the said Parties in Controversy, do for the settling peace and amity between them make this our award, order, arbitrament, determination, and judgment of and upon the Premises as Follows—First, We do award and order, that the said Anne De Lancey, John Bard, Pierre Depeyster, David Clarkson, Peter Remsen, and John Ogelbie, and all others who claim lands under the said Patent which are not already sold or conveyed to the persons now in possession of the said lands, or to those under whom they claim, or to some or one of them, shall and do upon demand execute and deliver in due form of law a release of all their rights and Titles of, in, and to, the lands specifyed in the said Letters Patent, to said Samuel Banks and the other persons above named who are now in possession of the said Lands, and to their heirs and assigns forever; and that the said Samuel Banks and the other persons above named, who are now in possession of the said Lands, shall and do upon the delivery of such Release pay unto the said Anne De Lancey and such other persons as are hereby ordered to Execute the said Release, the sum of nine Shillings New York money[2] for every acre of said lands, which the said Samuel Banks and the other persons above named or those under whom they claim, or some or one of them, have not already purchased of some, or one, of the patentees in the said Letters Patent Named, or of those claiming under the said patentees, or some or one of them."[3]

The East Patent was granted March 2[d] 1701 to the same Patentees as the West Patent with the addition to their number of Peter Matthews of Bedford. Five days before, on the 25th of February in the same year, Katonah, Wakemane, and another Indian executed a deed of confirmation to the Patentees of their right and estate in the tract[4] in which they thus describe, "bounded as followeth viz. Westward by Bedford, and by the patent granted to Caleb Heathcote and others,[5] northerly by Coll. Cortlandt's purchase and Croton's river, southerly and easterly by the Colony lines."

The patent itself in its general language is similar to those of the West and Middle Patents above set forth. It bounds the Tract granted in these words;—

The East Patent Bounds

"Bounded South, by the division Line between New York and Connecticut, East, by the other division Line between New York and Connecticut, and so along said Line untill it meets with the Patent of Adolf Philipse,[6] and so along his southern bounds till it meets with the Mannor of Cortlandt, and from thence by a Line that shall run upon a direct course untill it meets with the first easterly Line of twenty miles of the said Mannor of Cortlandt, and from thence along the said Line Westerly till it meets with the Patent granted to R. Walter and others,[7] thence southerly along the said Patent, untill it meets with the bounds of the Township of Bedford, and thence round along said bounds until it meets with the Patent granted to Coll. Heathcote and others, and[8] thence along the bounds of said Patent unto the Colony Line where it began."

No attempt was made to settle this tract till about the year 1744, when parties from Stamford and its neighborhood acquired portions of land within its limits.

The area of these three great Patents, the "West," the "Middle," and the "East," was very much greater than is commonly supposed. The Patents themselves only give their respective areas in what those instruments term "profitable land," that is, land that could be easily cultivated. But as the greater part of northern and central Westchester abounded in high semi-mountainous ridges, rocky heights, and great forests, characteristics which to a large extent it still retains, the "profitable land" really bore but a small proportion to what was then deemed the unprofitable land. How very extensive these great patents really

[1] Original letter and list in the writer's possession.

[2] One dollar and twelve cents.

[3] From the original award signed by all the arbitrators, in the writer's possession.

[4] Book I. p. 100, Sec. of State's Offe. Albany.

[5] The "Middle Patent."

[6] Philipse's Upper Patent, now Putnam County.

[7] The West Patent.

[8] The Middle Patent.

were, will be seen from the following authentic statement :

Peter Fauconnier, who was a surveyor, and as has been stated, an owner in all three patents, was, with Lancaster Symes, the active managers for the owners of all three patents. An account showing the amounts due from each owner, arranged under, the head of each Patent separately, dated in 1716, in the handwriting of Fauconnier is in the writer's possession, and it shows that the three Patents together contained seventy thousand, 70,000, Acres of Land. The headings of the accounts of the three patents are these ;—

" The first of the 3 Patents above mentioned containing about 30,000 acres of rough Land, between 10 Patentees." [1]

" The Second of the 3 Patents here-above mentioned containing about 5000 acres of rough Land, between 13 Patentees." [2]

" The Third of the 3 Patents here-above mentioned containing about 35,000 acres of rough Land, between 11 Patentees." [3]

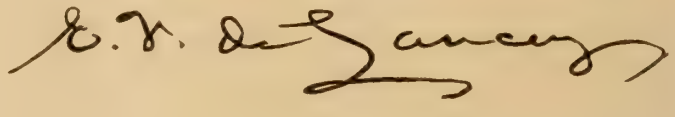
In a " statement of the three Patents " which has already been given, showing the dates of the Patents, the Patentees' names, and the boundaries granted by each, the areas of each are set down in what that document calls " Improvable Land," corresponding to the " Profitable Land " of the Patents themselves. As will be seen, by referring to it, that document gives for the different Patents these areas ;—

In the West Patent, 5,000 Acres Improvable Land,
In the Middle Patent, 1,500 Acres Improvable Land,
In the East Patent, 6,200 Acres Improvable Land,
In all together, 12700 Acres Improvable Land, which is not quite one sixth of the actual area of the territory of the three Patents by Fauconnier's account.

As the whole Manor of Cortlandt north of the Croton River and east of the Hudson containing 5000 acres was only valued in 1732 at £9625 or $25,062,[4] and as the twenty six lots of the " Middle Patent " were only valued in 1733, at £1989,[5] or about $5,000, both valuations being made for the respective proprietors by the same man, Justice Samuel Purdy, and as the Patentees of the latter were only awarded nine shillings, one dollar and twelve cents, an acre, for their unsold lands in the same patent in 1765, a generation later, it is easily seen how very little, was the actual value of the 70,000 acres of the three great patents when they were granted, and during the lifetime of their original Patentees. These facts also show how careful we should always be in considering these matters not to judge of estates in the 17th, and 18th, centuries in Westchester County, large or small, by the values of, either the early, or the latter part of the 19th century.

[1] The " West Patent."
[2] The Middle Patent.
[3] The " East Patent."

[4] See in Part 13, ante, p. 135.
[5] See ante, p. 886.



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